

PETER J. BRAND

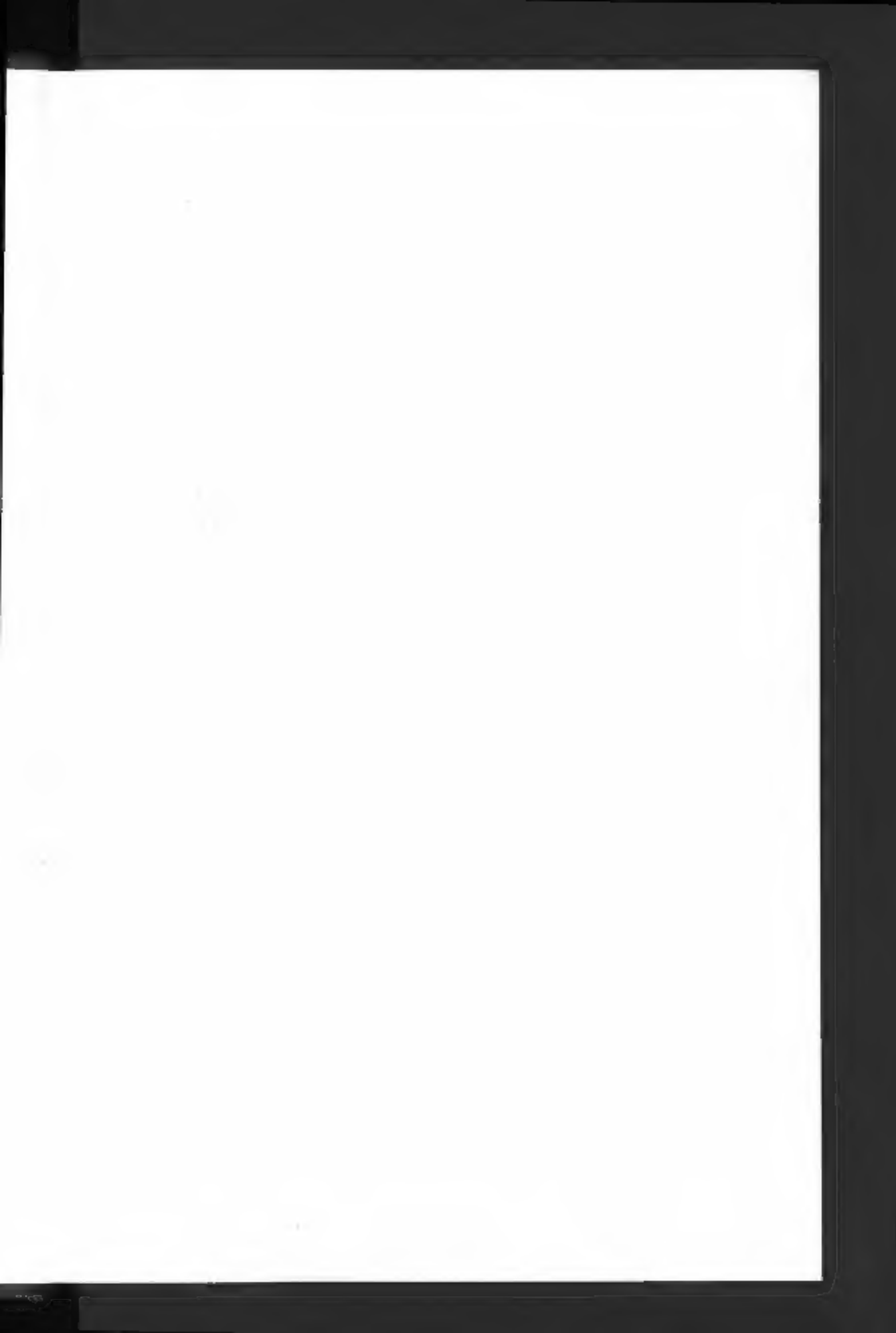
THE MONUMENTS OF SETI I

Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis





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THE MONUMENTS OF SETI I

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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
WOLFGANG SCHENKEL

SECHSZEHNTER BAND



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BY

PETER J. BRAND



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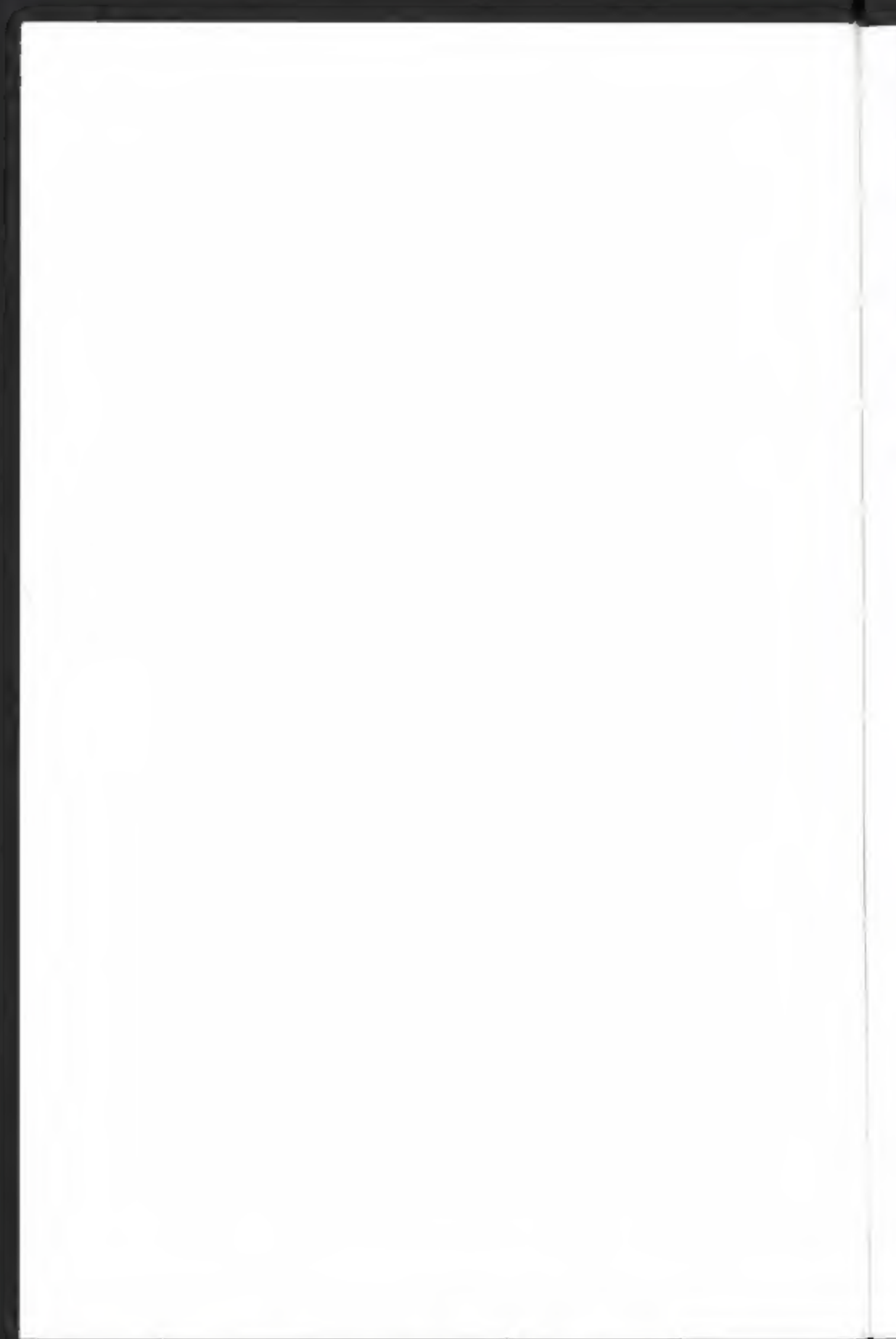


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PREFACE

The reign of Seti I remains something of a paradox: well known for his vigorous foreign policy, grandiose building program, high standard of artistic achievement and for the tutelage of his son and heir Ramesses II, many important aspects of the reign are hazy in detail and much remains unknown. The present work grew out of a doctoral thesis, Brand (1998), originally envisaged as a complete reign study with sections on the royal administration, foreign policy and the like typically found in works of this genre. It soon became apparent that the projected catalog of monuments would by necessity be the centerpiece of the work, with a focus on epigraphic and art historical issues. From a survey of the literature on Seti I, it had become clear that while some aspects of his reign had been explored in depth by scholars—e.g., his war record, alleged coregency with Ramesses II and the major inscriptional evidence of the reign—others had been largely ignored.

A major problem was the poor understanding of the internal chronology of Seti's reign; its length remained controversial and due to a relatively small corpus of dated sources, no chronological structure for his reign—especially of his building program, was available. This was especially troubling in comparison with the scholarship on Ramesses II, since the solution of a number of coincidental epigraphic features had made it possible to place undated reliefs and inscriptions in a more secure chronological framework, especially during the earliest part of his reign—a time when many believed that he ruled jointly with his father.

Research by the present author on the Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak led to the development of a number of methodological criteria—presented in Chapter One—which have resulted in a more detailed *Baugeschichte* and chronology of the relief decoration under Seti I. These criteria have been applied to the king's other monuments with successful and at times surprising results.

The fullest possible use is made of epigraphic, art historical, iconographical and historical criteria to analyze the pharaoh's art and architecture—in particular his monumental reliefs. Philological analysis is limited to texts that bear directly on the dates of the monuments themselves, on chronological and historical issues treated in the final chapters, and on a handful of unpublished and poorly known texts. The

object of the study is to elucidate a number of chronological and historical issues, including the problem of the hypothetical coregencies of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, the accession dates of the first three Ramessides and the length of Seti I's reign, and the establishment of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Chapter One discusses the various epigraphic, iconographic and art historical criteria employed in this investigation. The relief style of Seti I's earliest years is elucidated. Many pharaonic reliefs were altered often a number of times after they had first been carved. Recutting of and vandalism to the monuments over the centuries can either help or frustrate the scholar's attempt to understand the history of the monuments themselves and of pharaonic civilization as a whole. Such reworking of monumental reliefs during the New Kingdom is relevant to a number of key historical issues of Seti's reign. Therefore, the various types of alterations which reliefs could be subjected to and their significance are considered in detail. A number of iconographic and epigraphic characteristics of Seti's monuments are identified as being useful both for dating monuments within the reign and for distinguishing Seti's work from that of his immediate predecessors and successors, an important point since both Seti I and Ramesses II dedicated posthumous monuments in the names of their deceased fathers.

Chapter Two catalogs Seti I's alterations and restorations of existing monuments and his additions to them. Special attention is given to the question of his repairs to monumental reliefs vandalized by Akhenaten and his treatment of restorations previously made by Tutankhamen. Seti I's restoration program was marked by his widespread use of the *smw-r-nw* renewal formula to mark his responsibility for many of these repairs. The intent of this portion of the study is to diagnose the scope of this policy, leading to a better understanding of its ideological ends.

Chapter Three catalogs the original monuments of the king throughout Egypt, Western Asia and Nubia. These are arranged in geographical order from north to south. Comments on each monument focus on art historical, epigraphic and iconographic questions. Those that are most relevant to the historical and chronological issues discussed later in the study are given fuller treatment here. The *Baugeschichte* and the chronology of relief decoration in Seti's temples at Abydos, Karnak and Gurnah, during both his reign and those of his successors, will be discussed at length in this chapter.

Chapter Four examines a number of chronological and historical issues relevant to the king's reign, including the accession dates of the first three Ramessides, the length of the reign and a reassessment of the hypothetical coregencies of the early Nineteenth Dynasty. This chapter ends with an examination of the king's ancestors, pre-royal career and immediate family.

Chapter Five diagnoses the scope of Seti's building program and its state at his death at various sites in Egypt, including constructions that are now lost at Memphis and Heliopolis, and also his activity in Western Asia and Nubia.

Chapter Six treats a number of historical issues in an effort to place Seti I in the wider context of New Kingdom history. A historiographical essay reviews modern scholarly characterizations of the ruler and his monuments. This is followed by a synthesis touching on some aspects of his domestic policy including the advent of the Nineteenth Dynasty and his style of kingship which foreshadowed that of Ramesses II.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abydos</i> I-IV	Calverley, Amice M. & Broome, Myrtle F. <i>The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos</i> . 4 vols (London, 1933-1958)
<i>AEL</i>	Lichtheim, Miriam. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature</i> 3 vols. (Los Angeles, 1980)
<i>AIPHOS</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves</i> . Brussels
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> . Chicago
<i>Amada</i>	Centre of Documentation. <i>Le temple d'Amada</i> . 4 cahiers. (Cairo, 1967)
<i>Architraves</i>	Rondot, Vincent. <i>La Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak. Les architraves</i> . (Paris, 1997)
<i>ARE</i>	Breasted, James Henry. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> 5 vols. (Chicago, 1906-1907)
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> Cairo
<i>BABA</i>	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde. 11 vols. (Cairo, Zurich & Wiesbaden, 1938-1997)
<i>Barguet, Temple</i>	Barguet, Paul. <i>Le temple d'Amun-re à Karnak</i> (Cairo, 1962)
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre of Egyptology</i> . Sydney
<i>Basilikale Anlagen</i>	Haeny, Gerhard. <i>Basilikale Anlagen in der Ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches</i> BABA 9. (Wiesbaden, 1970)
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Oriental Research</i> . New Haven
<i>Battle Reliefs</i>	Epigraphic Survey. <i>The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I. Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak</i> 4 OIP 107. (Chicago, 1985)

<i>Beit el-Wali</i>	Ricke, Herbert, Hughes, George R. & Wente, Edward F. <i>The Beit-el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II.</i> (Chicago, 1967)
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> New York
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale.</i> Cairo
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis.</i> Leiden
BMAL	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> New York
BMHT 10	Bierbrier, Morris L. <i>British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc</i> part 10. (London, 1982)
BSAE	British Schools of Archaeology in Egypt
BSEG	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève</i> Geneva
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie.</i> Paris
CAA	<i>Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptische Altertümer.</i> (Mainz, 1977-present)
CAH ⁹	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History.</i> Vols. 1-III (Cambridge, 1970-1973)
<i>Cahiers de Karnak</i>	Centre Franco-egyptien d'études des temples de Karnak. <i>Cahiers de Karnak</i> 10 vols. (Paris, 1980—present)
<i>Catalogue general</i>	<i>Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> Cairo
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte.</i> Brussels
<i>Cenotaph</i>	Frankfort, Henry et al. <i>The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos.</i> 2 vols. EES Memoir 39 (London, 1933)
Champollion. ND	Champollion, Jean F. <i>Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux par Champollion le Jeune</i> 2 vols. (Paris, 1844-1889)
<i>chapelle d'Hatshepsout</i>	Lacau, Pierre & Chevrier, Henri. <i>Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak.</i> (Cairo, 1979)

- colonnes* Christophe, Louis-A. *Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes*. (Cairo, 1955)
- Coregencies* Murnane, William J. *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*. SAOC 40. (Chicago, 1977)
- CRJPEL* *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*. Lille
- David, Guide* David, Rosalie. *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*. (Warminster, 1981)
- Dazzling Sun* Kozloff, Ariell P. & Bryan, Betsy M (eds.) *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World*. (Cleveland, 1992)
- Deir el-Bahri* Naville, Edouard. *The Temple of Deir el Bahri*. 6 vols. (London, 1895-1908)
- Denkstein* Schott, Siegfried. *Der Denkstein Sethos' I für die Kapelle Rameses' I in Abydos*. NAWG 1964/1 (Göttingen, 1964)
- DHA* *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* Paris
- EEF EES* Egypt Exploration Fund/Society. London
- ERA* Egyptian Research Account. London
- Études et Travaux* *Études et Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences* Warsaw
- FIFAO* Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire Cairo
- Fragments* Bleiberg, Edward & Freed, Rita E. (eds.) *Fragments of A Shattered Visage. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*. (Memphis, 1991)
- Gayet, Temple* Gayet, Albert. *Le Temple de Louxor I Constructions d'Amenophis III* (Paris, 1894)
- GHHK I I* Nelson, Harold H. ed. by Murnane, William J. *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* vol. I part 1. *The Wall Reliefs*. OIP106. (Chicago, 1981)
- GM* *Göttinger Miszellen Beiträge zur ägyptologische Diskussion*. Göttingen
- GO* *Göttinger Orientforschungen IV Reihe Ägypten*. Göttingen

<i>Grab des Sethos' I.</i>	Hornung, <i>Das Grab des Sethos' I im Tal der Könige</i> (Basel, 1990)
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge Hildesheim
Holscher, <i>Excavation</i>	Hölscher, Uvo. <i>The Excavation of Medinet Habu</i> . 5 vols. (Chicago, 1934-1954)
<i>Holy City</i>	Omm Sely & el-Zein, Hanny. <i>Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt</i> . (Los Angeles, 1981)
Horneman, <i>Types</i>	Horneman, B. <i>Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary</i> . 7 Boxes. (Copenhagen, 1951-1969)
IIHHH	Couyat, Jules & Moniet, Pierre. <i>Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouadi Hammamat</i> (Cairo, 1912-13)
JAOs	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> . New Haven
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> . Boston & New York
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> . London
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> . Toronto
<i>Kanaïs</i>	Schott, Siegfried. <i>Kanaïs, der tempel Sethos I im Wadi Ma</i> . NAWG 1961/6. (Göttingen 1961)
<i>Key Plans</i>	Nelson, Harold H. <i>Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations</i> OIP 56. (Chicago, 1941)
<i>Khonsu I-II</i>	Epigraphic Survey. <i>The Temple of Khonsu</i> . 2 vols. OIP 100 & 103. (Chicago, 1979-1981)
KRI I-VII	Kitchen, Kenneth A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical</i> I-VII (Oxford, 1969-1990)
LA I-VII	Helck, Wolfgang <i>et al.</i> <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 7 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1972-1992)
Lacau, <i>Stèles</i>	Lacau, Pierre. <i>Stèles du nouvel empire</i> . 2 vols. Cairo CG 34087-34189. (Cairo, 1909-1926)
LD	Lepsius, Karl Richard. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien</i> . Abt. I-VI in 12 vols. (Berlin, 1849-1858) & reprint Geneva

LDT	Lepsius, Karl Richard. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . Texte. I-V (Berlin & Leipzig, 1897-1913) & reprint Geneva
Legrain, Karnak	Legrain, Georges. <i>Les temples de Karnak</i> (Paris, 1929)
Martin, Corpus	Martin, Geoffrey T. <i>Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt</i> vol. I. (London, 1987)
Martin, Hidden Tombs	Martin, Geoffrey T. <i>The Hidden Tombs of Memphis</i> . (London, 1991)
Martin, Horemheb	Martin, Geoffrey T. <i>The Memphite Tomb of General Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun</i> vol. I (London, 1989)
MÄS	Munchener Ägyptologische Studien. Berlin & Munich
MDIK/MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> . Cairo
Mélanges Mokhtar I-II	Posener-Krieger, Paule (ed.). <i>Mélanges Gamal Eldin Mokhtar</i> 2 vols. (Cairo, 1985)
MHI I-VIII	Epigraphic Survey. <i>Medinet Habu</i> . 8 vols (Chicago, 1930-1970)
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire Cairo
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i> . New York
Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal	Myśliwiec, Karol. <i>Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du nouvel empire</i> . (Warsaw, 1976)
NARC E	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> . New York
NAWG	Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Göttingen
OBO	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i> . Fribourg Göttingen
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
Opet	Epigraphic Survey. <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions from Luxor Temple, Volume I: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall</i> OIP 112. (Chicago, 1994)
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> . London

- Pharaoh Triumphant* Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Pharaoh Triumphant The Life and Times of Ramesses II*. (Warminster, 1982)
- Pharaohs of the Sun* Freed, Rita E., Markowitz, Yvonne J. & D'Auria, Sue H. *Pharaohs of the Sun. Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen* (Boston, 1999)
- PM I-VII Porter, Bertha & Moss, Rosalind, L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts Reliefs and Paintings*. 7 vols. (Oxford, 1927-1952)
- PM I-III 2³ Porter, Bertha & Moss, Rosalind, L. B. Burney, Ethel W. & Mälek, Jaromir *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. 3 vols. second edition. (Oxford, 1960-1978)
- PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. London
- PUMJ *Pennsylvania University Museum Journal* Philadelphia
- Ramessidische Bautätigkeit* Hein, Irmgard. *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*. GO 55 (Wiesbaden, 1991)
- RdE *Revue d'Égyptologie* Paris
- RITANC I-II Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesseide Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. 2 vols. (Oxford, 1993-1999)
- RITA I-II Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesseide Inscriptions Translated and Annotated. Translations*. 2 vols. (Oxford, 1993-1994)
- Road to Kadesh*² Mumane, William J. *The Road to Kadesh*. 2nd edition. SAOC 42. (Chicago, 1990)
- RT *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* Paris
- SAK *Studien zur Altägyptische Kultur* Hamburg
- SAOC *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* Chicago
- Scepter I-II* Hayes, William C. *The Scepter of Egypt* 2 vols. (New York, 1990)

- SCO *Studi Classici e Orientali* Rome
- Schwaller de Lubicz, Karnak Schwaller de Lubicz, R.A. *Les temples de Karnak contribution Karnak à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique*. 2 vols. (Paris, 1982)
- Seels, Coregency Seels, Keith C. *The Coregency of Rameses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*. SAOC 19 (Chicago, 1940)
- Sinai² I-II Gardiner, Alan H., Pect, Thomas E. & Cerný, Jaroslav. *The Inscriptions of the Sinai²*. 2 vols. EES Memoir 55 (London, 1955)
- Spencer, Egyptian Temple Spencer, Patricia. *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study*. (London, 1984)
- Statuen I-V Borchardt, Ludwig. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. 5 vols. Cairo CG I 1294 (Cairo, 1911-1936)
- Statues de divinités Daressy, Georges. *Statues de divinités* CG 38001-39384 2 vols. (Cairo, 1905-1906)
- Statues et statuettes I-III Legrain, Georges. *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*. 3 vols. Cairo CG 42001-42250. (Cairo, 1906-1925)
- Südliche Räume Brunner, Helmut. *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*. (Mainz, 1977)
- Tempel Sethos' I Osing, Jürgen. *Der Tempel Sethos' I: Die Reliefs und Inschriften* vol. I. (Mainz, 1982)
- Temple of Rameses I Winlock, Herbert E. *The Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*. (New York, 1937)
- LGAA Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens
- Urk IV Sethe, Kurt & Heick, Wolfgang. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV. Urkunden der 18 Dynastie* Hefte 1-22. (Leipzig, 1908-1909, 1927-1930 & Berlin, 1955-58)
- VA *Varia Aegyptiaca*, San Antonio
- Vandier, Manuel Vandier, Jacques. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*. 5 vols. (Paris, 1959-1969)
- Winlock, Bas-Reliefs Winlock, Herbert E. *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*. (New York, 1921)

<i>Wb.</i>	Erman, Adolf & Grapow, Hermann <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 6 vols (Berlin, 1926-1963)
Wreszinski, <i>Atlas</i>	Wreszinski, Walter <i>Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte</i> . 3 vols. (Leipzig, n.d.)
<i>ZAS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> Leipzig & Berlin
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> Leipzig & Wiesbaden

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Alexandria	prefix for registration number of object in the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria
Berlin	prefix for registration number of object in the Berlin Museum
BM	prefix for registration number of object in the Berlin Museum
Brooklyn	prefix for registration number of object in the Brooklyn Museum
Cairo	prefix for registration number of object in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
cat.	catalog entry number
cf.	<i>confer</i>
CFEETK	Centre Franco-égyptien d'études des temples de Karnak Luxor
chpt(s).	chapter(s)
CG	prefix for registration number of object in the Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
ed(s).	editor(s)
<i>et al.</i>	<i>et alia</i> , and others
fasc.	fascicle
ff.	and following pages
fig(s).	figure(s)
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
IFAO	L'institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
inv	inventory number

JdE	Journal d'Entrée, Egyptian Museum Cairo
KV	Kings Valley
Leiden	prefix for registration number of object in the Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer, Leiden
Louvre	prefix for registration number of object in the Louvre Museum
MMA	prefix for registration number of object in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
n d.	no date
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
Ny Carlsberg	prefix for registration number of object in the Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
O.	Ostraca
OI	prefix for registration number of object in the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, Chicago
P	Papyrus
Pennsylvania	prefix for registration number of object in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
p(s)	plate(s)
Port Said	prefix for registration number of object in the Port Said Museum
QV	Queens Valley
R ¹	relief of Ramesses II: raised relief, short prenomen
R ²	relief of Ramesses II: sunk relief, short prenomen
R ³	relief of Ramesses II: sunk relief, long prenomen
R I ²	sunk relief of Ramesses I
S ¹	raised relief of Seti I
S ²	sunk relief of Seti I
TT	Theban Tomb
trans	translated by
Turin	prefix for registration number of object in the Museo Egizio, Turin

xlii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Vienna

prefix for registration number of object in the
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

viz

videlicet, namely

CHAPTER ONE

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

1.1 Introduction

Through a multi-disciplinary approach to the evidence a clearer understanding of Seti I's building program and of a number of pertinent historical issues can be achieved. The primary focus of this study will be monumental reliefs, examined from a number of perspectives: epigraphic, art historical, iconographic and philological. All these methodologies are useful when dating reliefs and monuments, or arriving at a more precise internal chronology for individual monuments within the reign and for elucidating the *Baugeschichte* of buildings such as the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. It is also hoped that a multi-disciplinary approach can bridge the gap between art historians and philologists, who are often at odds. In particular there is a great deal of scepticism among philologists towards art historical analysis and the conclusions reached through that method, and by applying a number of techniques to the study of the monuments, it will be shown that wholly independent criteria developed from a number of disciplines can be marshalled to support similar conclusions, and that conclusions reached through the simultaneous use of a number of different methodologies are more reliable than those drawn from only one.

Ultimately, the goal of this examination of Seti's building program is historical. The tendency to focus too closely on a small sample of the available material, selected from what seems most relevant to the historical issue at hand, is a common pitfall of much Egyptological

Historical conclusions reached solely through the use of art historical criteria have often been discounted, even by other art historians. Thus recently J. F. Romano (1990), has challenged W. R. Johnson's (1990) arguments in favor of the alleged coregency of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten.

Yet ancient texts, often both fragmentary and highly rhetorical, are frequently unreliable as *prima facie* evidence. After many years of scholarly wrangling over the Amenhotep III/Akhenaten coregency—most of which centered on art historical criteria—textual evidence was recently put forward as "proof" of this theory only to be retracted soon thereafter. See Allen (1994a). Several views, including his, were given in Allen *et al.* (1994). He then retracted his conclusions in Allen (1994b).

analysis of reliefs and inscriptions, regardless of the methodology employed (art historical, philological and epigraphic). An example of this problem is the question of the earliest decoration in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and the issue of Ramesses I's involvement in it. Previous discussion has focused exclusively on a handful of reliefs naming him, intermixed with others featuring Seti I, yet the precise dating and historical significance of these reliefs has remained elusive (*infra* 3.70-3.72). As we shall see, a holistic approach to all the reliefs in the building naming both Ramesses I and Seti I clearly establishes the sequence of its earliest decoration and Ramesses' role in that project.

Too often, such narrow, problem-based approaches to the study of reliefs have led to erroneous or inconclusive results. A holistic examination of the entire decorative program of an edifice, and not just those items that seem most interesting and historically significant, tends to establish better, firmer conclusions. When seen within the wider context of the whole program, those more salient reliefs and inscriptions often turn out to have a different chronological or historical import than seemed apparent when they were examined in isolation.

The same holistic approach is also useful in examining recurrent patterns in the reliefs themselves. At times it is necessary to assess individual iconographic or textual criteria not just from the period and venue of interest to the historian, but from a broader sequence of such themes, including data otherwise lying beyond the immediate scope of the issue under examination—both in time and place. A good example of this is the question of the rebus decoration on the canopy of the sacred barque of Amen-Re at Thebes under Ramesses II and its potential relevance to the question of his alleged coregency with Seti I (*infra* 4.6ff.). A comparison with both contemporary examples and others dating to before and after the early Nineteenth Dynasty suggests a very different interpretation should be placed on this evidence than has been offered by scholars focusing on only the handful of examples bearing directly on the issue of the coregency itself (*infra* 4.6.3.5).

The present chapter is designed to outline various epigraphic, iconographic and art historical criteria observable in monumental reliefs of the early Nineteenth Dynasty. These were chosen because they are commonly found in reliefs from this period and seemed useful for dating Seti's reliefs and for distinguishing them from those made before and after him by Ramesses I and Ramesses II. The ability to distinguish more precisely Seti's reliefs is of paramount importance for understand-

ing the chronology of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, since Seti I dedicated a number of monuments to his father after the latter's death and because in turn Ramesses II completed a number of large buildings unfinished at Seti's death. Finally, the question of whether Seti was alive or dead when reliefs were first carved for Ramesses II as king, and whether some reliefs featuring Seti were posthumous, is vital to elucidating the problem of their hypothetical coregency.

1.2 Art Historical and Iconographical Criteria

1.2.1 The Relief Style in the Earliest Years of Seti I

Recently Sourouzian has shown that the earliest sculpture of Seti I in the round was executed in a post-Amarna style.² But what of the monumental reliefs from this time? In his important study of New Kingdom reliefs, Mysliwiec detected two stylistic phases in the king's reliefs. These, he believed, corresponded to the earlier part of his reign when the chapel for Ramesses I at Abydos was being decorated and to a later one towards the end of Seti's life during his alleged coregency with Ramesses II.

Mysliwiec's treatment of Seti's later relief style found at Abydos, Gurnah, KV 47 and the Kamak Hypostyle Hall, is masterful, but his dating of the reliefs from the Ramesses I chapel at Abydos to the earliest part of the reign is less convincing. While these were perhaps made before the others, they were clearly not the earliest examples from Seti's reign, and Mysliwiec overstates their affinity with post-Amarna examples, including those made by Ramesses I.

In his catalog, Mysliwiec overlooked a sizable quantity of Seti's reliefs. Most of these are restorations made to existing monuments vandalized under Akhenaten and additions he made to extant buildings. As we shall see, many such reliefs can be assigned to the earliest part of the reign, based on epigraphic and other criteria wholly independent of stylistic analysis. This earlier corpus includes various restorations, wall reliefs from the southern portion of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor and his

² Sourouzian (1993).

³ Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 96ff.

decoration of the Speos Artemidos. Although Mysliwiec lists some of these sources, he does not treat any of them in detail.

The earliest reliefs to be considered in this study are those which can be confidently assigned to Ramesses I's brief reign.⁴ These are found on the interior surfaces of the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak (figs. 3-4).⁵ Badly damaged and largely neglected by Egyptologists, among these reliefs only two of the best preserved examples have been published.⁶ These two share a strong affinity with the art of Ramesses' immediate predecessors (figs. 1-2). The eye is large and almond-shaped and is tilted slightly downwards toward the front. A crease where the eyeball meets the ridge of the eye socket is treated both plastically and with an incised line that traces its edge. The lower rim of the socket is more subtly modeled, while the brow is highly modeled and naturalistic, taking the form of a symmetrical, gradually curving arch. The bridge of the nose is straight, while its tip curves around and slopes diagonally to the base of the nostril at its junction with the philtrum. The forehead appears straight and is only slightly convex, with the change in angle where it meets the bridge of the nose being very subtle. This gives the overall profile between the hairline and the tip of the nose a somewhat concave appearance. Ramesses' mouth is full, with thick lips that bulge at the front before they narrow dramatically near the corner of the mouth. The corner of the mouth itself is a small, deeply incised dot from which a lightly modeled depression curves down and towards the back of the head to denote the cheek. The ear is similar to examples current since the reign of Amenhotep III in having a back-curving tragus.⁷ As in other post-Amarna reliefs, the earlobe is pierced, a custom in representations of male royalty in the Amarna period that continued well into the Ramesside era.

Another, as yet unpublished relief from the Second Pylon that adjoins the present examples depicts the god Atum.⁸ Although contemporary

⁴ Ibid. 93-94.

⁵ PM III, 39 (144-145); *Key Plans* KA 178-188 & 207-217.

⁶ Legrain, *Karnak*, figs. 89-90.

⁷ Cf. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 186 (Tutankhamen), 189 (Ay) & 200 (Horemheb).

⁸ Until late in the reign of Amenhotep III the tragus was always straight; thereafter it was depicted curving backward into the ear. William Murnane, by personal communication. Cf. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, *passim*.

⁹ *Key Plans*, KA 187.

with those just described, it nevertheless differs in a number of ways. The nose is more aquiline and Atum's eye and eyebrow have the traditional thick cosmetic bands. Still, it is in essentially the same mode, and such minor variations in the details of a relief are not unusual. In fact, a similar variant occurs in reliefs of Horemheb as it does with another example from the Tenth Pylon. All Ramesses I's reliefs from the vestibule of the Second Pylon differ measurably from those of Seti I in the latter's temples at Karnak, Gurnah and Abydos. They include a number of tableaux on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall depicting the elder monarch alongside his son carved in the mature Ramesside style that was current towards the end of Seti's reign (*infra* 3.70.3.2).

The reliefs from the Abydos chapel of Ramesses I made under Seti I, which Mysliwiec dates to the earliest part of the latter's reign, also deviate significantly from the style of the Second Pylon reliefs (figs. 5 & 90).¹⁰ At first glance, the Abydos chapel's decoration appears almost identical in style to that from the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak. The mouth is formed in a similar manner on both monuments, but in the mature Ramesside style the lips are less rounded, more wedge-shaped and narrow more evenly towards the corner of the mouth.¹¹ The nose is more aquiline, a variant attested on the Second Pylon, but less so than in later reliefs of Seti from Abydos and elsewhere. The modeled brow with its deep crease between the brow and upper eyelid is another holdover from the post-Amarna style. Despite these affinities, there is one important difference: the shape of the eye itself.

In the mature Ramesside style found on Seti's most important monuments, the eye is no longer symmetrical and almond-shaped but, as Mysliwiec points out, is more rhomboidal (figs. 8).¹² In particular, the lower eyelid is asymmetrical and its shape differs from the upper lid, as is not the case with almond-shaped eyes. The base of its curve is behind the vertical axis of the eye, towards the outer canthus. This asymmetrical shape was often further enhanced by giving the lower

¹⁰ Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs, passim*.

¹¹ Cf. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 205-206 with Legrain, *Akhetna*, figs. 89-90.

¹² *Ibid.*, Mysliwiec, 100-101 & figs. 209, 211 & 213.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 100-101 & fig. 209.

eyelid a more dramatic bulge and by making the line connecting this bulge to the down-turned inner canthus more concave

A relief thought to be from the Ramesses I chapel, Ny Carlsberg AEN 42,¹⁴ is a good example of this Ramesside treatment of the eye and is similar to other reliefs from the chapel now in New York (fig. 90).¹⁵ The same is true of an example from the chapel (fig. 5). On the whole these reliefs are closer in style to those of Seti I in his own Abydos temple than they are to examples of Ramesses I from the vestibule of the Karnak Second Pylon.

A broad sample of Seti I's reliefs can be found that are closer in style to the post-Amarna reliefs of his immediate predecessors than to his own decoration in the mature Ramesside style used later in his reign. Although the examples in question all display traits that may be deemed post-Amarna, there does not seem to have been a single predominant school of reliefs early in Seti's reign.¹⁶ Thus, his reliefs on the Karnak Eighth Pylon differ stylistically from others at Karnak from early in the reign (figs. 7, 9 & 145-146), as do examples from the edifice of Amenhotep II in the court of the Tenth Pylon (fig. 6) and the restored vignette on the historical stela of the same king in front of the Eighth Pylon (fig. 48). Even on the Eighth Pylon, there are two facial types. One has a straight nose that is longer, but smaller at the nostrils, while the aquiline one is thicker at the bottom, with larger nostrils (cf. figs. 7, 9 & 40). Both types occur in examples from the reign of Horemheb, for instance on the granite jambs of the Tenth Pylon (figs. 1-2).

In reliefs Seti added to the rebuilt edifice of Amenhotep II, in the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons, the eye is often slightly tilted, while the line between the front of the upper eyelid and the inner canthus is drawn with a bulge, as on the Tenth Pylon reliefs (fig. 6). This convex shape is even more dramatic on examples from the east tower of the Eighth Pylon, where the upper lid takes the form of a lopsided arch curving down at a steep angle toward the inner canthus

¹⁴ Ibid., fig. 205.

¹⁵ Ibid., figs. 204 & 206. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs*, *passim*.

¹⁶ Cf. Freed's comments in a discussion of the post-Amarna school of art. She notes that during this time, artists worked in a variety of modes and that "style was a product of the background of the artisans, even though subject matter may have been dictated by court or temple." See *Pharaohs of the Sun*, 187-197, especially 193.

¹⁷ *PM II*, 188-189 (585a-f), Lullfray (1979), 140, fig. 110.

(figs. 7, 9 & 145-146). By contrast, in Thutmoseid examples this line was concave.¹⁸ This shape also differs from the almond-shaped eyes found under Amenhotep III, Akhenaten and the post-Amarna pharaohs.¹⁹ Proportionally this late post-Amarna eye is massive and bulky compared with both the more slender rendition that preceded it and the Ramesside forms that appeared subsequently.

On the Eighth Pylon, the two large Amen figures on the north face of the east tower lack the deep creases between the upper eyelid and brow; their noses are also straighter and less aquiline (fig. 9). The image of Seti opposite Amen on the lower register has a more prominent aquiline nose and a large eye, which is shorter and thicker than the more slender eyes of the two Amens (fig. 146). The pharaoh's eye is also more tilted and the crease above the upper eyelid is indicated by a deeply incised groove. Yet all these examples are in keeping with the bulky eyes found on the Tenth Pylon jambs (cf. figs. 1-2, 7 & 9). The lips on all these figures resemble examples of Ramesses I from the vestibule of the Second Pylon, being thick and rounded, almost puffy, at the front and narrowing suddenly towards the corner of the mouth.

These and similar variants can be found on many of the reliefs Seti restored in his earliest years. They also occur in his decoration of the Memphite chapel of Ptah,²⁰ in the Speos Artemidos²¹ and in the south part of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple.²² As with the work of Seti's immediate predecessors, no one stylistic canon seems to have been in use at this time: rather, variations on themes found in the reliefs of Horemheb and Ramesses I were followed. The evolution toward the mature Ramesside style seems to have begun by regnal year four, as seen on a stele of that year from Kurkur oasis (*infra* 3.130).

Later in the reign, when the decoration of his greatest projects was underway at Kamak, Garnah and Abydos, reliefs in the mature Ramesside style were produced under the direction of a small group of master craftsmen and sculptors. The result was a large corpus of more stylistically uniform reliefs executed after the new Ramesside style had

¹⁸ Cf. Mysiowiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 39, 68, 73, 83 & 109.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, figs. 143ff.

²⁰ Sourouzian (1993), pl. 48b.

²¹ Bickel & Chappaz (1988), 21. Here the tilted, almond-shaped eye has been retained.

²² Epigraphic Survey, *Opet*, pls. 53-55, 56 & 60.

been firmly established. By contrast, the smaller, more scattered body of examples carved in a stylistic tradition inherited from the late Eighteenth Dynasty has not been well understood by art historians.

1.2.2 Posture of the King's Figure

In New Kingdom ritual scenes, the royal image is portrayed in a variety of stances. Usually, pharaoh stands fully erect while performing a ritual act, for example when offering incense or a libation (fig. 12). The second, most common pose shows him kneeling with his knees together. Some other postures were used in ritual episodes, but they are seen less often. Usually, standing royal figures are shown leaning forward or stooping, while a kneeling one may either be semi-prostrate with his knees spread apart or have his torso inclined forward.

There is a striking feature of ritual scenes dating to the reign of Seti I: the king is frequently depicted standing or kneeling with his torso inclined forward (figs. 10-11). One also finds rarer examples of Seti crouched down or prostrate in abject humility before the gods (fig. 26). This stooped posture is interesting not only from a religious or iconographical perspective, but also as an indicator of chronology, because the pose common during his reign is not found under Ramesses I and disappears again almost immediately after the accession of Ramesses II. It can thus serve to distinguish reliefs actually dating to the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I from posthumous images carved on their behalf by their successors.

It should be noted that the stooped human figure is often portrayed in reliefs and painting throughout Egyptian history. Non-royal individuals are often shown this way, engaged in various activities of everyday life and expressing respect to the sovereign, the gods and their social betters. During the Amarna period, commoners, foreigners and even high officials were seen doubled over or prostrating themselves in exaggerated poses showing their devotion to Akhenaten.¹¹ In post-Amarna times, a renewed sense of piety and religious fervor towards the traditional pantheon manifested itself through, among other means, the portrayal of non-royal individuals bowing while paying obeisance to the

¹¹ E.g., Smith & Redford (1976), *passim*.

gods (fig. 138).²⁴ The present study, however, is strictly a discussion of the iconography of the royal effigy in New Kingdom ritual scenes, and the observations and conclusions presented do not necessarily apply to representations of non-royals or of pharaoh himself in any other context.²⁵

1.2.3 Standing Figures that Bow or Stoop

Bowing figures in two-dimensional representations in Egyptian art can be defined *vis à vis* the Egyptian proportional canon. Normally, the human figure is portrayed as standing fully erect. When the standard grid used to align a figure to the artistic canon of proportions is applied, the vertical axis of those standing (defined by the mid-point between the two shoulders) intersects the ear.²⁶ In New Kingdom representational art, this same vertical line meets the intersection of the interior lines of the two legs at the groin.²⁷ A fully erect figure, then, may be defined as one where a vertical line intercepts both the groin and the ear.²⁸

When a vertical line is plotted on a bowing figure so that it intersects the groin, the ear and mid-point of the shoulders are generally found to be substantially forward of this axis. By applying the proportional grid to bowing figures, one also finds that the outer edge of the rear shoulder lies on or forward of the vertical line that intersects the rear of the calf on the hindmost leg.²⁹ In an erect figure, the edge of the back shoulder lies between one-half to one complete square behind the edge of the calf.³⁰

In most cases, the inclination of stooped figures is dramatic enough to be quite obvious, and is at times so extreme that the king seems

²⁴ E.g. the lunette scenes of the two stelae from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb depicting him bent forward in adoration of the gods (BM 551 & St. Petersburg 1361). Cf. Martin, *Horemheb*, pls. 24-25. The same pose can be found on many private funerary stelae of the post-Amarna era.

²⁵ Such as the traditional smiting scene where the king's torso is inclined forward to smite the enemy, or in other vigorous stances found in battle reliefs.

²⁶ Robins (1994), 94, & figs. 5.1-5.2, 5.4 & 5.6.

²⁷ As defined with examples from the reign of Seti in Jversen (1975), pls. 13-14. This central axis is defined by his vertical line "M".

²⁸ Robins (1994), fig. 2.3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, figs. 5.5, 8.4 & 8.7.

³⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, *passim*.

almost ready to fall over. There are some representations, however, in which the stance seems to be one of a forward inclination, but where the pose barely satisfies the metrological criteria specified above. This is the case in a number of royal figures from Seti I's Kamak battle reliefs, wherein he appears to be genuflecting slightly while presenting captives and war booty to the Theban triad (fig. 13).¹ However, when the proportional grid is applied to these figures, one finds that the tip of the back shoulder lines up with the calf, but the ear lies only slightly forward of the vertical line intersecting the groin. In these cases, the desired impression was achieved by making the rear shoulder slightly longer than the forward one, a deviation from the standard canon, with the shoulders of the same width.² The effect was further heightened by making the line of the back between the shoulder and the buttocks more vertical than in the normal canon, while the line of the chest is more oblique. The overall impression is more subtle than that of dramatically tilted figures whose ears were set further ahead of the central axis. There are other deviations from the canon: two-dimensional representations of Seti, with his head cocked so that he looks up slightly (fig. 14),³ or where his shoulders are uneven, with the forward one lower than the one behind and the upper edge of the shoulder consisting of a diagonal line sloping down toward the front (cf. *infra* 3.38). This final class of figures has no characteristics in common with stooped ones, and may be defined as erect.

1.2.4 Functional Versus Honorific Bowing

The bowing pose is most commonly found in ritual scenes of the king making an offering to a deity. A closer inspection of these vignettes reveals that in some cases he bends down because of the ritual act he is performing; that is to say, he is compelled to stoop over to complete his task (fig. 1). In tableaux where this is not the case, the bowing must be for honorific reasons *vis à vis* the god.

A survey of ritual scenes from before and after Seti indicates that the majority of genuflecting royal figures occurring in these tableaux show

¹ Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pls. 8, 14, 32 & 36.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, pls. 8, 32 & 36.

³ E.g., column 132 of the Hypostyle Hall facade. Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 14; Abydos IV, pl. 49-50.

functional bowing, as required by two episodes from the foundation ceremony. In two panels from the south half of the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, Ramesses II hacks the earth with a mattock and forms a brick in a mold that sits upon a low table.⁸ Other examples depict the same posture. In a tableau from one of the side rooms to the north of the Middle Kingdom court at Karnak, Thutmose III is shown bent over as he hacks the earth with a mattock. His kneeling figure is also inclined forward, forming a brick.⁹ In a relief from the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, he is shown again performing these two episodes of the foundation ceremony, but with a very pronounced stoop as he hacks the earth,¹⁰ and in this case also, he leans forward as he kneels to mold the first brick.¹¹ In another class of ritual episode, pharaoh bends forward when laying hands on or embracing the figure of a god,¹² or to place a collar around Amen's neck.¹³ In some ritual scenes the king must bow down because the offering table is quite low (fig. 11). An actual silver example from the tomb of Psasennes I measured only 59.5 cm tall.¹⁴ Thus, when he lays hands on the altar,¹⁵ roasts a spit duck, or fans the flames, he is obliged to lean forward.¹⁶

Even before the reign of Seti I, however, one can find a few examples in which the sovereign seems to bow for honorific reasons. In a magazine north of the Sixth Pylon at Karnak, Thutmose III leans forward to libate the barque of Amen-Re. He is unusually portrayed, with the near shoulder in profile and the far one *en face*.¹⁷ On the left

⁸ GHK I.1, pls. 24-25.

⁹ Both scenes are found on the south wall of Room 42. PM II, 125. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pl. 174.

¹⁰ PM II, 468 (42); *Key Plans*, MHB 159; Mumane (1980), 78, fig. 64.

¹¹ PM II, 468 (42); *Key Plans*, MHB 159-160.

¹² Thutmose II *Cher el Bahri*, pt. I, pl. 18; Hatshepsut *chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 10, nos. 15 and 56, pl. 15, no. 4; Amenhotep III *Gayer temple*, fig. 46; *südlichen Räume*, pls. 29, 150, 53, 55, 151. One particular version of this type of episode showing the king embracing the figure of the god Kamutef is found already in the Middle Kingdom in the White Chapel of Senwosret I. Lacau and Chevrier (1956), scenes 5, 6, and 21.

¹³ PM II², 324 (138); Abdel-Razik (1986), 94-95.

¹⁴ Freed (1987), cat. 23.

¹⁵ Hatshepsut *chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 15, no. 308; Amenhotep III *südlichen Räume*, pl. 102; Seti I, GHK I.1, pl. 145.

¹⁶ Amenhotep III *südlichen Räume*, pls. 140-141.

¹⁷ PM II², 104 (310).

panel of his sphinx stela from Giza, Thutmose IV bows slightly to the Sphinx.⁴⁴ At Luxor Temple, Amenhotep III bows while censuring and libating to the sacred barque of Amen-Re in two vignettes from the barque sanctuary (fig. 17).⁴⁵ Similarly he bends honorifically while pouring water to purify the statues of Amen and Mut.⁴⁶ Amenhotep also leans forward while shaking a pair of sistra,⁴⁷ offering papyrus stalks, libating Amen⁴⁸ and while offering flowers he has just plucked from the marshes.⁴⁹ It must be noted that, in the majority of cases, for each tableaux in which the king bows for honorific reasons—and sometimes even for practical ones—there are parallel instances in which he stands erect while performing the same act.⁵⁰ Only a handful of acts seem always to have required a bowing stance.⁵¹ Late in the reign of Amenhotep III a new style of relief came into use, characterized by high relief and baroque iconography that emphasized pharaoh's divine aspect,⁵² and in many cases Amenhotep is portrayed bowing for no practical reason in ritual scenes in this style (fig. 16).⁵³ It is not clear,

⁴⁴ *PM* III, 17, 38–39; Bryan (1991), 144ff. & pls. 4–5.

⁴⁵ *PM* II, 324 & 38; Abdel-Raziq, 986–99 and 101. It has been suggested that the figure was recut in the post-Amarna era. Bryan, *op. cit.*, *Long Sun*, 90 & fig. IV–3. This dates to the reign of Seti I according to Christian Lechen. *peruna.comunicacion*. It is likely, however, that the figure was adjusted by Amenhotep III. *op. cit.*, 170–3, & n. 381.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Abdel-Raziq, 85. Again, both figures were adjusted.

⁴⁷ Gayet, *Temple*, fig. 124.

⁴⁸ *PM* II, 320 (118); Gayet, *Temple*, fig. 67. Personal observation of the scene revealed that the king is definitely bowing here. Gayet's rendition not only fails to show this, but depicts him with an open palm, while in reality he holds a bouquet of lotus flowers.

⁴⁹ *PM* II, 328 (156); *Key Plans* L& 256–258.

⁵⁰ So the king can be shown in a fully erect posture while purifying the god's statue, laying hands on the god, placing a pectoral around his neck, embracing him or placing his hands on an altar stand. Cf. *Studien zum Raum*, pls. 52–53, 127, 134–135, 161–162.

⁵¹ So the king always leans forward during the foundation ceremony, when he hacks the earth or makes the first brick, also when he embraces Karnutiuf or when he must reach down towards a low offering table.

⁵² Johnson (1990), 34ff.

⁵³ E.g., figures of Amenhotep III in the large barque scene on the east face of the north wing of the Third Pylon at Karnak. *PM* II, 61 (113); *Key Plans* K& 04. *Dazzling Sun*, 98, fig. IV–20. For blocks with a similar pose from his granary, still largely unpublished, see *ibid.*, 102, fig. IV–23.

however, what relationship, if any, the pose bears to the elaborate "deification iconography" found with it.

From the above, it is apparent that in ritual scenes before the reign of Seti I, aside from a concentration of images dating to the latest part of Amenhotep III's reign, pharaoh was seldom portrayed with an inclined torso. Although this posture is known as early as the Middle Kingdom, it is largely confined to contexts in which the king is required to bend forward to accomplish the appointed task, with only a handful of instances in which he does so out of reverence.

1.2.5 Distribution of Bowing Figures Under Seti

None of the small corpus of reliefs contemporary with Ramesses I, such as those inside the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak, show him inclined forward for honorific reasons.³⁴ He is represented in this manner in a number of posthumous reliefs in the Abydos chapel dedicated to him by his son and on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall that can be dated after his death on independent grounds (fig. 14, 105).³⁵

During much of Seti I's reign, however, he was often depicted bowing in the presence of the gods on various monuments. Although a number of examples may be assigned to the category of functional bowing³⁶ (figs. 11, 79 & 116), in the vast majority of cases there is no apparent need for Seti to lean forward, and we may suppose he is intentionally humbling himself before the gods and is not doing so out of necessity (fig. 10). This stance is very common, although not universal, in his Abydos temple³⁷ while it is virtually ubiquitous in reliefs carved for Seti in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak³⁸ and in his speos at Kanais (*infra* 3.12.7). At Gurnah, moreover, it is found in rooms where the decoration is done in the name of Seti I alone (figs.

³⁴ Cf. PMH 39 (144-145), *Key Plans* KA 178-188 & 707.2-7. Only one inclined figure of Ramesses I is found on the vestibule of the Second Pylon where he embraces Amen-kamutef. PMH 39 (144), second register, scene 1 (*Am Plans* KA 174).

³⁵ Abydos: *Bas Reliefs*, pl. 4. Karnak: *GHHK I*, pls. 1, 3, 131, 133 & 138. On the date of the Abydos and Karnak reliefs, *infra* 3.54 & 3.70.3.2.

³⁶ *GHHK I.1*, pl. 145.

³⁷ *Abydos I-IV*, *passim*.

³⁸ Except for a purification scene on the west wall (*GHHK I.1*, pl. 148), and episodes on the northern piers of the clerestory.

113 & 116-117), whereas in areas where the tableaux name Seti and Ramesses II, both rulers stand fully erect (figs 118, 120 & 124).⁵⁹

On many stelae dateable from throughout the reign, we find that lunette panels can show the king either bowing or standing erect. While some stelae have double vignettes, both postures are never used on the same one. On all the stelae before year four of Seti's reign he stands fully upright in ritual contexts (figs 107-109).⁶⁰ Likewise, a few undated stelae that on stylistic grounds can be placed in the middle or later years of the reign also portray him standing erect.⁶¹ The earliest definite attestation of this iconography is found on a stela from the region of Kurkur oasis of year four (*infra* 3.130). The bowing posture is most common in vignettes on stela dateable from year four and later,⁶² but, again, it is not universal even then.⁶³

From the evidence cited above it would seem that the bowing posture was not adopted until around year four. It was then used simultaneously with the conventional stance during the middle and later years of the reign, becoming predominant during his final years, especially in the decoration of Seti's major temple projects at Abydos and Karnak, and late in the reign at Gurnah. The fact that his last dated monument, the year eleven stela from Gebel Barkal, features him standing erect need not be taken as proof that he reverted to the traditional pose at the end of his reign, for his latest work at both Abydos and Karnak features the bowing stance.⁶⁴ Moreover, he

⁵⁹ On the scope and chronological significance of this phenomenon: *infra* 3.84-3.134.13.

⁶⁰ Year one: larger Beth Shan stela (*infra* 3.4), Karnak Ptah temple stela (*infra* 3.72), Karnak Anubis temple stela (*infra* 3.71), larger Buhen stela (*infra* 3.4), smaller Buhen stela (*infra* 3.42). Year four: Nauri stela (*infra* 3.52). Likewise a pair of undated stelae dateable to the earlier part of the reign based on other criteria: Tell es-Sihab stela (*infra* 3.3), "Niometer" stela from Aswan (*infra* 3.115).

⁶¹ Two Wadi Hamamat rock inscriptions, nos 213-214 (*infra* 3.124 & 3.125); Tell Nebi Mendu stela (*infra* 3.11); Gebel Doscha rock stela (*infra* 3.148).

⁶² Perhaps from the middle years of the reign is a votive stela from Edfu (*infra* 3.114). Year nine: two Aswan stelae (*infra* 3.20-3.21). Also probably from year nine or so the stela of Panub (*infra* 3.29). A group of four votive stelae from Gurnah are also probably quite late (*infra* 3.85).

⁶³ Year eight: Sinus stela no. 247 (*infra* 3.6), year eleven Gebel Barkal stela (*infra* 3.153).

⁶⁴ On the problem of dating the precise extent of Seti's work in the Gurnah Temple: *infra* 3.84-3ff.

employed both modes of representing himself at Gurnah and Abydos, with stooped figures predominating, while in the Karnak Hypostyle and Kanais shrine bowing figures occur almost to the total exclusion of upright ones

1.2.6 Bowing Kings after Seti I

With the accession of Ramesses II, the traditional erect posture seems to have reappeared almost immediately. With the exception of a number of examples in the southern half of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and others that Ramesses II completed in his father's Abydos temple (fig. 88), very few reliefs carved during Ramesses' reign feature him bowing in veneration of the gods, and in many cases he seems to have been completing decoration laid out in paint for Seti (*infra* 3.70.3.6 & fig. 18). Only a handful of stooped royal effigies occur on one of his own monuments dating to the earliest years of his reign.⁶⁵ At Beit el-Wali we find this pose in only a few episodes that Ramesses had carved in bas relief in the two inner rooms of the temple.⁶⁶ Thereafter he is almost never portrayed bowing in adoration of the gods in ritual scenes, and he seems to have made a conscious effort to differentiate himself from his father in this regard.

In later reigns, the stooped posture reappears in selected offering scenes, especially in monuments at Karnak near the Hypostyle Hall. So, for example, Ramesses III employs this iconography in a number of tableaux in the temple he built in the First Court. Although some of these feature him adoring the barque of Amen-Re,⁶⁷ where this stance had become traditional, he bows honorifically in several others.⁶⁸ Ramesses IV often bows in the ritual episodes that he added to most of the columns in the Karnak Hypostyle. Although he appears upright in a number of cases, the majority of these scenes portray him bowing, the

⁶⁵ E.g. in the Karnak Hypostyle cf. *CHIR* 11 pls. 7, 34, 53, 55, 57, 59-61, 75-76. Some of these were laid out by Seti; in particular the scenes on the south gateway others were solely the work of Ramesses. In Seti's Abydos temple, reliefs in the first hypostyle hall and the south wing of the temple consist largely of tableaux laid out in paint under Seti.

⁶⁶ *Beit el-Wali* pls. 19(C-D), 22, 29, 31, 32(C-F), 33 and 44.

⁶⁷ *Epigraphic Survey* (1936), pls. 57-58.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 8, 10-11, 24 & 45.

latter pose occurring in almost all his wall decoration in the Khonsu temple (fig. 23).⁶⁴ Finally, Ramesses VII is represented in a similar manner in his tomb.⁶⁵ There are other examples in reliefs from throughout the Ramesside period, but these are more isolated, and it is beyond the scope of the present study to catalog them all. It is clear, however, that, with the exception of Ramesses IV, none of Seti I's descendants employed the bowing posture in ritual reliefs on as large a scale as he had done, and such figures appear in only a small fraction of the ritual scenes in Ramesside temple reliefs from the time of Ramesses II on.

The bowing posture was quickly abandoned after Ramesses II's accession, suggesting that it was meant to show royal deference to the gods by a form of self-abasement usually expected of non-royal individuals towards their gods and social betters. With royalty, this pose occurs only sporadically before and after Seti's reign, and it seems to have become the predominant method of depicting him from about four years after his accession. In adopting this pose in religious art, he may have extended to the monarch the same image of pious humility towards the gods commonly found among private individuals in the post-Amarna era, who are often depicted bowing in adoration of the gods on their funerary stela.

1.2.7 Kneeling Figures with Knees together

In most cases where the pharaoh is shown kneeling before the gods in ritual scenes, he does so with his knees together and his torso erect. This pose can be found in sculpture in the round for hundreds of years before the advent of the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁶⁶ Reliefs depicting pharaoh in

⁶⁴ Cf. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pls. 260-262, 264-265, 267.

⁶⁵ PM I 2: 495-497. An on-site inspection of the tomb by the author in 1995 revealed that this iconography was common in its wall scenes.

⁶⁶ There are many kneeling Thutmoside statues and statuettes, which are often depicted presenting *mn*-jars or offering tables, including several colossal statues of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahri (Scepter II 94-96 with fig. 53); a statuette of Thutmose III offering *mn*-jars (Saleh & Sourouzian [1987] cat. 35), & Cairo CG 42073 a life-sized statue of Amenhotep II kneeling with an offering table (Solis [1992], 119 fig. 24). For a history of the kneeling statue type, see Russmann (1973), 103-104.

this manner are also common in the Thutmoseid period.⁷² As with standing figures, there are occasional examples in which a kneeling king is shown inclining forward. Here again, one finds instances where he does so to complete the assigned ritual task, as in two examples where Thutmose III kneels while making a brick.⁷³ In other cases he bends down while kneeling for apparently honorific reasons, especially in coronation episodes, but these are few,⁷⁴ and the majority of kneeling royal figures have erect torsos in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Under Seti I, however, there is a high incidence of kneeling figures with inclined torsos. They are especially common in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.⁷⁵ Seti is often depicted this way elsewhere: in reliefs at Gurnah (*infra* 3.84.3.1) (figs. 19 & 21), Abydos,⁷⁶ and on numerous other monuments such as stelae, naoi, obelisks, doorjambs, lintels and offering tables. His torso is occasionally portrayed fully erect, as on a lintel from Abydos (*infra* 3.61) (fig. 15), but more often it is tilted forward, with the inclination varying from a small to a dramatic angle. Even when the angle is slight, it contrasts with kneeling figures of other pharaohs portrayed fully upright, with rigid torsos.

1.2.8 Kneeling Figures with Splayed Knees

In a variant of the kneeling pose, the king is depicted with his knees spread apart. Here his torso is always shown inclined forward (figs. 20 & 22). The same is largely true of most representations before and after Seti's reign, and may be due to the nature of the posture. It is quite possible to kneel this way, although holding the torso fully upright puts

⁷² E.g. *chapelle d'Hatchepsout* pl. 3, block no. 233, pl. 11, nos. 23, 95, 114–45, 172, 261 & 233, pl. 20, nos. 260 & 275.

⁷³ Karnak room 42, *PVI* II, 25 (455); *Act. Plans*, KD 524. Schwalbe de Lubiez, *Karnak II*, pl. 174. Medinet Habu, Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, *PVI* I, 468 (42); *Act. Plans* MHB 159–160.

⁷⁴ E.g. a series of reliefs in the four-columned hall at Luxor Temple, *PVI* II, 321–322 [26] (top register), a figure of Amenhotep III before Atum on a small faience cup (*Darwin* 504 cat. 106 & 415, pl. 55); likewise he kneels facing Amen-Re in an investiture scene from Luxor Temple (Gayet, *Temple*, fig. 98).

⁷⁵ E.g., *GHHK* I I, pls. 135, 189–192, 200, 218.

⁷⁶ E.g. *Abydos I* pls. 4 & 13; *ibid.* IV pls. 50–51. These are particularly common in the chapel of Re, although the inclination is often slight. Cf. *ibid.* IV pls. 13–19.

pressure on the small of the back, and it may have been more comfortable to lean forward slightly.

Examples of the splayed-knee pose are rare before the reign of Seti I.⁷⁷ Most examples in relief represent not the monarch himself in this manner, but rather a statuette of him, usually as part of an elaborate ointment jar holder. In the four-columned hall at Luxor Temple, he is shown consecrating a series of these containers that take the form of a long base supporting a statuette of the king kneeling with knees splayed while grasping an ointment jar with his hands.⁷⁸ The shoulders are usually rendered in profile, as is common with most Egyptian two-dimensional representations of statuary,⁷⁹ and the torso is inclined forward at a sharp angle. Other examples show both shoulders (fig. 5). Pharaoh himself is depicted in this pose at least once on a block from a granary Amenhotep III dedicated at Karnak late in his reign.⁸⁰ Under Seti the splayed-knee pose is used more frequently in ritual contexts. The sovereign may assume it while performing a variety of ritual acts, such as elevating trays of food offerings, ointment jars and the like. He also kneels this way to be invested with *hwt-sd* emblems and regalia (fig. 22).⁸¹ Although found occasionally in wall reliefs,⁸² it is perhaps more common in panels decorating offering tables (figs. 20 & 91). After Seti's reign, splayed-knee kneeling figures are less common.⁸³

1.2.9 Prostrate Figures

There is a final variant of the kneeling posture, depicting the king in a prostrate or semi-prostrate attitude. Most examples are known from statuettes or representations of statuettes. A steatite figurine of Amenhotep III (New York MMA 66.99.29) is an example of a semi-prostrate

⁷⁷ E.g. in a vignette on the back pillar of the siliceous sandstone cult statue of Amenhotep III recently discovered at Luxor Temple. El Saghir (1991), 28, fig. 52.

⁷⁸ PM II, 321–322 (26); *Key Plans* LE, 171–72; *Cavet. Temple*, figs. 29–30. See too an unfinished statuette of Akhenaten: *Pharaohs of the Sun*, cat. 132.

⁷⁹ Sourouzian (1993), 239ff.

⁸⁰ *Dazzling Sun*, 339, fig. XI.10.

⁸¹ *GHHK* I.1, pl. 192.

⁸² *GHHK* I.1, pls. 143, 192, 194 & 215; *Abydos* IV, pls. 6 & 9.

⁸³ E.g. Ramesses III in a decorative window grill from above a doorway in the model palace at Medinet Habu. Hölscher *Excavation* 3, pl. I, pl. 36b.

figure.⁸⁴ Three statuettes from early in the reign of Ramesses II are more fully prostrate.⁸⁵ In each example he kneels with his legs spread apart, while his arms are stretched forward, nearly touching the ground while grasping an offering table. His torso is almost parallel to the ground. Fully prostrate figures are very rare in reliefs, few examples of this pose are attested.⁸⁶ Most come from two votive temple models of Seti I. On the celebrated temple model from Brooklyn, eight images of the ruler are shown prostrate, with knees splayed and head arched up at an uncomfortable angle, looking forward (fig. 26).⁸⁷ Each figure manages to hold aloft trays of offerings, jars of incense or wine. These poses are close to those of the semi-prostrate statuette of Amenhotep III and the prostrate ones of Ramesses II. Two fragments of another model from Thebes show figures in a similar pose but not crouching as low as those on the Brooklyn model.⁸⁸

1.2.10 The Long Wig Associated with Seti I

During the early Nineteenth Dynasty the king is often portrayed wearing a type of long wig not previously seen in royal iconography (fig. 25). It is distinguished by its long lappets and is composed of individual tendrils of wavy hair.⁸⁹ These tendrils are gathered together in tight braids near the ends, the braided portions being more narrow.⁹⁰ In many representations the individual tendrils of hair are often shown as uniform strands that do not narrow toward the end,⁹¹ especially in

⁸⁴ MMA 66-99-28. Fischer (1967), 260, fig. 8.

⁸⁵ Cairo CG 42142-42143 & 42144. *Statues et statuettes II*, pls 4-6. Freed (1987) cat. 5 (= Cairo CG 42142).

⁸⁶ Abydos IV pl. 46.

⁸⁷ Badawy & Riefstahl (1972), 5, figs. 3-5.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II, figs. 15-16; Berg (1990), figs. 13-15.

⁸⁹ E.g., Cairo CG 751, a statuette of Seti I: *Statuen III*, 74 & pl. 139.

⁹⁰ Cf. a statuette and statue of the king from Abydos in Cairo CG 751 (*Statuen III* 74 & pl. 139) and Vienna AS 5913 (Rogge [1990] 67-73). This is similar to the enveloping wig worn by high-ranking women in the later half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, e.g. the statue fragment of the wife of general Nakhmin, Cairo CG 779B. Ruxmann (1989), 137.

⁹¹ Cairo CG 42150, a statuette of Ramesses III. Corteggiani (1986), cat. 89, 39-40. Saleh & Sourouzian (1987), cat. 225.

reliefs.⁹¹ The ends themselves are occasionally portrayed as tightly spiraled curls.⁹²

In royal examples, the strands at the back and sides of the wig are always shown as falling to just above the top of the shoulders, becoming progressively longer towards the front, where they lie over the shoulders as lappets that cover the ears. The strands over the forehead do not extend below the hairline.

Three versions of this wig can be distinguished. The first of these, type A, is by far the most common (figs 25A & 101). With type A, exemplified by Cairo CG 751, the length of the braided portions near the end of the strands is uniform. With type B, the ends of the strands are arranged in a tiered pattern of three or more layers (fig 25B).⁹³ The difference in the length of each successive layer of strands increases from the forehead to the side of the wig. This is surely not the Nubian wig worn by Amenhotep II, and later in the Amarna period by Neferiti, given that the Nubian wig has no lappets.⁹⁴ Finally with type C, such as Vienna AS 5910, the braided portions become progressively longer from the side of the wig to the inner edge of the lappets, where they touch the sides of the face (fig 25C). In relief this feature is represented by a curving line that runs down from the cheek bone to the shoulder.⁹⁵

Once it was adopted as royal headgear, the long wig was embellished with a uraeus placed at the center of the forehead, its tail coiled up and over the top of the head, and a pair of crimped red streamers was attached to the wig at the nape of the neck. The wig seems to have become part of the royal coiffure with the accession of Ramesses I, but only one example contemporary with his reign is known.⁹⁶ It is also attested from the beginning of Seti's reign on the larger Buhen stela of year one (*infra* 3.141),⁹⁷ and on the Ahabaster stela of year one from Karnak (*infra* 3.71). Seti is portrayed wearing it in every possible

⁹¹ Louvre B7 from the tomb of Seti I (Myszwiec, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 213).

⁹² Cf. a relief of general Amenemhat from the late eighteenth Dynasty with an example from Seti's Abydos temple. Stierlin (1992), 125 & 147.

⁹³ Cf. a relief from the tomb of Seti I now in Florence, no. 2468 (Myszwiec, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 21) with Cairo CG 42150 (Corteggiani [1986], 140).

⁹⁴ Cf. Myszwiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs 101.04 & 63 with *infra* fig. 25B.

⁹⁵ E.g. in a relief from Maya's tomb. Martin, *Hiduen Tombs*, 58, pl. 8.

⁹⁶ Van Haarlem (1986), 9352.

⁹⁷ BM 1189, the larger Buhen Stela of year one.

context in war, civil ceremonies⁹⁹ and ritual episodes of every kind. In the Karnak war reliefs, he sports it in about half the episodes, and has the blue crown in the other half.¹⁰⁰ The wig is also found in wall reliefs from his temples at Gurnah, Abydos and Kanais, in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in his tomb in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁰¹ It also occurs in vignettes from both royal and private stelae.

After Seti's death, the wig fell into relative disuse under Ramesses II. Most examples date to the earlier part of his reign, during which it was already far less common than under Seti I,¹⁰² and it largely disappeared for the balance of his tenure.¹⁰³ With the accession of Merenptah, it came back into regular use, and representations of pharaoh wearing this wig in two- and three-dimensional representational art remain common until the end of the Ramesside age.

The long wig's origins as a piece of royal headgear may be traced to the pre-royal careers of both Ramesses I and Seti I. During the late Eighteenth Dynasty, a bewildering array of wigs came into fashion.¹⁰⁴ Some can be associated with different social ranks and with professions, including styles employed in the military.¹⁰⁵ An exact parallel to type A, the most common variant of Seti's wig, occurs in several reliefs from the Memphite tomb of a General Amenemnef.¹⁰⁶ It was also worn by

⁹⁹ Louvre C213: Mysiłowicz, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 215.

¹⁰⁰ Among the better preserved examples are from the *Battle Reliefs*: pls. 3, 6, 12, 29, 34 & 35.

¹⁰¹ E.g. in the Karnak Hypostyle (*GHHK I I*: pls. 149, 154, 163, 166 & 178) and the Abydos temple (*Abydos I-IV, passim*).

¹⁰² E.g. in reliefs in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in the battle reliefs on the south exterior wall of that building, *GHHK I I*: pls. 7, 57, 62, 93, 106, 111. The battle reliefs on the south wall are to be published by the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project of the University of Memphis, William J. Murnane, Director, *Pf II*: 57-58 (= 71-74).

¹⁰³ So it is not found in any of the reliefs commemorating the battle of Kadesh, where Ramesses II always sports the *khepresh* headdress.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *passim*: Martin, *Corpus*; idem, *Horemheb*; idem, *Hidden Tombs*.

¹⁰⁵ Such as another distinctive wig with long lappets found in depictions of Horemheb during his pre-royal career. Cf. his statue New York MMA 23.10.1 with reliefs in the tomb: Martin, *Horemheb*: pls. 106-107 & pls. 155A-C. This type differs from the Seti wig in a number of ways, in particular its lappets part at the nape of the neck and fall over the shoulders.

¹⁰⁶ Martin, *Corpus*, no. 1a-b, 2, 4; Yoyotte (1968), 33; Snerlin (1992), 125. Louvre B6 is now said to represent the general's parents, *Pharaohs of the Sun*, cat. 258.

other high officials both military and non-military.¹⁰⁷ Type A is less common than types B and C in late Eighteenth Dynasty private examples. Type C was often worn by high officials, among them General Horemheb,¹⁰⁸ Maya¹⁰⁹ and others.¹¹⁰ Type B is also connected with high officials of the period, including general Horemheb.¹¹¹ The classic type A seems to be most closely associated with very high-ranking military officers, such as General Amenemhet. It may have been adopted by the first two sovereigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty as a way to emphasize their military credentials. Later, Ramesses II may have rejected it because it was a reminder of his family's non-royal origins.

1.3 Epigraphic Criteria

1.3.1 Alteration of Existing Reliefs

One of the primary methodological approaches used throughout this work is the epigraphic analysis of monumental reliefs portraying Seti I. The alteration, termed recutting, of a relief subsequent to its completion is a common phenomenon associated with royal reliefs in the New Kingdom. Today, it might appear to us that the aesthetic integrity of reworked reliefs was a low priority for the Egyptians, but this is because the layers of plaster and paint commonly used to complete—and to mask—these alterations have largely disappeared.¹¹² It is the very absence of these finishing touches that allows us to study the phenomenon of recutting and to ascertain why the Egyptians altered existing monuments.

In the case of Seti I's reliefs in particular, scholars have tended to see all such recutting as having been made for the same reasons. In fact, reliefs could be modified for a number of different reasons. Nor were all

¹⁰⁷ Cf. a relief from the tomb of Maya (Martin, *Hidden Tombs* 18) with a relief of Amenemose in the Louvre (Desroches-Noblecourt [1960], pl. 5).

¹⁰⁸ In relief and statuary. Martin, *Horemheb*, *passim*.

¹⁰⁹ Maya's Memphite tomb. Martin, *Hidden Tombs* 58–63, 174 fig. 110.

¹¹⁰ E.g. a chief of bowmen and overseer of horses Ry. Martin, *Corpus* no. 42.

¹¹¹ Martin, *Horemheb*, pls. 22, 24–25, 36–39, 52, 54, 56–57.

¹¹² In fact, the restorations would have been largely invisible once they were plastered and painted.

such alterations and defacements contemporary with the monarch who produced them, or even with pharaonic civilization itself

1.3.2 Cosmetic Adjustments

In most cases, Egyptian reliefs seem to have been executed more or less as desired the first time. Occasionally, however, one does find evidence of minor alterations to reliefs, generally taking the form of one or more secondary cut lines. Generally aimed at refining the proportions of anthropomorphic figures, such recutting may be termed cosmetic in that the primary consideration seems to have been aesthetic. Features such as the profile, size of the head or headdress, or proportions of the limbs, hands and feet may display evidence of modifications (fig. 22). There were other cosmetic adjustments, including minor changes to the king's costume, such as the royal kilt, or the proportions of inanimate objects. During the early Nineteenth Dynasty, such cosmetic recutting was done in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, particularly on the north interior wall and the battle reliefs on its exterior. This retouching was more or less contemporary with the initial production of the reliefs, representing final corrections to the design. Cosmetic adjustments were also made in conjunction with many of Seti's repairs to monuments vandalized in the Amarna period (*infra* chpt. 2, *passim*). Elsewhere, such cosmetic modifications are rare.

1.3.3 Major Alterations

At times, secondary alterations to existing reliefs were not simply minor, but constituted more drastic changes, including outright defacements for any of several reasons: adaptation and reuse of the entire relief through erasure, additions or suppression, and replacement of individual elements, such as the names and figures of individual gods and rulers. Regardless of the motives, these were not cosmetic adjustments, rather they substantially changed the appearance, iconography, texts or style of the reliefs in question.

1.3.4 Defacement

Most large Egyptian monuments, temple buildings in particular, have been subjected to some intentional defacement in the course of their

long histories, visited upon them for a number of different reasons over the intervening millennia. In each case, the perpetrators sought to destroy images, human, animal and divine, out of some hostility towards the images themselves or towards the beings represented by them. In many cases, this antipathy extended to the people and animals represented in the hieroglyphic script itself.

1.3.5 *Damnatio Memoriae*

In the pharaonic era, *damnatio memoriae* was the most common form of defacement.¹³ It was often used to suppress the memory, even the very existence, of private¹⁴ and royal individuals.¹⁵ During the Amarna period, the largest single instance of *damnatio memoriae* was visited upon the gods themselves, especially Amen-Re, by Akhenaten. Subsequently the heretic, along with his three immediate successors, was made anathema by Horemheb and the Ramessides, and Akhenaten's buildings were razed to their foundations. In some cases monuments of a proscribed individual were usurped rather than defaced.¹⁶

1.3.6 Iconoclasm

Strictly speaking, Akhenaten's vendetta against Amen-Re and other deities constituted a huge program of iconoclasm. In most other cases, however, the iconoclasts lived in the Coptic and Islamic periods. They held representations of human, divine and animal figures to be anathema. Often contemporary with the more orthodox iconoclasm of the Christian and Islamic faiths are instances motivated by sympathetic

¹³ See Schuman (1970), 36-37.

¹⁴ E.g. two vases of Kush of the Eighteenth Dynasty, I sersaet and Nakhtm-n (ibid. 36 & n. 68), but apparently not — as has often been maintained — Hatshepsut's favorite Senenmut (ibid. 36ff; Dorman [1988], 158). There are numerous others in the Theban necropolis alone, including the well-known examples of Rekhmire (TT 100) and Menna (TT 69).

¹⁵ E.g. with Hatshepsut late in the reign of Thutmose III (ibid. Dorman, 46ff). Likewise Ay under Horemheb (Schaden [1984a], 60-62). Horemheb's attitude towards Tutankhamen seems more ambiguous and evolved in any case (ibid. Schaden, 61-62; idem, [1984b], 44-64).

¹⁶ E.g., the Colonnade Hall at Luxor decorated by Tutankhamen and usurped by Horemheb. Epigraphic Survey, *Opet, passim*.

magic, where representations of living beings were targeted because they were considered to be magically threatening. Such vandalism extended even to humans and animals represented by hieroglyphs. The so-called "fertility gouges," observable on countless Theban monuments and elsewhere, are not strictly cases of iconoclasm, but a form of fertility magic, made without reference to the texts and images on the walls themselves.¹⁷ A final type of iconoclasm associated with monuments of Seti I, a result of Seth's demonization in the Late Period, is the frequent defacement of the god's image, and of the 𐎓 glyph in Seti's nomen cartouche.¹⁸

1.3.7 Usurpation

Usurpation may be defined as one individual supplanting a predecessor's name on an inscribed monument. This was especially common among New Kingdom pharaohs, and was effected by replacing the owner's names and titles with the usurper's. At times, stylistic changes were also made to the facial features of both the two- and three-dimensional expropriated sculptures.¹⁹ With reliefs, the process of replacing a predecessor's titulary required the careful erasure of the appropriate inscription rather than the violent hacking associated with instances of *diminutio memoriae*.²⁰

When usurping royal cartouches in raised relief, the original glyphs were shaved off and replaced with incised text (figs. 95-96). When the original medium was sunk relief, it was simply filled in with plaster and recut in sunk relief. Fortunately for historians, both methods leave traces of the original, which can be discovered through close epigraphic examination. Raised relief often leaves incised outlines cut deeper than the surrounding background surface.²¹ One may also find substantial

¹⁷ Bell (1997), 301, n. 178.

¹⁸ Te Velde (1977), 138-151, especially 146-147.

¹⁹ E.g. statuaries of Amenhotep III usurped by Ramesses II. See Bryan in *Dazzling Sun*, cat. 14, 172-174.

²⁰ On this distinction, see Schulman (1970), 37.

²¹ This is also the case with cartouches of Ramesses I usurped by Ramesses II at the eastern end of the passage through the Second Pylon at Karnak. Murnane (1964), 5, 74, 88.

traces of the raised version intact even after usurpation.²² These outlines often survive in part or in whole even after the raised portion of the relief is shaved down and usurped. With sunk relief, the loss of the plaster masking leaves the original version exposed, although it must be unscrambled from the final one. This is especially complicated when the relief has gone through more than one subsequent edition.²³

Modern scholars have often deemed usurpation to be evidence of an antagonistic attitude towards an earlier king. This is surely the case with Horemheb's treatment of Tutankhamen and Ay monuments that he reused, such as the Colonnade Hall in Luxor Temple,²⁴ the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamen²⁵ and colossi from Ay's memorial temple in western Thebes.²⁶ In proscribing Hatshepsut's memory, Thutmose III defaced many of his aunt's monuments by expanding her figure and protocol in the later Nineteenth Dynasty. Amenmesse usurped large numbers of Merenptah's cartouches on the monuments, only to have Seti II usurp them a second time as part of his proscription of Amenmesse.

Ramesses II's program of usurpation was the largest. It seems, however, that he was not motivated by antipathy towards any of the numerous predecessors whose monuments he appropriated. Surely Ramesses could not have borne ill-will toward so many royal ancestors, including his own father and grandfather. Instead he did it to acclaim his own authority as pharaoh over the course of his extraordinarily long reign. At least one scholar has objected to the term usurpation in this context because its pejorative connotation often fails to describe accurately Ramesses' motives for surcharging monuments.²⁷

²² So cartouches Ramesses II usurped from Horemheb on the Second Pylon. Seele, *Coregency*, 8, fig. 3.

²³ Cf. reliefs of Horemheb on the Second Pylon at Karnak usurped in turn by Ramesses I and II (Seele, *Coregency*, 8, fig. 1), and large cartouches of Ramesses IV on the great columns in the nearby Hypostyle Hall that he subsequently altered and which Ramesses VI later usurped.

²⁴ Epigraphic Survey, *Opert*, xvii.

²⁵ Bennet (1939), 8-15; M. Gabolde (1987a), 37-61.

²⁶ Hölscher, *Excavation 2*, 102-105.

²⁷ Rondot, *Architraves*, 151.

1.4 Criteria for Dating Reliefs during the Early Nineteenth Dynasty

1.4.1 Raised and Sunk Relief of Seti I

Most of Seti I's relief decoration conforms to the general practice of earlier pharaohs, who tended to decorate interior wall surfaces with raised relief and exteriors with sunk relief. Of the few exceptions dateable to his reign, the speos at Kanais is the most significant, being carved in sunk relief throughout (*infra* 3.127).

Seti's reliefs are justly famous for their finesse and intricacy. This is particularly true of those in his Abydos temple, where the fine grain of the limestone allowed the sculptors to carve exquisite details normally rendered only in paint (cf. figs. 80-81 with fig. 76).²⁴ Even in the coarser medium of sandstone, his reliefs from the interior walls of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in the barque sanctuaries of the Theban Triad and chapel of Ramesses I at Gurnah Temple often have elaborately carved details, such as the monarch's long pleated garments (fig. 113).

Seti's raised relief tends to be higher than the low relief favored by his post-Amarna predecessors and many rulers of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty. They are closer to the high, baroque style favored late in the reign of Amenhotep III.²⁵ The hallmarks of this school include sensitive modeling and the overlay of highly modeled details (cf. figs. 22, 101 & 113). Among the more striking examples of this mode are the hieroglyphic texts and the ram-headed prows of the sacred barques of Amen-Re gracing the north interior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle (fig. 27). These tend to stand out against the surrounding relief, and they were not merely outlined or cut into the background surface, two practices commonly evident in low reliefs. Even in sandstone, where extensive detailing was still the exception rather than the rule, Seti demanded a high standard from his artisans, and attributes such as facial features tend to be crisp and sensitively modeled. The transition to higher bas relief is apparent at the outset of the reign, when Seti completed the decoration in the southernmost portions of the Colonnade

²⁴ Abydos I-IV, *passim*; *infra* 3.47.4

²⁵ Johnson (1990), 34-36

Hall at Luxor, his reliefs being more highly modeled than the relatively flat carvings of Tutankhamen.¹⁰ Sunk reliefs dating to Seti's reign exhibit the same care and attention to detail as his bas reliefs. Although they are generally not as carefully embellished, his sunk reliefs are, nevertheless, often far superior to the work of his successors.¹¹

1.4.2 Raised and Sunk Relief of Ramesses II

At the outset of his reign, Ramesses II continued the practice of employing raised relief to decorate the interior surfaces of his buildings. Within a year or so of his accession, however, he began instead to use sunk relief almost to the total exclusion of bas relief for the rest of his nearly seven-decade tenure (fig. 83).

During the brief time he employed raised relief, the quality and level of detailing seems to have declined markedly from the standard set by his father. This is nowhere more apparent than in the earliest decoration in his own temple at Abydos, where the work is decidedly inferior to that found in Seti's nearby temple. Ramesses had abandoned his father's laborious practiced of cutting intricate detailing into bas relief. Moreover, his sculptors were not as careful in finishing them. Only the most basic elements, such as facial features, were incised, and even these often lack the sensitive modeling and crisp detailing of Seti's work, and the quality of the sculptor's output worsened as the reign progressed, as did the overall quality of the monuments they embellished.¹² One has only to compare earlier examples such as reliefs inside the Ramesside court at Luxor which are among the finest produced during the entire reign, with reliefs added to Seti's memorial temple at Gurnah years later to see the two extremes.¹³ To be fair to Ramesses, however, it should be noted that the minimal level of detailing beyond facial features was ameliorated by the use of paint.¹⁴

¹⁰ Epigraphic Survey, *Opet*, xvii.

¹¹ Cf. Karnak battle reliefs (Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, *passim*), a siltstone doorjamb from Heliopolis and now Alexandria (*infra* 3.19), and a black granodiorite lintel from Heliopolis (*infra* 3.23).

¹² Sade-manin (1979a), 457-463.


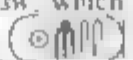
¹³ Cf. Kuentz (1971), *passim* with Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos I*, vol. I, *passim*.





¹⁴ Even the most crude Ramesside reliefs were often minutely detailed in paint. Thus, at Medinet Habu, surviving painted decoration is often breathtaking in its intricacy, despite the fact that the reliefs themselves are unremarkable in their sophistication. Such

Scholars have long speculated as to what motivated Ramesses to abandon raised relief altogether. The most frequently cited reason is speed, as a significant amount of time was saved in not cutting away all the background material. Ramesses is often described as having been impatient.³⁵ It is impossible to judge his motivations, but speed may have been a factor.

1.4.3 Variant Orthographies in the Cartouches of the First Three Nineteenth Dynasty Pharaohs

1.4.4 Ramesses I

Although he ruled for less than two years, Ramesses I's cartouches display a surprising number of variant orthographies. His nomen is written both as  *R'-ms-sw*, which is by far the most common form, and occasionally *R'-ms-s*, .³⁶ The orthography of the nomen was generally the same, and epithets are rarely suffixed to it.³⁷

Ramesses adopted the prenomen *Mn-ptwy-R'*, doubtless on the model of the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty Ahmose's *Nb-ptwy-R'*. Like Ahmose, Ramesses' whole titulary is quite plain, lacking the additional epithets and elaborate titles accumulated by the rulers of the later Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁸ Several variant orthographies of Ramesses' prenomen are attested. In most cases the -sign is in the middle position with coming last. The -sign is often accompanied by the phonetic complement ³⁹ (sometimes in horizontally arranged cartouches)⁴⁰ although often only  is written.

examples may bear the notion of universal carelessness in Ramesside art. E.g. Epigraphic Survey, *MHI*, frontispiece pls 19-20, 24-26, 31; frontispiece, pls 61-65, 97, 124. So even in the crudest of Ramesses I's sunk reliefs at Derr and elsewhere in Nubia, the use of plaster and intricate polychrome ameliorates the shoddy work of the sculptors. Author's personal observations.

³⁵ Kitchen (1982), 37.


³⁶ Von Beckerath (1984), 88 & 234.




³⁷ Statue base Louvre E 7690: *ARI* I, 3.6 & 3.12.




³⁸ Kitchen (1987), 132.

³⁹ Sinai 245, *ARI* I, 1.5; Buhen stela, Louvre C 57 (*ARI* I, 2.6), Louvre 7690 (*ARI* I, 3.8 & 3.10), & Vienna 8953 (Hein [1989], 38).

⁴⁰ Louvre C 57 (*ARI* I, 2.10 & 2.13, 3.1).

Before this point Egyptian rulers generally adopted simple prenomen consisting of three elements written with the same number of signs where possible. Certainly in view of the prenomen of Thutmose II. and IV, the phonetic complement was unnecessary in conjunction with the -sign.¹⁴¹





The term *phry*, meaning "strength," could be written a number of ways. The simplest orthography was .¹⁴² The *phry* was occasionally treated as a false dual in the Egyptian writing system, and a number of variant orthographies found their way into the king's prenomen. Thus we also find  .¹⁴³ Other variants appear in posthumous monuments made in his name by Seti I.¹⁴⁴

There are several examples of the prenomen written with the -sign on the bottom, without a complementary ,¹⁴⁵ most of them on monuments associated with Seti I and dating after the elder sovereign's death, when the orthography of Ramesses' cartouche seems to have been influenced by the standard writing for his son's.¹⁴⁶ Other clearly posthumous monuments display this variant. Epithets are occasionally attached to the prenomen, including *III R^e* and *IV R^e*,¹⁴⁷ almost always when it is arranged horizontally.¹⁴⁸ As a dating criterion, examples of the simple form where the -sign is on the bottom are more likely to be *post mortem* Ramesses, although the reverse is not necessarily the

¹⁴¹ Early variants of Thutmose III's prenomen, spelled (  ) are however attested during his earlier years (A IV 91, 5, 93, 7, 197, 7, 9 & 13).

¹⁴² Cf. Sinai 245 (ARI I, 1, 15, 2-6); Louvre C 57 (ARI I, 2, 10, 2, 13, 3, 1).

¹⁴³ Sinai 244 = Brussels 2171 (ARI I, 1, 12); Louvre 7690 (ARI I, 3, 10 & 3, 12); votive stela in Amsterdam, APM 9352 (Van Haarlem [Mainz, 1986], 9352).

¹⁴⁴   on the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall (GHK L I, pls. 138, 140, 142).  occurs in the Ramesses I stela at Gurnah (ARI I, 1, 5, 116) while  is found on statue base from Qantara dedicated to Horus of Mesen (ARI I, 105, 12).

¹⁴⁵ E.g. a donation stela, Strasbourg, 378 (ARI I, 3, 15 & 4, 1), another donation stela from Karnak (ARI I, 4, 9 & 4, 1), and Amsterdam APM 9352 (Van Haarlem [1987], 9352).



¹⁴⁶ E.g. the Abydos chapel of Ramesses I. Cf. the Osiride statue of Ramesses I (ARI I, 108, 5 & 108, 7), with the main facade of the chapel (ARI I, 109, 8 & 109, 10) and its wall reliefs (Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs*, pls. 1, 5-6 & 9).


¹⁴⁷ Cf. an obelisk fragment, Copenhagen 468 (ARI I, 5, 4) and an offering table from the chapel of Ramesses I at Abydos (E. Khanb., 1993, 67-77, figs. 1, 10).


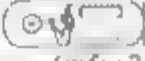


¹⁴⁸ A rare exception is Brussels E 2171 (ARI I, 1, 5).

case, as other clearly posthumous examples feature orthographies found during his lifetime.

1.4.5 Seti I

Variant orthographies of Seti I's nomen have often been the subject of commentary, in particular those where the  animal has been replaced by a figure of Osiris and a *mr*-knot to write the name cryptographically on monuments associated with the god Osiris, including all those from Abydos and in his tomb at Thebes written .⁴⁹ The

standard form of the nomen, spelled with the  glyph, is *Sty-mr-n-Pth*, which can be written a number of ways. Variant epithets naming other deities are found in specific locales, as with *Sty-mr-n-Imn* in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall,⁵⁰ and at least once at Heliopolis where *mr-n R* appears (*infra* 3.23).

Variant orthographies of the prenomen have not elicited comment, but they may be more diagnostic for chronological purposes. Although less common, they occur on both horizontal and vertically arranged cartouches. The standard arrangement, repeated endlessly on monuments dating from the first regnal year on, features the -sign at the end of the cartouche (table 1A). At times this is reversed so that the goddess is found in the final position (table 1B). A number of such variants can be securely dated to the first regnal year,⁵¹ often in conjunction with other stylistic traits consistent with a date early in the reign (*infra* 3.103). A less common variant, , features the phonetic complement appended to the -sign (*infra* 2.8). The *mr*-figure is used alone.⁵² Another rare orthography, , is found on some of the architrave inscriptions in the Luxor Colonnade Hall,

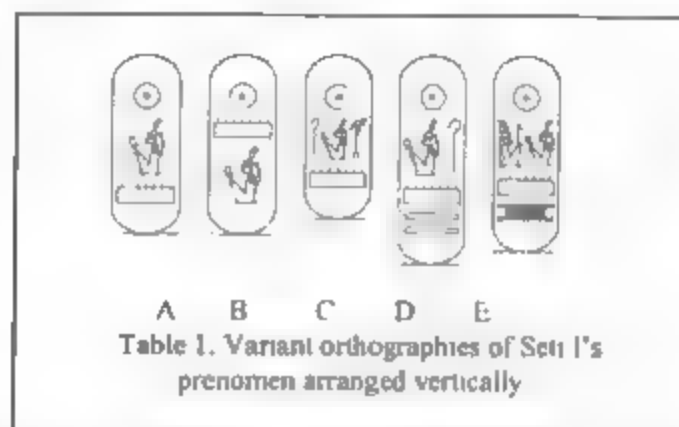
⁴⁹ El-Sawi (1987c), 55-60.

⁵⁰ Loeben (1987c), 225-228.

⁵¹ E.g., Brooklyn 69.116.1 (*infra* 3.43).

⁵² An exceptional variant with *Mr* written phonetically seems to have been an error perpetrated by a draftsman transferring a hieratic text onto a small votive stela (*infra* 3.1.4).

where it is juxtaposed with the standard form,¹⁵³ and a few times in the Kanais shrine from later in the reign.¹⁵⁴ The early variant may reflect



the influence of the most common form employed during his father's brief tenure, but even from the beginning of the former's reign, on the earliest dateable monuments, the standard form (table 1A) is by far the most common orthography.¹⁵⁵

Seti occasionally appended epithets to his prenomen, as some of his predecessors had done, in particular Thutmose III and Amenhotep III. These include *im-R'*, *im-R'*, *irv-n-R'* and *stp-n-R'*.¹⁵⁶ During the New Kingdom, epithets are generally found in cartouches arranged horizontally, and are rarely appended to vertical prenominal cartouches.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Epigraphic Survey (1998), pls. 196-197.

¹⁵⁴ Gauthier (1979), 22, 26 & 36, *passim*. Here it may be a substitute for other examples with epithets.

¹⁵⁵ There are scattered examples of this orthography, but cannot date to his earliest years, e.g., among architrave texts in his Abydos temple where it appears a few times among numerous examples of the standard form (A/Rt I: 29, 4, 132, 3, 134, 5, 136, 7).

¹⁵⁶ Von Beckerath (1984), 89 & 236.

¹⁵⁷ As with the architraves in the solar court of Amenhotep III in Luxor Temple (Irk IV, 5682-1705, *passim*). The same is true for the architraves in the *th-mw* of Thutmose III at Karnak (Irk IV, 855-857, 861, 4 & 863, 4) and in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (Irk IV, 881, 7 & 16).

¹⁵⁸ E.g., prenominal cartouches of Thutmose I on his standing obelisk at Karnak (Irk IV, 93-94), likewise with the prenomen of Thutmose III in a number of wall scenes in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (e.g., Pfl I: 468, 4), *See Prians*.

Presumably in most cases the latter arrangement was considered aesthetically incompatible with the standard elements of Seti I's prenomen, in particular the tall *msr*-figure. This tends to be confirmed by exceptional examples featuring the epithet *hkt Wsr* (table 1C), in which these tall, narrow signs flank the *msr*-figure.⁵⁵ Only two other examples of a vertically arranged cartouche with an additional epithet are attested. One occurs on Seti's smaller year nine stela from Aswan, recording the production of a number of granite colossi (table 1D). Here the epithet *hkt Twy* is appended to the unusually large vertical prenomen cartouche behind the king in the lunette scene. This anomaly is explained by the fact that the epithet represents the name of one of the projected colossi.⁵⁶ A second one (table 1E), found on a lintel in the Karnak Temple, bears the epithet *nr-Inn* in an arrangement that anticipates the complex orthographies of subsequent Ramesside cartouches,⁵⁷ as do others from his Abydos temple compounded with the names of deities in the six chapels.⁵⁸

Just as prenomen with suffixed epithets are most common with horizontally arranged cartouches, they are often found in texts on architectural elements of large buildings such as their architraves, soffits and abaci. This is especially true in the Karnak Hypostyle.⁵⁹ Again Seti is imitating his favored role models Thutmose III and Amenhotep III. They are also commonly found on offering tables.⁶⁰ Otherwise, such writings are sometimes found in the horizontally arranged texts of royal stela. A particularly large sample of dated examples is clustered in texts from the first year or so of the reign.⁶¹ A couple of others may also be dated to the vicinity of the first year, based on independent

MIB 66-68).

⁵⁵ E.g. in the Karnak Hypostyle: *GTHK* 11, pls. 191-193, 197, 199, 200. Similar examples are found under Horemheb in various locations.

⁵⁶ See Brand (1997), 112; *infra* 3.120.

⁵⁷ *PM II*, 414, (74c-f).



⁵⁸ Cf. *Abydos IV*, pls. 15 (Isis), 18 (Osiris), 21 (Amen), 27 (Ptah + nomen). Others are lost.

⁵⁹ Rondot, *Architraves*, pls. 2-19, *passim*.

⁶⁰ Cf. Cairo CG 23090 (*ARI* 1, 21, 13 & 21, 15), Copenhagen, Ns Carlsberg AFN 44, (*ARI* 1, 236, 16 & 236, 2), Abydos chapel of Ramesses I (El-Khatib, 1993), figs. 1, 10).

⁶¹ Larger Beth Shan stela (*ARI* 1, 16), smaller Beth Shan stela (*ARI* 16, 3 & 16, 16), Alabaster Stela Cairo CG 34501 (*ARI* 39, 3, 39, 8, 39, 12), Karnak Ptah temple stela (*ARI* 1, 40, 11).

dating criteria.⁶⁶ The use of this phenomenon as a reference point for dating official texts is complicated by the occurrence of two other examples securely dated to the later years of the reign.⁶⁷ Still, these epithets may be of use, in conjunction with other criteria, for relative dating of stelae where the dateline has been lost.

Although the standard orthography for Seti's prenomen, , seems to have been the one most commonly used from the very beginning of the reign, variant writings are found and tend to be dateable to his earliest years.⁶⁸ This seems to be analogous to the numerous variants found in the first two years of Ramesses I and Ramesses II, when multiple orthographies were used and then abruptly disappeared for the rest of the second Ramesses's long reign. The writing of Seti's prenomen was possibly influenced by the arrangement most commonly employed by his father. Later the reverse situation obtained when posthumous monuments dedicated by Seti I and Ramesses II to Ramesses I feature an orthography, ,

reflecting Seti's cartouche. Less secure for dating purposes are horizontally arranged cartouches with additional epithets. Although a cluster of examples is found in earlier stela texts, several others can be securely dated later.

1.4.6 Ramesses II

It has long been noted that Ramesses II employed several variant orthographies of his prenomen, with and without the addition of various epithets, and that these can be useful in dating monuments from early in his reign.⁶⁹ Reliefs carved during the first year or so of the reign can be dated by the orthography of the prenomen. At some undetermined point, but certainly by III *shw* day 26 at the end of his second regnal year, Ramesses had adopted the final form of his prenomen, *Wsr-m'rt*-


⁶⁶ "Someter" stela from Elephantine (A/R I, 97-7 & 98-5); West Sikkia rock shrine (A/R I, 89-13).

⁶⁷ E.g. two stelae from Sai and Amara West recording the king's year eight campaign against Irem (A/R VII, 9-4, 11-12-3).

⁶⁸ Sesebi reliefs suppressing those of Akhenaten (*infra* 2.75); Tel-es-Shihab stela (A/R I, 1-7-5); a head of a limestone statuette of Amen in an unmistakably post-Amarna style used early in the reign (*infra* 3.101).

⁶⁹ Sethe (1927), 110-114; Seele, *Coregency*, *passim*.

R^c stp-n-R^c. , the standard one used until his death.⁷⁰

Thus, monuments bearing the shorter , without the epithet *stp-n-R^c*, must date to the first and much of the second regnal year.⁷¹ During the first two years he sporadically appended various epithets to his prenomen, including *ht-R^c*, *mw-R^c* and *mry-R^c*.⁷² These epithets were used during the same period that the simplex *Wsr-mš^c-R^c* was in use.⁷³ Although the apparent unpredictability of the use of these epithets has given rise to some confusion among scholars,⁷⁴ it seems likely that before the permanent adoption of the final form with *stp-n-R^c* Ramesses employed prenomen epithets in the same manner his father had, i.e. they were used almost exclusively in horizontally arranged cartouches decorating elements such as the lintels of doorjambes,⁷⁵ architraves and the like,⁷⁶ and not in vertically arranged cartouches in wall decoration.⁷⁷ The orthography of the short form of Ramesses' cartouche seems to have varied widely during the time it was in use.⁷⁸ Once the long form had been adopted, few variant orthographies occurred, and most of these seem to date to the earlier years of the reign.⁷⁹

Variants of his nomen are also found during the first regnal year or so. A variety of spellings of two forms of the nomen, *R^c-ms-sw* and *R^c-ms-s*, occur.⁸⁰ *R^c-ms-s* seems to have become the standard form at the same time the final, long form of the prenomen was adopted. It

⁷⁰ *ARI* II, 344-345; Murnane (1975), 161.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* Murnane, 158-161.

⁷² Seele, *Coregency*, 27-31.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 29ff. *Contra* Seele (1927), 105f.



⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Seele, 30-39.

⁷⁵ E.g. on a doorway at Gurnah (*ibid.* Seele 31, fig. 0). The epithet *mw-R^c* was used on the lintel, but the prenomen cartouche on the jamb lacks an epithet.

⁷⁶ E.g. on some architraves and ceiling bandeaux in the Gurnah Temple. *ARI* II, 638.12 & 15; 639.2; 64.6-7.

⁷⁷ Throughout the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, epithets are never appended to cartouches in the wall scenes carved before the adoption of *stp-n-R^c*. Cf. *GTHA* I, *passim*.

⁷⁸ Cf. *GTHA* I, pls. 64-85, *passim*.

⁷⁹ E.g. in the large temple at Abu Simbel () and () occur. Additional epithets such as *mr n Tm* occur in cartouches on the abaci of columns.

⁸⁰ *GTHA* I, pls. 12, 18.2, 26, 28-30, 39-40, 63-86, 90-93, 96-100, 105-106 *passim*.

remained so until about year twenty to twenty-one when *R' ms-sw* was adopted and used consistently for the duration of the reign.¹¹ This phenomenon is only securely attested in Upper Egypt, but probably obtains in Lower Egypt and Nubia as well.

1.4.7 Three Phases in Relief Decoration from the First Two Years of Ramesses II's Reign¹²

During the earliest years of his reign, Ramesses II employed both raised and sunk relief. After year two, however, he employed sunk relief on both interior and exterior wall surfaces to the almost complete exclusion of raised relief. Three phases of his earliest relief decoration can be distinguished, henceforth denoted by the abbreviations R¹, R² and R³. During the earliest period, R¹ — the simple form of the prenomen *Wsr-m's'r-R'*, was used in conjunction with raised relief on interior wall surfaces for most if not all of year one. R¹ appeared when raised relief was abandoned but while the short form of the prenomen was still in use — that is, until sometime in year two. The appearance of R² coincides with the adoption of the long form of the prenomen — always used in combination with sunk relief — and it was used for the balance of the reign.



During his earliest years, Ramesses completed the decoration of a number of his father's monuments. At Gurnah in particular, sunk reliefs naming Ramesses I and Seti I appear on some interior walls of the temple, while most others naming these two kings are in raised relief. These sunk reliefs either name Ramesses II as well — or they are adjacent to others that do. Sunk reliefs naming Ramesses I will be termed R¹, while those featuring Seti will be designated S. Raised reliefs depicting Seti may be denoted as S¹.

¹¹ Kitchen (1979a), 383–387.

¹² For much of what follows, see Murnane (1975 & 1977).

1.4.8 Summary of the Criteria Used to Date Royal Reliefs During the First Three Decades of the Nineteenth Dynasty

1.4.9 Ramesses I

Monuments dating to the brief reign of Ramesses I may be distinguished from posthumous ones made in his honor by his successors, judging by a number of features. When decorated with human figures, these reliefs are in keeping with the post-Amarna style. Monuments dedicated by Seti I tend to be in the mature Ramesside style common later in Seti's reign. The orthography of Ramesses I's prenomen often varied, but it was most commonly written with the -sign in the middle position. During Seti's reign the -sign is often in the final position, especially later in the reign. In ritual scenes, one expects Ramesses to be depicted standing with his torso erect. Seti I does not seem to have been portrayed bowing until the fourth year of his reign. Bowing figures of Ramesses I on monuments that also feature Seti I are likely to date to after the former's death. By applying these criteria, it should be possible to determine which monuments were made in Ramesses' lifetime and which are memorials.

1.4.10 Seti I

It is well known that Seti I was not able to complete a number of his own monuments, and that it fell to Ramesses II to finish them. What is less clear is the exact status of the elder pharaoh in reliefs juxtaposed with others naming his son. Another problem in establishing an internal chronology of the reign is the lack of dated monuments.

A number of criteria can be used to distinguish reliefs of Seti from those of Ramesses II. Seti tended to employ raised relief on interior surfaces, according to the standard practice of his predecessors, and his decoration consistently exhibits a high degree of finesse and detailing. There is a substantial corpus of these in keeping with post-Amarna stylistic trends, a handful of these can be dated to his earliest years, while others lack a date. Variant orthographies of his prenomen also coincide with an early date in a number of examples, and prenomen cartouches with additional epithets are common in the texts of stelae from his first years. Since, however, such epithets also occur on later stelae, this criterion is not reliable in itself.

Beginning as early as year four, dated reliefs exhibit the mature Ramesside style of relief. At this time also, royal figures with inclined torsos make their first appearance as a recurrent motif in Seti's reliefs. This iconography is current until the end of his reign, and although the more conventional, erect stance is still found, it is not as common as the inclined pose.

1.4.11 Ramesses II

During his first year on the throne, Ramesses II followed his predecessor's example by using raised relief on the interior wall surfaces of the temples he decorated, but he was quicker to abandon Seti's practice of depicting the royal figure bowing in ritual scenes. Aside from those reliefs Ramesses added to complete Seti's monuments, there are only a few tableaux in his own temple at Best el-Wari depicting him in this way. It was also during his first two years that Ramesses employed variant forms of his nomen and prenomen. By the end of the second year he had adopted the long form of his prenomen with the epithet *stp-n-R'*, and had standardized his nomen as *R'-ms-y*, the form in which it remained until about year twenty-one. Ramesses employed raised relief on the interior surfaces of his buildings before switching to sunk relief, a changeover that took place before the end of year two. Three phases of his decoration in the first two years can thus be distinguished: R (—raised relief with the short prenomen), R' (—sunk relief, short prenomen), and R' (—sunk relief and long prenomen).

A careful examination of all these criteria for each of the first three rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty should make it possible to provide a more accurate chronological structure for the royal monuments of this period and at the same time to elucidate its chronology and political history, in particular the length of Seti I's reign and the royal succession at the beginning of the Ramesside age.

1.5 Mechanisms for Expressing the King's Divine Aspect in the Early Nineteenth Dynasty

During the New Kingdom, the divine aspect of pharaoh manifested itself mainly in two ways: 1) the king could be a hypostas or incarna-

tion of deities such as Re, Horus, Amen and Monthu among others¹⁸¹ or 2) as the possessor of the royal *kt*, the divine essence of Egyptian kingship.¹⁸² He was only divine *ex officio*, not inherently so as an individual. Bell has compared the Egyptian conception of the dual human and divine nature of pharaoh to that of the European notion of the "king's two bodies" in the Middle Ages.¹⁸³

Usually, the monarch's person could function as a hypostasis of another deity or of the divine royal *kt* on an occasional basis when he became, temporarily, a living cult image possessed by a divine entity, such as the war god Monthu as he went into battle in his chariot, or during various ceremonies when he is shown in the company of the personified royal *kt*.¹⁸⁴ When the moment passed, the divine presence seems to have lifted, leaving the king physically a mortal once again. The only exceptions seem to have been the pharaohs Amenhotep III¹⁸⁵ and Ramesses II¹⁸⁶ after their jubilees and Akhenaten throughout his tenure.¹⁸⁷ At a certain point, each of them seems to have donned the mantle of godhead for the durations of their reigns. Otherwise the mortal and divine aspects of pharaoh were only reconciled in favor of the latter upon his death.

But what, then, was the significance of the royal cult during the king's lifetime? From the beginning of his long reign, Ramesses II promoted the cult of his divine aspect in temples throughout Egypt and Nubia. In his pioneering study, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, Habachi led us to a better understanding of the mechanisms by which his divine aspect was expressed and worshiped, in particular the role of colossal statues and cult images in temples.¹⁸⁸ Next, Bell fundamentally altered and increased our knowledge of the divinity of the pharaonic office as embodied in the doctrine of the royal *kt*—the divine essence of kingship itself, transmitted from ruler to ruler throughout Ancient Egyptian history. Building on the early work of Nelson and

¹⁸¹ Bell (1985a), *passim*, especially 32-35 with references.

¹⁸² Idem (1985b), 256-259.

¹⁸³ Bell (1985b), 293-294.

¹⁸⁴ Idem (1985a), 33-35.

¹⁸⁵ Johnson (1990).

¹⁸⁶ Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 174-175.

¹⁸⁷ Johnson (1990), 46; Murnane (1995b), 13-15.

¹⁸⁸ Habachi (1969).

Christophe,¹⁹¹ the purpose of the shrines called by the Egyptians "Mansions of Millions of Years,"¹⁹² often called memorial temples—or wrongly mortuary temples—in the royal cult is also better known and the distinction between "royal" and "divine" temples has been called into question.¹⁹³ These and other scholars have given us a more sophisticated understanding of the cult of pharaoh in the New Kingdom in general, and most recently, of Amenhotep III in particular.¹⁹⁴

From this remarkable corpus of scholarship, we may now outline the various mechanisms, textual and iconographic, used in the early Nineteenth Dynasty to express the cult of the pharaoh. Although royal colossi have received the most attention, reliefs and inscriptions in temples throughout Egypt and Nubia record a bewildering array of different manifestations of the king as the object of the cult.

The assimilation of the deceased king with Osiris is well known. As with commoners, he is called *Wsr nsw N* "the Osiris-king N" in his tomb. There and in shrines at Abydos, his identity is said to merge with that of this deity. The books of the underworld in New Kingdom royal tombs also elaborate the doctrine that he assimilates with the sun god Re.¹⁹⁵ Nelson has long since shown that in the Theban memorial temples, the ruler was worshiped as a unique, localized manifestation of the god Amen-Re.¹⁹⁶ This is now understood to have obtained both during his life and after his death.¹⁹⁷

1.5.1 Names of the King's Divine Aspect

The individual cult statues, colossi and various manifestations of the monarch's divine aspect were all identified by name.¹⁹⁸ The forms these sobriquets took and the descriptive and qualifying epithets attached to them varied widely. In some cases it is clear that the divine entity is

¹⁹¹ Nelson (1942); Christophe (1950).

¹⁹² Haeny (1982); idem (1997).

¹⁹³ Bell (1997).

¹⁹⁴ E.g., Johnson (1990); idem (1994); idem, in *Pharaohs of the Sun*, 42–45. On Amenhotep III's royal statuary (including colossi), see Bryan in *Egypt's Late-ling Sun*, chpt. 3.

¹⁹⁵ Hornung (1990b).

¹⁹⁶ Nelson (1942).

¹⁹⁷ Bell (1985a); idem (1995b).

¹⁹⁸ Habachi (1969) *passim*.

quite independent of the king's person. At others, it is difficult to distinguish the avatar from the person of the monarch himself. This is especially true when he is identified by the standard names, titles and epithets used elsewhere. Here, we must rely on iconography. That Seti I is represented as a god in his chapel in the Osiris Complex of his Abydos temple is abundantly clear from the profusion of his divine accouterments. Also, he is worshiped as such by other deities. Yet his figures are all glossed by his cartouches preceded by the usual titles and if followed by an epithet, it is the *di-nh m R'* formula.²⁰⁰

A number of epithets may be appended to the king's titulary to identify the royal avatar. So it may be described as *pt ntr* "the god,"²⁰¹ *pt ntr '3* "the great god,"²⁰² using the Late Egyptian definite article, or without it simply as *ntr '3* "great god."²⁰³ This last form is ubiquitous in the protocols of many deities.

Another variety of epithets distinguishes pharaoh's divine eminence by its location in or association with a particular locale. As with some deities, a particular manifestation of the king's godhood, including that dwelling in the royal barque, may also be identified by the temple it resides in.²⁰⁴ It may also be called the "Lord," *nb*, of a particular region such as Nebmaatre Lord-of-Nubia, the divine form of Amenhotep III in his temple at Soleb,²⁰⁵ and likewise Ramesses II at Aksha.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ Abydos III, pls. 35-42.

²⁰¹ E.g. named colossi of Ramesses II (Habachi [1969], 31, figs. 18 & 19, and reliefs depicting his cult figures at Gerf Hussein (ARI II, 72, 2, 722-7, 72-3).

²⁰² E.g. named colossi of Ramesses II (Habachi [1969], 34, fig. 2-3, and reliefs portraying his deified form at Abu Simbel (ARI I, 762-8, 763-5 & 6, 764-6).

²⁰³ E.g. representations of Amenhotep III as a deity at Soleb (cf. II, 87 b & c, the deceased Ramesses, acting as officiant in ritual scenes, *ATTHA* I, pls. 3, 33, the deified Ramesses II at Abu Simbel (ARI II, 759-16, 764-8), and on a doorjamb from Amara West (ARI 777-15).

²⁰⁴ So in Abu Simbel, the divine entity in the royal barque is "Ramessu-miamen who is in the midst of the Domain of Ramessu-miamen," *R' ms-sw-hw-ab pt-pt R' ms-sw* (Habachi [1969], 5, fig. 4, ARI I, 759-3). At Wadi es-Sebua the barque contains "Ramessu-miamen in the domain of Amen," *R' ms-sw mri Inm m pt Inm* (ibid., pl. 4, ARI II, 737 b & 13). At Derr, he is called "Ramesses who is in the divine barque in the temple of Re," *R' ms-sw m ntr R'* (ARI I, 746-3 & 5). At Gerf Hussein, his statues are described as being "in the domain of Amen, Re or Ptah" (ARI II, 72, 723, 725-8).

²⁰⁵ E.g., LD III, 87, b & c.

²⁰⁶ ARI II, 773-16, 774-6, 775-4.

At times, the royal avatar's name appears without a cartouche.²⁰⁶ Such orthographies mark them as being unique deities separate from the person of the monarch himself, although sharing the same unique identity, i.e., a *k3* individual to that king as opposed to the generic royal *k3* shared by all pharaohs.²⁰⁷ Examples include Amenhotep III.²⁰⁸ Seti I²⁰⁹ and Ramesses II.²¹⁰ Both the Nomen and Prenomen of the deified king written without a cartouche are attested.²¹¹

By contrast to icons named without a cartouche, royal colossi of the type known to the Egyptians as "great images," *hwt 3(r)*, are always inscribed with the cartouche. New Kingdom examples include the named royal colossi of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II. They typically bear a cartouche distinguished by an epithet placed after it. Typically these sobriquets are compounded with the name of a deity, so we get the king's nomen cartouche followed by epithets such as "Re of Rulers," "Beloved of Amen," "Beloved of Atum," "Montu of Rulers" and the like.²¹² Other variants include "Ruler of the Two Lands" and "Appearing (*h3t*) Among the Gods."²¹³ Rarely are these epithets enclosed within the cartouche.²¹⁴ As Bell has shown, all these colossi are dedicated to the cult of the royal *k3*.²¹⁵

²⁰⁶ Bell (1985b), 280, n. 142 with references.

²⁰⁷ On the "generic" aspect of the royal *k3*, see *ibid.*, 280.

²⁰⁸ E.g., with his prenomen at Soleb: *Nb-m3(r)-R3 n(r)3* & *Nb-m3(r)-R3 nb(r) 3(r) St3 n(r) 3(r)* (ID III 87b-c).

²⁰⁹ Two examples with his prenomen stem from his Abydos temple. On the south wall of the second hypostyle hall, he is *Mn-m3(r) R3 n(r) 3(r) h3t 3(r) hwt 3(r) im3t 3(r) 3(r) Abydos* (V pl. 42) and on the larger Osiris hall, *Mn-m3(r) R3 n(r) 3(r) Abydos* (I pl. 13). See E. F. Shaw (1987a).

²¹⁰ Most commonly his nomen (ARI II 759.7-11, 12 & 16). Examples with his prenomen are rarer. So at Aksha both the short (early) and long forms of Ramesses' prenomen occurs (ARI II, 773 16-774.6, 775.4). See Foucaud (1992a, *idem* (1992b)).

²¹¹ For further examples of the prenomen so written see Bell (1985a), 42, n. 6. Except in the case of Ramesses II, the prenomen seems to have been most commonly employed in this manner.

²¹² Habachi (1969), *passim*.

²¹³ The latter on the kist of an Osiride colossus at Gerf Hussein (ARI II 720.7).

²¹⁴ Examples often do not stem from colossi themselves, but from an outside reference to them. Cf. Seti I's smaller year nine stela from Aswan (*infra* 3.26) with a votive stela of Prince Meryatum worshipping a striding colossus of his father Ramesses I called "Usermaatre-Setepenre-(is)-Montu-in-the-Two-Lands", Leblanc (1999), 87 fig. 27).

²¹⁵ Bell (1985b), 259-260, 271 & n. 97.

1.5.2 Iconographic Attributes of the Deified King

Egyptian temples were filled with a profusion of royal cult statues and reliefs depicting the deified king. In some cases, the latter clearly represent statues: other times the personified royal deity himself, although this distinction is often unclear. A common form is well known during the early Nineteenth Dynasty. Here pharaoh is depicted in conventional royal garb, but holds an *nbw* in one hand and a crook, with or without a flail, in the other arm usually folded across his chest. He may also carry a *hgd-mace*. This iconography is found earlier in the New Kingdom,²⁶ and a large corpus of examples can be found in reliefs of Ramesses II from the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in the Gurnah Temple,²⁷ in commemoration of Ramesses I and Seti I, and on the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle where Seti appears.²⁸ Similar iconography is present in the latter's Abydos temple, especially scenes from the royal chapel and reliefs on the columns and gateway along the axis leading thereto.²⁹ Such representations of the royal cult image appeared later under Ramesses II.³⁰ All of them are identified by cartouche(s), often followed by the epithets *nbw-hrw* and/or *nbw-³¹*. This type of statuary generally serves the cult of the royal *k3*, whether the king is living or deceased. In function, it is comparable to statues of private individuals placed in tomb chapels and state temples so that they could partake of the divine offerings.

Iconographically, the physical appearance of the monarch's deified form varies widely. At times he has no unusual attributes to distinguish

²⁶ E.g. the cult statue of the divine Amenhotep III taking part in the Opet festivities. Epigraphic Survey. See Johnson (1994).

²⁷ *Infra* 3.84.3 iff & figs. 123, 125, 127, 128 & 131.

²⁸ *GTHK* I.1, pls. 42, 48, 53, 57, 61, 65, 72 & 76.

²⁹ *Abydos* I, pls. 29-38; IV, pls. 32 & 78.

³⁰ E.g. as engaged statues inside niches from some of his Nubian temples, such as Gerf Hussein (Habachi (1969), pl. 2b; Destouches-Nobletcourt (1999), 257, 259 & 261 *AR* II, 720-723; *RILEY* (1993), 465-466). He also famously adapted the image of his deified father on the south gate of the Karnak Hypostyle into his own by supplanting the cartouches, *GTHK* I.1, pls. 57 & 61. See also *Coregency*, 64-66, 594, & figs.

³¹ Once in the Karnak Hypostyle Seti I is described as "appearing <as> king in the Domain of Amen," *h3t <mn> t3 nsw m pr imn* (*GTHK* I.1, pl. 72) and elsewhere as given: "he like Re 'di' *'nhm R'*" (idem, pl. 76). The niche statues of Ramesses I can be described as "the god... or 'in the Domain of' Amen, Re or Ptah" *AR* II, 720-723.

him from his mortal self. But often a variety of iconographic markers denote his status. So he may have curved ram's horns,²² grasp an *ankh* and a *was*-scepter like other deities, appear as a falcon-headed solar god,²³

a lunar deity with full and crescent moon on his head,²⁴ as a anthropomorphic solar god,²⁵ or even a personified rebus of his own premen.²⁶ He may also appear as an androsphinx, crosphinx or hieracosphinx, often as a hypostasis of various deities.²⁷

²² E.g. with Ramesses II as a cult figure (Habachi [1969], pls. 2a, 34, 111) (191b, Abdel-Hamid *et al.* [1976], pl. 6) or while officiating (Desroches-Noblecourt [1999] 210). On the significance of his see Bell (1985b), 268, 270 & figs. 4 (Amenhotep III) and 5 (Ramesses II).

²³ E.g. several times in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, so too on pillars in the vestibule (Abdel-Hamid II 485, 4923, ARJ II 7597) and in the north-west chamber vestibule (Abdel-Hamid *et al.* [1976], pl. 5, ARJ II 7635, PMV II 137, 63, 64). See *Isis* II, 911.

²⁴ These forms typically have falcon heads with sun disk and uraeus, and their names are written both with and without a cartouche. Variants include *R'-m-s-w-j-n-f* 'I am *R'-m-s-w-j-n-f*'s significantly rendered without the standard nomen epithet 'beloved of Amen.' *R'-m-s-mry-Tmn* does occur, but without further epithets (ARJ II, 7597). The royal barque in the Nubian temples usually has falcon-headed aegises (Habachi [1969], figs. 4-5, 10-11 & pl. 4).

²⁵ As originated by Amenhotep III at Soleb. See the forthcoming publication of the Soleb reliefs. See now *Isis* 84c, 85a & 87b-c. Ramesses I also appears with a moon disk & crescent in the hypostyle at Gerf Hussein (Desroches-Noblecourt [1999], 258, Abdel-Hamid *et al.* [1976], pls. 12 & 36).

²⁶ So in the chapel at Derr he sports a divine kilt and corselet with a round wig and diadem above which floats an adorned sun disk and he wears the straight royal beard. In place of an *ankh* and *was*-scepter, he clutches a *mfr*-feather in one hand and an *was*-staff in the other, forming his premen *H-sr-mfr-R'* (Desroches-Noblecourt [1999] 241). According to Bell (1985a), 49 & n. 91, this represents the royal *was*. In the chapel of Thothis in the great Abu Simbel temple a figure of Maat holding an *ankh*-staff with a sun disk and *mfr*-feather on her head forms a similar rebus. This is probably not an identification of the king with the goddess, but rather one of his premen with the concept of *mfr*-*isef*. On the premen linked with *mfr* in the Ramesside period, see Teeter (1997), 75-76 & 90-92. In room B, east wall, of the north-west annex of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, Re-Horakhty forms a similar rebus (RIIATC II 489, 6931).

²⁷ Bell (1985a).

CHAPTER TWO

CATALOG OF RESTORATIONS, ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS MADE BY SETI I TO EXISTING MONUMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Repairs made by the pharaohs of the late Eighteenth Dynasty to monuments vandalized by the agents of Akhenaten are well documented. Surprisingly, however, little effort has been made to understand the technical features of these restorations, and historians have largely taken the whole process for granted, focusing mainly on a handful of ancient texts commenting on the restoration period,¹ including Tutankhamen's Restoration Inscription found in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall,² and another stela of Tutankhamen, of similar content, also unearthed there.³

Beginning with Tutankhamen, one also finds a scattering of restoration formulae employing the phrase *smnw-nmw*, 'renewal of monuments,' but they are relatively scarce during the reigns of Tutankhamen,⁴ Ay,⁵ and Horemheb, and there was no standardized formula at this time.⁶ Others allude, all too briefly, to the repair of

¹ E.g., Leprohon (1985), 93-103.

² *PM III* 53-54; *Urk IV* 2025-2032; Bennett (1939), 8-15. Cf. a new translation by Murnane (1995b), 212-214. Two fragments of a duplicate stela were unearthed in the foundations of the Mondu temple: Varille (1943), 18, pl. 52; Har (1964), 128, 135, fig. 44-45, pl. 22. See *PM III*², 10 for further references.

³ *PM III*² 53; *Urk IV* 2034-10-2036; *ibid.*, Murnane, 215.

⁴ Tutankhamen's restoration inscriptions often name a previous king as the beneficiary of the restoration. E.g., Amenhotep II at Luxor (Epigraphic Survey, *Opert. I*, 43 & pls. 3 & 119) and at Soleb (Edwards [1939], 3-9).

⁵ E.g., on a doorpost from Luxor Temple: *PM III* 321 (124a-b); *Urk IV* 2106-8. Onyet Temple, pl. 22, fig. 79. Following the king's titulary *smn, nmw, j nsw, j mn* (*Intw, j nsw, j smnw, j nsw, j j nsw, j j nsw*). 'He has made it as his monument for his father Amen-Pre-eminent-in-his-Harem, renewing for him his great and August portal.'

⁶ E.g., Deir el-Bahri: *Urk IV* 2134-20-2135; and the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu: e.g., *ibid.* 2135-6; *PM III*² 468 (42); *Key Plans*, MHB 161. See Har (1964), 389-394 & pl. 60.

damaged monuments, as in a text of Ay from his speos at Akhmim,¹ and by Horemheb in his Coronation Inscription.² These documents either make only generalized statements about the restoration of the temples or, if they go into any detail, focus on the replacement of the most costly and prestigious sorts of cult equipment, including sacred barques and cult statues made of precious materials. They never treat the rehabilitation of stone monuments in any detail.

Little attention has been paid to the largest task that faced the champions of orthodoxy, namely the repair of damaged reliefs featuring Amen-Re and other gods on monuments throughout the land. Between the accession of Tutankhamen and that of Seti I at least twenty-five to thirty years had elapsed, during which time vandalized reliefs were being restored. Extensive repairs to reliefs that Akhenaten's partisans had destroyed were made under Tutankhamen, Ay and Horemheb at Karnak, Luxor and elsewhere in the Theban region and throughout Egypt and Nubia.

It is Seti I, however, who is perhaps best known as a restorer of vandalized reliefs because he frequently marked these repairs with a *wnm y-nm* formula. These texts are generally found in conspicuous locations along processional ways, on monumental gateways, the lunettes of stelae and the facades of pylons. They are seldom found in the dark recesses and side rooms of the temples. Given that repairs had been underway for some two or three decades before Seti's accession, one may question whether such a large quantity were still unrestored at his accession, especially in such prominent locations, as Seti's renewal inscriptions seem to attest. It is becoming increasingly apparent that many of the restorations made under both Horemheb and Seti I were in fact secondary alterations to ones first made under Tutankhamen.³ It is well known that Horemheb usurped many of Tutankhamen's monuments to suppress his memory. This policy, it now seems, extended to his

¹ *EA* IV 2107-13. The statement is quite vague with regard to restoration work, the key term being *snm* rather than *wnm*. On this monument see Kahnum (1979a), 65-188 & pls. 48-56.

² *EA* IV 2119-13-17.

³ This phenomenon has been noticed before, but its full implications and wide scope have largely escaped notice. Murnane (1985), 59-68; Bicker (1992), 113 esp. 112 & n. 20; Janz & Bicker (1994), 277-285 esp. 284-285; Bicker (1997), 96-97. See now Brand (1999c).

restorations. These usurpations have generally passed unnoticed because Tutankhamen and Horemheb employed renewal texts only sporadically.¹⁰

This chapter will catalog restorations and additions that Seti I made to existing monuments, with particular attention to the epigraphic features of these reliefs, and will include transliterations of the *smw y-mnw* formulae added to the monuments. It is possible, even likely, that some temple reliefs were restored by Seti without the addition of *smw y-mnw* formula. Unless these have renewal texts themselves, however, or are associated with other reliefs that do, they will not be dealt with here. Such reliefs could be distinguished from other restorations made by one of Seti's post-Amarna predecessors only on art historical/iconographic grounds. Such anepigraphic restorations are beyond the scope of the present study.

Earlier post-Amarna renewal texts often varied in their composition, but under Seti I such inscriptions were standardized. His *smw y-mnw* formula is quite straightforward, consisting of a direct genitival construction of the infinitive of the verb *smw*, "to make new," with the noun *mnw*, "monument." This was followed by a *sdm.nj* past relative form employing the verb *iri*, "make do," followed by the king's prenomen or nomen plus appropriate titles and epithets in any number of combinations or variations. The prenomen was the most commonly used name, while the nomen rarely occurs unless it is paired with a renewal formula containing the prenomen. The formula closed with a prepositional phrase, either *n pr (it f)* Divine Name (+ epithets), "in the domain of (his father) Divine Name," or *n (it f)* Divine Name (+ epithets), "for on behalf of (his father) Divine Name."

These renewal formulae make it clear that the prime beneficiary of Seti's efforts were the gods whose images had been chiseled out, since as a rule, they end with the phrase "in the domain of Divine Name," or "on behalf of Divine Name." In apparent contrast, many of the renewal statements of Tutankhamen name Amenhotep III as beneficiary, but these are few in number and seem to be completions of the latter's

¹⁰ Ibid., Brand, 314-317, nn. 10 & 14 & figs. 1-2.

¹¹ Wb. IV, 126. See Björkman (1971), 32-33, 47-48.

monuments by the former.¹² The *smḥw-ḥmḥ* formula also appears with a handful of restorations made by Horemheb.¹³

In addition to repairing damaged monuments and reworking many previous restorations, Seti completed several existing monuments that had either been undertaken by various predecessors and left unfinished, or that he decided to renovate or enlarge.¹⁴ At Karnak he added reliefs to a few previously undecorated surfaces.¹⁵ At Soleb in Nubia, he converted the Aten temple of Akhenaten into an Amen temple by suppressing his discredited predecessor's reliefs and adding his own. Finally Seti also made renovations to a small number of existing monuments.¹⁶

¹² See note 4 above. The handful of restoration texts known for Horemheb name respectively both previous kings and the gods as beneficiaries, at times even in the same inscription. Thus at Deir el-Bahri the inscription reads 'His son, his beloved has made it for him, namely Djoserkheperure Setepenre as a renewal of monuments anew for his father and for his ancestor the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre' (Hart 1964: 39 & p. 60). Another text that seems to mention Thutmose II reads *ḥmḥ n n f Ḥm* (Kl. *imp. hch* 200') and 31'). This text most likely belongs to Horemheb, and not Seti I as Hart posits (ibid. 392-393; Björkman (1971): 42-48 & n. 4, contends that it could have been made by Amenhotep I if the reading *imp. hch* 200' is accepted. It cannot belong to Seti. But the same difficulty would present itself for Horemheb if he ruled for less than twenty years (See Mumane 1995b: 234-235; van Dijk [1995]: 29-34, esp. 34 & n. 25). Still, the length of Horemheb's reign is highly controversial and may well have been longer: see von Beckerath (1994): 63, idem (1995): 37-41.

¹³ Karnak P3/H 89-90 (240-241: 245) Medinet Habu, Eighteenth Dynasty temple P3/H 468-476 (39-44: 49-50), *passim*. See Hart (1964), p. 60. These are the only group of standardized renewal formulae used before Seti I. Surprisingly, they name both Horemheb and Thutmose II as the restorer! The formula used is *smḥw-ḥmḥ n n f ḥmḥ* PN n f Tm.

¹⁴ E.g. the Speos Artemidos of Hatshepsut, reliefs in the south part of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor and wall reliefs in the rebuilt edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak. *Infra* 2.7, 2.25 & 2.38.

¹⁵ On the south gable of the *wḥwt-hall*, north-east jamb and in Room XV. *Infra* 2.9 & 2.17.

¹⁶ E.g. he apparently rebuilt two doorways in the sphinx temple of Amenhotep II at Giza. *Infra* 2.4-2.5.

LOWER EGYPT

2.1 Tell el-Maskhuta, Hyksos Monument

E. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (London, 1885), 15, pl. 6; G. Daressy, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 259-272

This peculiar monument seems to have been something akin to a small stela. Made of limestone, its main face is shaped like a truncated triangle, the uppermost portion having been broken off at some point. It is inscribed on its front and two sides with sunk relief. The main face bears an offering scene portraying the king standing before Atum. On the sides, the king is shown facing towards the front of the object holding weaponry, and in one case grasping a prisoner.

Even a cursory inspection reveals that it is a palimpsest, all four figures having been extensively reworked in antiquity. Naville discovered it at Tell el-Maskhuta in 1883 and wrongly attributed it to the Twentieth Dynasty.¹ After careful study, Daressy determined its true nature.²

In its original state, the main face depicted a royal figure standing before the falcon-headed Horus-Soped, guardian of the Twentieth Nome of Lower Egypt.³ The suppliant had a shaved pate and wore a kilt with a long dagger attached to the belt. He held what seems to have been an oar in his right hand and a tall, narrow object that flares out at either end, perhaps a small brazier or altar stand in his left hand. The two figures on the side panels were dressed and coiffed in a similar manner to the one on the front. The figure on the right side held a prisoner by the hair along with a staff.

The object was extensively reworked under Seli I, whose cartouches survive on its main face.⁴ Both figures on the front have been altered. The deity is now the human-headed Atum wearing a tripartite wig surmounted by the double crown.⁵ The king's kilt has been altered and a bull's tail added, while the dagger has been replaced. The original arms and the objects they once carried have also been suppressed and

¹ Naville (1885), 15, pl. 6

² Daressy (1915), 259-266

³ Ibid., 262

⁴ Ibid., 266

⁵ Ibid., 263

replaced. The new right arm is raised in adoration while the left now holds a lotus blossom aloft. The king's visage has been reworked and his headgear changed. He now wears a long military wig with uraeus commonly found in representations of Seti I.²² An offering stand surmounted by a *hnwt*-jar and lotus blossom has been inserted between the two figures.

On the left face, the skull cap was converted into a *nemes*-headdress, and the staff into a mace, while the dagger was suppressed and a formulaic inscription "may all life and protection be behind him like Re forever and ever" was inserted behind. On the right side, the kilt now has a triangular projection, while his right arm was extended downward and the object it once held replaced with an axe. The headdress is now a *khut*-wig with uraeus. The left arm and prisoner have not been altered. Traces of the bottom of a cartouche with the epithet *w3t dj* remain in front of the king's face while the formula "may all life and protection be behind him like Re forever and ever" has been inserted behind him. On both sides the legs have been made more slender, while the back leg has been advanced slightly and a bull's tail added.

According to Daressy, the object may originally have come from Saft el-Henneh, site of the ancient Twentieth Lower Egyptian nome.²³ He attributed it to a Hyksos king,²⁴ and while the original iconography of the piece is unusual and might support a Second Intermediate Period date, this is by no means certain. Eventually it was transported to Tell el-Maskhuta.

2.2 Tell el-Basta, Lintel of Amenhotep II (BM 1103)

PAFIV 30-E. Naville. *Bubastis* 1888-90. EES Memoir 8. London, 1890, 31 & pl. 15D. M. L. Bierbriet. *BUT* 10, 1 & pl. 12. AR 1 227, §98 n. *RIT* 11, 196, §98, n. 1. *RIT/NC* 1, 149, §98 n. 1.

Restoration formula

Right: . . . *nsw bity nb Twy Mn-M'f-R' w n.f m sm3wy-nmw n*

Left: . . . *s3 R' nb h'w Sty-mr-n-Pth srwd pr it.f ml R'*

Daressy's drawing shows this wig with a flat bottom, but the photo seems to show a boss in the stone where the lappet of the wig should be. Cf. *ibid.* 262, fig. 2 with pl.

²² *Ibid.* 263.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 270.




This red granite lintel is carved in sunk relief with pendant scenes of Amenhotep II offering to the enthroned Amen-Re. On the left, the king proffers two *mw*-jars, while on the right his figure is entirely lost except for traces of the *khepresh*-crown. In the center are two columns bearing restoration texts of Seti I.

The restorers shaved down the entire surface of the lintel and re-inscribed it for Amenhotep II while replacing the formulaic texts in the central columns with a *smw y-mnw* text. The surface is uniformly even without a depression around the two divine figures while the pazeography of the glyphs in the two scenes matches those in the renewal texts.

Substantial traces of an earlier version of the two Amen figures are preserved. On the right, the upper line of the original arm holding the *was*-scepter floats above the secondary version, which was shifted down. Other traces of the original include part of the wrist and hand of the other arm, the leading edge of the front plume of the god's crown and the tops of both plumes. Finally, traces of the original calf and heel are preserved.

In the left-hand scene a cut line from the original lap survives above the secondary version. The earlier list of the left arm was larger, but in essentially the same position. As a result, the space for the *ankh* held in the other arm is cramped and the sign is crooked.

Recutting is also evident along the outer edges of both of the god's plumes, part of the earlier foot, the calf and the chest.

The surviving royal figure lacks evidence of such recutting because the sculptor used the existing outlines of the original figures and text as a guide when he reworked the piece. By contrast, damage to the Amen figures may have obscured these lines. As a result, the bases of some cut lines from the original figure survived, but were not aligned with the restored version. The left column of the renewal text is incomplete, with a blank space following the phrase *mnw n*. Immediately below this is a blank space followed by a trace suggesting the bottom half of a -basket or an , with a larger empty space below that.² In the right column, faint traces of  can be made out consisting of the *g*-cobra and the right end of the *i*-sign. These traces could represent either parts

² If on *r* it could indicate *pr* 'temple-estate' although the standard restoration formula is *m pr* 'in the house of' god X. There are examples of *smw y-mnw n* Divine Name, but not of *r pr* of Divine Name.

of the original text or an unfinished portion of the restoration text. The former possibility seems more likely, but that still leaves the renewal text incomplete in the left column, where one would expect the name of the god to follow the preposition *nmw*.

There are few examples of restorations made by Seti in Lower Egypt. Akhenaten seems not to have persecuted the cults of other deities as severely as he did Amen's. For example a stela of Thutmose II from Buto featuring the goddess Wadjet was not desecrated.⁷⁶ It is not entirely clear if the earlier version of this relief stems from the pre-Amarna original or from a secondary restoration.⁷⁷

MEMPHIS

2.3 Mit Rahineh, Stela of Amenhotep II (Cairo JdE 86763)

PM I 12 846 A. Badawi, *EA* 42 (1943), 9, 13 & pl. I 1 del. *JdE* 69 (1953), pls. 3-5, K. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 100, (fig. 32).

Restoration formula: *Hr K3-nht s'nn-Thw nsw-bity Mn-M'rt-R' st-R' Sty-mr-n-Pth sm'wy-mrw in pr Inn*

Seti added a restoration formula to the side of this siliceous sandstone stela instead of in the space between the two divine figures on the lunette where it is usually found. The entire surface of the lunette below the winged disk was recarved. In the process, much of the horizontal text divider above the first line of the main text was erased, leaving the figures in the scene without a ground line. Remnants of the earlier version of both divine figures survive. This is most apparent with Amen, who has been shifted slightly to the left. Part of his original right shoulder, the small of his back, the back of his left leg along with instep and the line of his buttocks persist. The original Ptah is attested by the cut lines of his chest and profile. The royal figures were also recarved, but, because their outlines were not obscured by hacking, the restorers used the lines of the original as a guide for reworking them. On the left,

⁷⁶ I am grateful to Donald B. Redford, who showed me a photograph of this stela. Cf. survivals of other gods not associated with Amen in reliefs outside Thebes, such as Montu at Tod and Khnum and his triad at Aswan (*infra* 2.70-2.72, 2.73, 2.75).

⁷⁷ See Brand (1997b) on the methods used to repair granite reliefs.

only the outline of the king's right calf survives from the original edition

2.4 Giza, Sphinx Temple of Amenhotep II, Doorjambs of Seti I

PM III 1¹, 39; S. Hassan, *Giza VIII* (Cairo, 1953), 106-07, figs. 76-77, AR 1, 78 (=set II), §40; RITA 1, 66-67, §40; RITANC 1, 66-67, §40

These doorjambs were either newly placed by Seti in the main gateway of the sphinx temple of Amenhotep II at Giza or were found as yet uninscribed by him, since there is no evidence that he usurped any earlier decoration on them. The thicknesses of both jambs bear conventional scenes of the king embracing a deity, Re-Horakhty on one and Isis on the other. The fronts of the jambs were later usurped by Merenptah.⁴ The iconography of the scenes is entirely conventional, as are the texts, which give the king's cartouches with epithets.⁵

2.5 Giza, Sphinx Temple of Amenhotep II, South-West Room, Jambs of Seti I

PM III 1¹, 39; S. Hassan, *Giza VIII* (Cairo, 1953), 38, 106 pls. 50a-b, C. M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* (Cairo, 1976), 117-118, pls. 6a, AR 1, 77-78, set II, §40; RITA 1, 66-67, §40; RITANC 1, 66-67, §40

These two doorjambs are inscribed on their fronts and thicknesses with the protocol of Seti I followed by *ir n f m mnw f* formulae referring to the gods Hwt and Horakhty, both identified with the Great Sphinx. The jambs were apparently uninscribed before Seti, and were, perhaps, installed, along with the jambs of the main entrance, during some renovation in his time.

2.6 Abu Sir, Pyramid Complex of Sahure, Fragment From the New Kingdom Sakhmet Sanctuary

PM III 1, 333; L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa'hu-Re' I* (Leipzig 1910), 103-104

Restoration formula: *... Mn] M's-R' s'nh-mnw ... Sty-[mr]-n-[Pth] Mwt-S'ht-B'st*

⁴ PM III 1¹, 39; Hassan (1953), 106-107, figs. 76-77

⁵ KRI 1, 78, §40; RITA 1, 66-67, §40; RITANC 1, 66-67, §40

Borchardt never published the actual relief fragment with this renewal formula. The text is highly unusual, employing the term *snh-mnw* rather than *snhwy-mnw*. One would also expect *mnw* after the name of the compound goddess Mut-Sakhmet-Bastet, although this might simply have been lost, given that Borchardt's edition is not a facsimile.

MIDDLE EGYPT

2.7 **Bain el-Baqara, Speos Artemidos**

PAf IV, 164; H. W. Fairman & B. Grdseloff, *JEA* 33 (1947), 12-13; S. Bickel & J.-L. Chappaz, *BSEf* 17 (1988), 9-24; J.-L. Chappaz in *Égyptische Tempel: Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, HAB 37 (Hildesheim, 1994), 23-32.

Situated at the mouth of the Bain el-Baqara, some 2.5 km south of the Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan, the Speos Artemidos was a rock-cut shrine dedicated to the local lion-goddess Pakhet. Hatshepsut may have been responsible for excavating only the pronaos area, which she partially decorated.¹⁰ With her dishonouring fate in the reign of Thutmose III, her name and images were expunged from the temple. Later still, the partisans of Akhenaten hacked out the name and figure of Amen where they occurred in the pronaos.¹¹

It was probably left to Seti I to hew the chapel and passageway, since he was the first to decorate them. In the sanctuary, decoration was limited to dedication texts on the frame around the statue niche.¹² On the jambs of the entrance to the sanctuary, twin figures of the king are shown entering the shrine while two pendant scenes of the king running a ritual course decorate the lintel.¹³ Two vignettes were carved at the

¹⁰ Hatshepsut decorated only some of the pronaos, leaving open the possibility that construction of the monument may not have been completed until the reign of Seti I. Chappaz (1994), 23-25; Bickel & Chappaz (1988), 24.

¹¹ That Hatshepsut's persecution did not begin until late in the reign of Thutmose III now seems beyond question. See Dorman (1988), 46-65; Van Siclen (1984a), 53. Idem (1989), 85-86. So contra Eaton-Krauss (1998), 209.

¹² Bickel & Chappaz (1988), 19.

¹³ PAf IV, 164 (20-21); Fairman & Grdseloff (1947), pl. 6.

¹⁴ PAf IV, 164 (14-16); *ibid.*, Fairman & Grdseloff, pl. 5.

south end of the passageway leading into the sanctuary, on the east wall Seti offers wine to Pakhet and, on the west wall, a water clock.³⁵

A long restoration text dated to Seti's year one was inscribed on the middle of the east wall of the passage.³⁶ This date has been called fictive by Chappaz, but he offers no support for this notion.³⁷ In fact, the original reliefs of Seti in the temple display traits of a post-Amarna style of relief, including slightly protruding bellies and down-turned eyes,³⁸ suggestive of an early date.

On the pronaos, Seti made various textual and iconographic alterations to the two scenes of Hatshepsut at the east end of the south wall.³⁹

The figure of the queen kneeling before Amen in scene four had faced away from the god, as was conventional in such tableaux during the Thutmoside era. After Thutmose III vandalized the figure, it was recarved under Seti I in his own name, now turned so as to face the god, who places a *hmnw*-crown on his head.⁴⁰ The figure of Amen was likewise restored, as indicated by a *smiwy-mnw* text behind him. An earlier version of one of his arms is visible along with other traces.⁴¹ In scene three, a figure of the *Imn-mwtj*-priest was replaced with that of Thoth, his name rendered in sunk relief.⁴² Bickel and Chappaz attribute this change to the influence of the nearby cult of Thoth at Hermopolis, but the god's role as a substitute for the *Imn-mwtj* during Seti's reign is also attested in the royal chapels of his temples at Gurnah and Abydos.⁴³

On the west half of the south wall, he added three scenes expanding on

³⁵ PM IV 164, 18, 19; *ibid.* Fairman & Grdseloff, pl. 6. For a photo of the latter, see Bickel & Chappaz (1988), 23.

³⁶ *Ibid.* Fairman and Grdseloff, pl. 7. *ARI* I, 41-43, §2. *RITA* I, 34-36, §21. *RITANC* I, 45-47, §21, Davidoff (1985); Davies (1997), 263-272.

³⁷ Chappaz (1994), 27.

³⁸ Bickel & Chappaz (1988), 21 & 23.

³⁹ For the textual alterations, see Fairman and Grdseloff (1947), 15-17. The scenes on the doorway and those to the right of it were never inscribed for Hatshepsut. So *contra* Fairman & Grdseloff, 17ff.

⁴⁰ Bickel & Chappaz (1988), 17.

⁴¹ For further epigraphic details of scenes 3 and 4, see *ibid.* 12, 16-20.

⁴² *Ibid.* 17.

⁴³ Gurnah: Rooms II-III. Thoth with priest in Room II. *PM* II, 41, (38); Thoth with the barque of Seti, Room III. *PM* I, 41, (41). At Abydos, Thoth accompanies or substitutes for the priest in several instances. *Abydos* II, pls. 30-35. Elsewhere only the priest is shown presiding over the king's cult. *Abydos* II, pls. 32 & 36, where Thoth substitutes for Seth as a titulary deity alongside Horus.

the thematic program of coronation in the reliefs of Hatshepsut to the east of the doorway.⁴⁴ No evidence of usurpation or reworking can be found, contrary to the view expressed by Fairman and Grdseloff that Seti had expropriated these reliefs from Hatshepsut.⁴⁵ He was also responsible for some decoration on the pillars of the facade that otherwise bear a number of cartouches of Thutmose III. An epigraphic study failed to turn up any signs of revision or usurpation.⁴⁶

THEBES/KARNAK

2.8 Karnak, Fourth Pylon, North Tower, East Face, Doorjamb
JNES 11: 79 (202); *Le Plan* AC 1: 8–9; P. Bagnat, *Temple* pl. 13; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak* (I, pl. 14; P. J. Brand, *JNES* 1: 16 (1999), 24, fig. 8.

Restoration formula: *Mn-M3'i-R' ss-R' Sty-mw-n-Pih m pr Itj Tmn-R' nsw-nfrw*

This scene, located on the south corner of the east face of the north tower, is executed in sunk relief in sandstone and preserves the lower torso and legs of a seated goddess. Behind her stands a minor deity carrying a tray. The left half of the scene, including a figure of the king, has been entirely lost.


Both the goddess and the deity have been recut. Traces of an earlier version of her buttocks extend along the base of the throne to the small of her back. Likewise her arm and the back of her throne have been reworked. Fewer adjustments were made to the minor deity. These included reworking of his buttocks and the back of his left calf. Little sign of hacking remains on the figure of the goddess. By contrast, extensive gouging persists along the base of the scene and on the male deity. Plaster, which still adheres in places, was used liberally to mask recutting and remnant hacking. Moreover, the most heavily recut area of the relief—around the goddess—coincides with the faintest traces of defacement. The earlier version, then, must date to after the Amarna

⁴⁴ Chappaz (1994), 25; *PM IV* 164 (57); Fairman & Grdseloff (1947), pl. 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Fairman & Grdseloff, 13, 17ff.

⁴⁶ Bickel & Chappaz (1988), 16.

episode,⁴⁷ indicating that Seti reworked an earlier post-Amarna restoration of the scene.

Seti also added a restoration text in a bandeau under the scene. Although it is otherwise conventional, the spelling of the king's prenom-
en, , is unusual. Such variants of his cartouche are most
common early in the reign (*supra* I.4.5).

2.9 Karnak, wdyr-Hall, South Gate, North-East Doorjamb

Pl. II 81 (210a), Key Plant. Ex. W. C. Loeben, (Cahiers de l'Annuaire 8, Paris, 1987).
209, pl. 5a

Seti's decoration of the interior jambs of the south gate of the w *idyt*-hall is a virtual copy of Amenhotep II's reliefs on the corresponding jambs of the western gate of the south half of the same edifice (next entry).³⁸ Only a raised relief on the eastern jamb is preserved, and there the king makes a gesture of salute with one hand while holding a staff in the other. There is no indication that he suppressed an earlier relief.

2.10 Karnak, *w/dst*-Hall, South Half, East Gate, West Jambs

PM 11- 81 (212a-b). *Key Plants*, KC 35-36. C. Loeben, *Cahiers de l'Arnak* 8 (Paris, 1987), 207-223. (fig. 28)

Restoration formulas

North Jamb : $\text{sm}^2 \times \text{mm}$ le h ub T sw Mn $\text{M}^{\text{c}} \text{t}$ R^{c} m pr it f mm

South Jamb: - 1 identical

On the jambs of this doorway, Amenhotep II makes a gesture of salute with one hand and holds a staff in the other. Restoration formulae below his outstretched arm are rendered in crude sunk relief.⁴⁹ Seti's renovation of this doorway included repairing the damaged names and epithets of Amen and repainting the scenes.⁵⁰ The royal image on the south jamb also bears signs of cosmetic retouching, and a bandeau text below it has

²² Reliefs cut in softer stone were typically attacked with such vigor that the few survivals of original relief were erased by the sculptors when smoothing down the surface in preparation for restoring it. See Brand (1999b).

⁴¹ Locken (1987b), 209 & pl. Vn.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 220 pl. 3a-b

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 208, n. 10.

been erased.⁵⁰ On the north jamb, the upper half of the king is coated with plaster, and only the sole of one foot shows recutting.

According to Loeben, the Atenists overlooked two occurrences of Amen's name on the south jamb, in Amenhotep II's nomen cartouche and in the caption describing his ritual act.⁵¹ In the caption, his name survives in very low, rather crude, raised relief, in contrast to the rest of the original text, while the area where his epithets occurred is deeply pitted with hack marks. These were filled in with plaster, with the epithets rendered in this medium alone. Elsewhere on both jambs, the names and epithets of the god were severely vandalized, and plaster was used to fill in deep gouges.

The epigraphic history of this relief is somewhat more complex than Loeben realized, the roughly cut glyphs bearing Amen's name are restorations, not originals as he thought, while the cartouches in both scenes have been entirely recut.⁵² The caption texts describing his act have been altered. On the south jamb, the original *ḥ*-formula describing the king's entrance into the temple has been changed to *rdt m'ḥ ḥt nbt nfr nb n nb Ttwy Tmn-R'*. Vestiges of the original formula include part of an *an* below the *Ttwy* and part of the original *nfr*. The new text was arranged so that *Tmn-R'* is cut over a portion of the earlier text that was not defaced. The god's epithets, carved over a severely damaged area, were largely restored in plaster where deep gouges remained in the stone. On the north jamb, parts of the original caption text were retained: *////// ḥt nbt nfrt ////* *ḥ k r-pr pn*.

It appears that large portions of these reliefs were recarved, including all the cartouches and one of the royal figures. The most severe iconoclast damage was sustained by the protocol of Amen-Re in the texts adjoining the royal titulary and in the caption texts describing the king's act. This hacking was covered with plaster, which was used as a sculpting medium. The north caption text was revised so that the god's name could be recarved on an undamaged surface, but his epithets had to be recut in plaster.

⁵⁰ Checked at Karnak by the author and Dr. William J. Murnane in June 1999.

⁵¹ Loeben (1987b), 208.

⁵² All the signs are on the same level, which is slightly lower than the background.

2.11 Karnak, *Wdwt*-Hall, Obelisks "E" and "F" of Hatshepsut

North, standing obelisk "E" of Hatshepsut, north half of the *Wdwt*-hall

PAf II, 81-2 (E), *Aegy. Plants*, KC 129, *LD III*, 22-23; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak I*, 35, figs. 60-61; II pls. 100-101, 108; J. Lafitay, *Karnak d'Égypte: Domaine du divin* (Paris, 1979), 27, fig. 12; (figs. 30-31).

South, fallen obelisk fragment "F" of Hatshepsut, originally from south half of the *Wdwt*-hall

PAf II, 82-83 (F), *Aegy. Plants*, KC 41, *LD III*, 24; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak I*, 91, fig. 115; II, pl. 9 (=pyramidion); P. Brand, *G.M.* 170 (1999), fig. 3; (figs. 29, 34-35)

Restoration formulae**North Obelisk "E"****West face, fifth scene from the top**

Restoration formula . . . *smḫw-y-nmw ḫr n nb ḫ'w Stv-mr-n-Tmn*

South face, fifth scene from the top

Restoration formula . . . *šš R' Stv-mr-n-Pth smḫw-y-nmw n ḫ'f Tmn-R' nb
pt*

South Obelisk "F"**Face a (=east).****Second scene from the top**

Restoration formula . . . *smḫw-y-nmw ḫr n Mn-Mš't-R' n ḫ'f*

Third scene from the top

Restoration formula . . . *smḫw-y-nmw ḫr n nsw-bḫy Mn-Mš't-R'*

Fourth scene from the top

Restoration formula . . . *smḫw-y-nmw ḫr n nb Tḫy Mn-Mš't-R' n ḫ'f Tmn*

Face c (=top).**Fourth scene from the top**

Restoration formula . . . *smḫw-y-nmw ḫr n nb Tḫy Mn-Mš't-R' m pr ḫ'f
Tmn*

Face d (=bottom)³⁴

³⁴ The bottom face was never recorded by Lepsius or Sethe. Checked in the field by the author and William J. Murnane in June 1999.

Main text central column, . . . *kt nht h'm Wst s'nh-Tlwy nsw-bty Mn-M'rt-R'-hkt-Wst Tmn-R' nb pt di 'nh smtwy-mnw [jr n]*

These two great obelisks were set up by Hatshepsut in the *wdyt-hall* in Karnak. The northern monolith is intact, while only the upper shaft of its mate still exists. During his sole reign Thutmose III built a gateway that enshrouded the lower two thirds of the obelisks. He did not, however, usurp or suppress his aunt's inscriptions. In every instance, the deity's figure was expunged by the Atenists and later restored. Seti I left a number of *smtwy-mnw* texts in some of the scenes and he also usurped one of the central dedication texts on the southern obelisk.

The upper halves of both monuments are decorated with eight offering scenes divided by the central dedication texts running the whole length of the shafts. Today, the main texts on the northern obelisk all belong to Hatshepsut. On the fallen shaft, it is clear that she was originally named in all four texts, but these have been usurped. She also dominates the vignettes, being named on every facet of both pyramidions where she kneels before Amen-Re, and in the lion's share of the panels on the shafts. Her coregent Thutmose III, and occasionally her father Thutmose I, appear in a minority of them, the latter always in the fourth scene below the pyramidion. Seti I later inserted his cartouches into a number of these tableaux, especially on the southern monolith.

All the divine figures in the scenes were carefully restored. Stylistically there are small variations among them, but all are deeply cut with polished surfaces, as is the god's titulary in the central texts. The exposed portions of the shafts were drastically recut in the post-Amarna era. Their surfaces were shaved back around the central texts and often around much of the royal figures as well, whereas one might expect that only the background of the divine figures would have been reworked. These surfaces lack the high polish of the original, making them appear lighter in color.

On the southern monolith, the background surrounding the main text was mostly shaved back, along with that around the god. Generally less of the surface surrounding the royal effigies was recut, mostly in front of them. The darker coloration behind them, and often in the negative space within individual hieroglyphs in the central texts, indicates where the surface of the northern obelisk is still pristine. This reworking ends midway through the fifth scene from the top, indicating the height of

Thutmose III's gateway. Since they were protected by this masonry, the lower three panels are entirely intact.

In contrast to its mate, more extensive alterations were made to the southern obelisk. Here the upper shaft was entirely recut, with only the outer edges of each facet retaining their original surfaces. Close inspection of the recumbent shaft proves that these reworked surfaces are quite rough and uneven compared with the almost glasslike smoothness of the originals. It is also apparent that the negative space around the royal figures was shaved back without the images themselves being erased. Stylistically, they are often Thutmoside in character, and differ from the post-Amarna mode of the Amen figures. Moreover, they are often shallower than the divine images because they were generally not recut, although some were retouched inside.¹¹ In several instances, Seti usurped the cartouches in these scenes and added *smtyw-nm* formulae.

There is a second difference between the two monoliths: whereas there was a complete usurpation of the main texts on the fallen shaft, there was none on its mate. In each case, only the exposed surfaces were usurped, often resulting in abridged or truncated inscriptions. Parts of Thutmose III's titulary appear on two faces, including his prenomen with the epithet *hkt-Wst* appended. Another side has elements of Thutmose I's protocol, but neither cartouche. Here the upper half of a partially erased prenomen cartouche of Hatshepsut remains. On all three faces, no effort was made to suppress or adapt Hatshepsut's Horus name *wst ktw* for either king.

The bottom face of the obelisk fragment was never recorded and remained inaccessible until the *Centre Franco-Egyptien* placed it on piers, so it could be examined from below. Upon inspection, one is surprised to find that the main text is in the name of Seti I.¹² In contrast with the other facets, Hatshepsut's Horus name has been fully usurped, although tell-tale vestiges remain. In fact, Seti's longer Horus name *k3-nht hr m Wst s'nh-Twy* has been squeezed into these confines along with the title *nsw-bity*. The text continues with the prenomen cartouche, including the epithet *hkt-Wst*, as found with Thutmose III's. This is

¹¹ On the east face of the south obelisk the whole surface surrounding the king was cut back and the earlier cartouches replaced with those of Seti in two of the scenes. The sunk relief of these royal effigies is often quite shallow. LD III, 24 face a: Schwalier de Lubiez, *Karnak I*, 191, fig. 115.

followed by an elliptical phrase *Imn-R' nb pt dl 'nh*. Next comes a horizontal text divider and the phrase *smšwv-mn[w ir n]*, part of which is hidden behind the pier supporting the monolith. This renewal formula was doubtless incomplete, however, as the rest of the shaft remained hidden by the gateway that enshrouded it.

One might ascribe the texts of Thutmose I and III to a usurpation by the latter. But several objections to this conclusion can be raised on epigraphic grounds: 1) Thutmose never usurped the northern obelisk, neither the main text nor the offering panels. 2) On the east face of the fallen obelisk, his titulary, including the cartouche, is incompletely carved. 3) Also on the east face, cartouches and *smšwv-mn* texts of Seti I are similarly unfinished, suggesting they are contemporary with the text naming Thutmose III.³⁶

All this suggests that Seti I was responsible for adding the names of his ancestors along with his own to the southern monolith. His alterations remained incomplete, however, on the eastern face. Further support for this hypothesis can be found in similar idiosyncracies shared by the texts, such as the epithet *lkl t W 3st* in the prenomen cartouches. Likewise, there are cramped arrangements, ellipses and errors in each text.

It seems clear that Seti I was responsible for the usurpations of the main texts on the southern obelisk. While he also inserted his name into several of the vignettes flanking the main texts on both monoliths, he left most of them alone. Thus Hatshepsut is still named in the majority of them. It is unlikely then, that his motive was merely her *damnatio memoriae*. Rather, through his revisions he meant to associate himself with two of his legitimate Eighteenth Dynasty ancestors as well as to claim credit for restoration work on behalf of Amen-Re. However, Seti decided to forego an extensive restoration of the northern obelisk, and,

³⁶ Close inspection of the obelisk at Karnak showed that these texts are incompletely carved and not partially erased as I had concluded in my Ph.D. thesis, § 2.4.1. I am grateful to Luc Gaborde of the *Centre Franco-Egyptien* for examining the reliefs with me, and pointing this out.

³⁷ (1) the omission of *n* from *xp-n-R'* (the phrase being incongruously inserted between *nsw-hry* and *nb-Hwy* before Thutmose II's prenomen on the east face) with the cramped arrangement of Seti's Horus name and *nsw-hry* before his prenomen on the bottom face and the omission of *mry* from the *dl 'nh* formula after it.

in fact, he never completed work on the southern one, leaving the inscriptions on the east face only partially carved.

A final question remains: were these obelisks still unrepaired at Seti's accession, or are they yet further examples of secondary restorations? It is, of course, possible that these repairs were Seti's work alone. On the other hand, the central axes of Karnak Temple would have been a high priority for Tutankhamen's restoration program after the return to orthodoxy, and secondary restorations of Seti and/or Horemheb are common along the main processional ways and in central Karnak.

As I have discussed elsewhere, the methods used to repair inscriptions in hard stones like granite make it difficult to detect secondary restorations, as compared with examples in soft stone.³⁴ Luc Gabolde points out that the reworked surface of these obelisks are rough, while the restored Amen figures are more polished. This suggests that there were two separate restorations. The first repaired the damaged icons. Later Seti I shaved back large areas of the background surface of both monoliths and usurped the main texts on the south obelisks (both in his own name and those of Thutmose I and III), and some of the offering scenes on both shafts.³⁵ If that is the case, one might conclude that Seti's alterations to the obelisks were secondary restorations, aimed at taking credit for pious work while simultaneously associating himself with two of his illustrious royal ancestors. This is not a classic example of this practice, for few if any traces of recutting can be observed on any of the restored divine figures, and these may represent survivals of the expunged original rather than a previous restoration.³⁶ The inconsistent and somewhat haphazard way the other reliefs and inscriptions were altered suggests that repair of the damaged icons themselves was not Seti's main goal. It is likely that the Hatshepsut obelisks are yet another example of secondary restoration.³⁷

³⁴ Brand (1999b), 38-40; idem (1999c), 124-125.

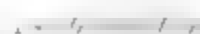
³⁵ Luc Gabolde by personal communication.

³⁶ On the upper scene of the east face of obelisk "F" a trace of the earlier kneecap and shin of Amen's left leg can be made out. Roccati (n.d.), 35.

³⁷ This finding has significant implications for the historical problem of the *damnatio memoriae* of Hatshepsut, as it is clear that Thutmose III never defaced or usurped the inscriptions on two of her most important and visible monuments.

**2.12 Karnak, *wšdyt*-Hall, North Face of Gateway of Thutmose III
Enshrouding the Northern Obelisk "E" of Hatshepsut**

Key Plans, KC 126; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pl. 109

Restoration formula  *n t f ʾmn-R' nsw-ngrw*

In this scene, only the lower portions of the king and Amen, standing face-to-face, are preserved. The restored Amen figure has been recut. It sits in a depression with scant traces of Amarna hacking remaining. Both legs show evidence of reworking, and an earlier tail can also be made out, one slightly longer and farther to the left. These alterations are consistent with cosmetic adjustments of a previously restored relief. By adding a *smṯwy-mnw* inscription, Seti I identified himself as being responsible for the final version.

2.13 Karnak, *wšdyt*-Hall, East Wall, Between the Second and Third "Osiris Pillars" North of the North-East Doorway

Key Plans, KC 123

Restoration formula  *Mn-Mʾt-R' m pr ʾmn*

Only the lower part of a scene depicting a king and Amen standing face-to-face is preserved. The renewal formula is cut in sunk relief, and runs vertically behind the god's calf. The name of Amen is partially erased. Recutting is evident along his legs, indicating that Seti's repairs are secondary. Similar reworking occurs in the panel to the left, although no renewal text is preserved.⁶

2.14 Karnak, Court Between Fifth and Sixth Pylons, Enclosure of Thutmose III, East Gate, North and South Jambs

PMH: 86 (223-224); *Key Plans*, KC 145-146; 48; P. Brand, *JARCE* 36 (1999): 25, fig. 9

Restoration formulae

north jamb, bottom register (=KC 146)  *smṯwy-mnw lr n nsw-bltv nb-
Tšwy Mn-Mʾt-R' m pr u f ʾmn-R' nb nswt Tšwy-tr f dt 'nh*

⁶ *Key Plans*, KC 122

south jamb, bottom register (=KC 48c) - *smšw-y-nmww lr n nsw-bity nb-Tšwy Mn-Mšr-R' m pr it f Tmn-R' nb pt dl 'nh*

The granite jambs of this gate bore at least three registers of scenes portraying the king being led by another deity before Amen-Re. The renewal texts occur on the lowermost registers of both jambs. The restoration was done carefully: the background was cut down, leaving no traces of hacking, and the figure of Amen—along with his name and epithets—was recut in sunk relief. This was carefully done, so that the depression of the surface is practically imperceptible without close inspection. The figures of Amen were rendered in a style consistent with reliefs of Tutankhamen, and there is no indication that they were restored more than once. It is likely that Sen merely added a renewal text to the two lowermost scenes on both jambs without further alterations to any of the divine effigies.

2.15 Karnak, Passage Through the Sixth Pylon, North Thickness
PM II², 89 (239c). Key Plans KD 149

restoration formula: *////// n nb Tšwy [M]n-mšr-R'*

Little more than the legs of a god leading a king are preserved in this granite relief from the thickness of the passage through the Sixth Pylon. Between them is a much damaged renewal text.

2.16 Karnak, Fragment from the Barque Shrine of Thutmose III

PM II² 95-98-99 (275). Key Plans KD 28

Restoration formula: *smšw-y-nmww lr n nsw-bity nb Tšwy Mn-Mšr-R' n it f Tmn-R' nsw-nfrw*

A large section of one of the walls of this monument preserves a scene of the king consecrating offerings to the ithyphallic form of Amen-Re.⁴¹ A renewal text has been inserted in front of the god. No traces of hacking or of any earlier version survive.

⁴¹ *PM II² 95-98 (275)*

2.17 Karnak, Room XV, North-East Doorjamb

PV II² 103 (308); P Barguet, *Temple*, 210, n. 1; C. Loeben, *Cahiers de Karnak* 8 (Paris, 1987), 233-243.

This scene was carved on the thickness of the doorway leading into a magazine of Thutmose III. It depicts the king making libation and thanking before Amen and the deified Queen Ahmose-Nefertari.⁶⁴ Her figure is rendered in bas-relief while those of the god and king are sunk. The royal image was recut so that it now leans forward very slightly. The legs have been shifted forward, along with the upper part of the chest, as were the head and *khepresh*-crown, the latter being enlarged slightly in the process. Traces of the earlier back of the crown, along with fainter ones of the original profile and eye, can be made out.⁶⁵ The nomen cartouche has been usurped. Barguet contended that this was a case of Seti II usurping Ramesses II,⁶⁶ but Loeben argues that the relief originally belonged to Seti I and was appropriated by Ramesses II.⁶⁷

Loeben also claims that the Amen replaced an earlier figure of the deified Amenhotep I. The image of the god was carved on blocks of alabaster, of which only the lowermost one remains. The surrounding material, on which the representations of the queen and the officiant king are inscribed, is sandstone. He maintains that Ramesses II was responsible for replacing Amenhotep I with Amen and that he usurped the cartouche at this point.⁶⁸ By contrast, he would assign the alteration to the officiant king's pose to Seti's reign, based on a comparison with altered reliefs of Seti in the northern part of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.⁶⁹

2.18 Karnak, Room XVI, Left Doorjamb

PV II², 104 (313); *Key Plans*, KD 196.

Restoration formula, *smšwy-mnw* [n] *Mn-mš'i-R'*

⁶⁴ Loeben (1987a), 233-243.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 234-235 with fig. 1, & 242, pl. 2A.

⁶⁶ Barguet, *Temple*, 210, n. 1.

⁶⁷ Loeben (1987a), 235-236 with fig. 2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 237ff.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 234 & n. 10.

This granite doorway in the north-east corner of room XVI of the *palais du Maat* is badly damaged, with little more than the renewal texts on its base preserved. It is not clear what other repairs Seti may have effected in this portion of the temple.

2.19 Karnak, Seventh Pylon, South Face, Jambs of Gateway

PM II*, 169-170 (498,c), *Key Plans* K.G. 26. R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak* II, pl. 369, (fig. 24).

Restoration formulae

East : . *smšw-mnw ir n nsw-bity Mn-Mšr-R^c m pr it f Imn-R^c*

West: 1 → identical

Only the lowermost scenes on both of the southern jambs of the Seventh Pylons are *in situ*. They feature Thutmose III before Amen-Re, with renewal texts of Seti I occupying the space between them. No remnants of hacking or recutting are evident, and the surface is uniformly even. The jambs were entirely smoothed down and recut, including the bandeau text at the base recording the name of the doorway compounded with Thutmose III's cartouche. The surfaces of these jambs are concave along their vertical axes.

Recently a number of blocks have been identified in the block yards at Karnak. Various *facial styles*, including some in a decidedly post-Amarna mode, are found among them, and they also bear further *smšw-mnw* texts of Seti I. It is likely that Seti merely added these after Tutankhamen had mended the reliefs.

2.20 Karnak, Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34011)

PM II*, 171, Lacau, *Stèles*, 21-22, (fig. 33).

Restoration formula : . *smšw-mnw ir n nsw-bity Mn-Mšr-R^c n it f Imn-R^c nb nswt Tšw*

Much of the main text of this dark grey granite stela is lost, although its lunette is intact. The surface is uniformly flat, without panning towards the center where the divine figures had been hacked out. Stylistically, the faces are in keeping with the post-Amarna mode, with tilted, almond-shaped eyes and slightly distended paunches. The entire surface of the stela has been shaved down and restored.

Recutting is confined to the two divine figures. On the left side, the calf of his forward leg was thickened, as was the shin of his back leg from the kneecap to the instep. On the right, the proportions of his forward arm were augmented along its bottom, with a secondary cut line extending from armpit to wrist. No other trace of reworking is to be found anywhere on the stela. A fainter trace near the heel of the left Amen figure may be part of the Thutmoside original.

These final alterations do not appear to be evidence of a secondary restoration. Since the surface is uniform, Seti could have added a *smn y-mnw* text only in the unlikely event that an earlier restorer had left the space blank. Nor do the traces of recutting appear to correspond to multiple versions, rather, they are cosmetic. The width of the reworked arms and legs on both figures is equal to the unretouched version on the opposite figure in each instance. Before this, the proportions of the arms and legs were uneven.⁷⁰

2.21 Karnak, Eighth Pylon, North Face

PW I 174 (517-519), *Key Plans* KG 102-111 *ARF I* 228 §98, b iv *RIT I*, 197 §98, b iv, *R. I-SC* 49-51 §98, b, v *R. A. Schwalier de Lubiez Karnak II* pls 380-38 *W. J. Murnane et al.* (1985) 59-68 *P. Brand, JACF* 36 (1999), figs. 6-7, figs. 7-9, 36-38, 40-47, 49, 145-146 & 48).

East Tower



PW I, 174 (517-518), *Key Plans* KG 102-105

2.21.1 KG 104. Thutmose II Led by Weret-hekau to Hathor Making *nnwy*, with Barque of Amen Carried by Priests Behind the King

The king in this scene is Thutmose II, and both his figure and cartouches are original Thutmoside reliefs. By contrast, the barque of Amen and the figures of the two goddesses were attacked by the Atenists and have been reworked (figs. 36, 38, 44, 49 & 148). In an article dealing with the two barque scenes on the north face of the pylon, Murnane has shown that Tutankhamen was responsible for the earliest restoration of the pylon in the wake of the Amarna iconoclasts.⁷¹ Both the western and

⁷⁰ I am grateful to William J. Murnane who led me to this conclusion in a discussion in front of the stela in Cairo in 1997.

⁷¹ Murnane (1985), 200-201.

eastern barque scenes were subsequently reworked by Horemheb⁷⁷ and Seti I respectively. On the canopy and veil of the eastern barque,⁷⁸ Tutankhamen's decorative scheme is largely intact, Seti having merely suppressed the winged beetle and  basket of Tutankhamen's prenomen rebus between the wings of the two goddesses and replaced them with -sign and *Mf*-figures while retaining the earlier sun disk.⁷⁹ Thus Seti's prenomen has replaced Tutankhamen's in rebus form. On the billow of the veil, he erased the rebus of Tutankhamen's prenomen as well as a section of cobra frieze, cartouches and winged beetles running along the base of the veil. Traces of this frieze and the prenomen rebus remain visible.⁸⁰

Seti made other minor alterations to the barque of Amen: the plumed staff in front of the cabin was shifted to the right; part of the earlier one is still visible. The bottom of the veil, which droops down over the middle of the hull, was also recut. Finally Seti enlarged a portion of the hull in its aft portion.⁸¹ Its bottom line shows two versions, while the surface of the deck was raised so that it now slopes up at a more dramatic angle toward the aegis at the stern. Traces of the earlier deck remain in the aft portion of the hull near the cabin. The priests carrying the barque have also been restored along with the carrying pole, which is now shorter. This, however, may be Tutankhamen's work, who also added *tf*-crowns atop the ram-headed aegises. These crowd the original Thutmoside text, especially on the back.⁸²

Both goddesses in this scene have been restored in the post-Amarna period (figs. 36 & 44) but while the figure of Weret-hekau exhibits little evidence of recutting, that of Hathor shows extensive reworking. Weret-

Horemheb seems merely to have usurped the rebus decoration on the veil of the barque of Amen on the west wing of the pylon, but ordered no further alterations to Tutankhamen's reliefs whatsoever. *infra* 2.2.5.

⁷⁷ Traunecker *et al.* (1981), vol. 1, pl. 33 (2). The barque is discussed by *idem.* vol. 2, 78 no. 100.

⁷⁸ Mumane (1985), 61-63, fig. 2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 62-63, fig. 2.

⁸⁰ This enlargement of the more slender fore and aft portions of barques of the post-Amarna period under Seti can also be observed at Luxor. *infra* 2.38.1 & 2.40.

⁸¹ Cf. the *tf*-crowns on the barque from the west tower that was restored by Tutankhamen and never altered by Horemheb. *infra* 2.21.5. Otherwise *tf*-crowns make their first appearance on the processional barque of Amen-Re in Tutankhamen's reliefs from the Colonnade Hall at Luxor.

hekau's figure lies in a depression, and scattered remnants of Amarna hacking remain in and around her. The only vestiges of the earlier relief are the upper portion of the earlier sun disk on her head and a portion of her ankle and the heel of her left foot. Part of an earlier sun disk is probably the base of a cut line from the Thutmoseid original, while the earlier left heel could be the same or a cosmetic adjustment made under Tutankhamen. There is no evidence that Seti altered the figure.

Hathor's image was, however, extensively reworked by Seti. More residual Atenist hacking surround her, some of which was filled in with plaster. Surplus cut lines from Tutankhamen's original restoration can be found all around, her earlier nose, mouth and chin float slightly below and to the right of Seti's version. Tutankhamen's shorter rendition of the cow's horns on her head can also be seen. The penultimate arms and hands were located slightly to the left of the present ones, with the previous left hand and right wrist and the left *ankh*-sign remaining visible. Other survivals include the calf of the left leg, the breast and the inside of the right arm down to the elbow. The preservation of these earlier traces of the figure contrast sharply with the paucity of remnant Amarna hacking in the area. Moreover, the figure of the goddess lies in a depression (the face is in an especially deep depression), so these traces of the previous version cannot belong to the pre-Amarna edition of the scenes, rather they must belong to an earlier post-Amarna restoration.

The contradiction between Seti's reworking of Tutankhamen's Hathor figure and his deference to his predecessor's version of the Weret-hekau figure may perhaps be explained by the notion that the human face of the former bore the features of the now discredited Tutankhamen, whereas the latter, having the head of a lioness, did not.

2.21.2 KG 102: Seti I Before Amen with the Lesser Ennead

Speech of Amen-Re acknowledging Seti's restorations







*... dd mdw in Iam-R' nb nswt T swy hnty Ipt-sw t ss (i) mr (i) nb T swy
Mu-M' t-R' smdw n k r-pr l m mswt m swy r 3ht nt pt nb t sw (n) n
mrwt k h'wy k(wy) m nfrw k di n.(i) n k nh wts nb*

Words spoken by Amen-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak: 'my beloved son, lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre, you have restored my temple as a new thing, as what surpasses the horizon

of heaven. My heart is joyful through love of you, I being exultant at your perfection. I have given to you all life and dominion.⁷⁸


The royal figure clearly dates to the post-Amarna period (fig. 37). Of its face, only the mouth and ear are preserved, but the shape of his mouth conforms stylistically to post-Amarna relief, as does the ear, which is pierced with an inward curving tragus. Both these features are characteristic of post-Amarna and Ramesside depictions of the ear (*supra* 1.2.1). Traces of the earlier image are found on the ankle, heel and inside of the back foot, the tie of the belt, and the base of the front thigh. A white crown in the ultimate edition has replaced a double crown that was somewhat larger, parts of which remain above the final one.

Seti's prenomen cartouche occurs twice in the caption text, the speech of Amen obviously being a post-Amarna composition. It is strange, then, that most of the recutting is found among the names and titles of Amen and in the epithets surrounding the king's cartouches above his head. The first of the four columns of Amen's speech contains his name and titles. These glyphs sit in a lower depression than the surrounding relief, as they would have been the only part of the original text to be vandalized.




Given the zeal of the iconoclasts in effacing the god's protocol from the monument, we may be sure that an earlier post-Amarna repair of the text by Tutankhamen has been suppressed (figs. 37 & 41).⁷⁹ The protocol itself remained unchanged, but the orthography was altered. Vestiges of a squatting divine figure can be seen under the , sun disk and stroke of *Imt-R* in the final version. Below this, part of the middle  sign of *hwt*, which is lower than in the final version, can be seen under the final . Traces of the earlier  which were also originally lower, occur above the final . The previous *hwt* *tp*-*swt* persists beneath the final one. Elsewhere in the main text, a few stray signs betray the former version, including a  basket, at a smaller scale, that intersects the tip of Amen's leading plume (fig. 37).⁸⁰ Partially erased glyphs of the group and part of a curved sign behind the upper portion of the god's left plume could belong to the Thutmoseid

⁷⁸ In many cases, the hacking of Amen's titulary was so deep that it could be repaired only in plaster, even when the figure of the god himself was recut in stone. See Brand (1997b).

⁷⁹ Brand (1997c), 127, fig. 12.

caption text suppressed by Seti, under the double cartouches of the royal figure: vestiges of a -beetle can be seen within the loop of the *'nh* in the *di 'nh m R* formula corresponding to the prenomen of Thutmose II in the penultimate edition.

Tutankhamen's restoration of the Amen figure was entirely recarved by Seti I. Also found elsewhere, a hallmark of this revision was the adjustment of the angle of the god's plumes so that they now rise at a steeper angle. His head has been shifted to the left somewhat, and traces of his earlier plumes, neckline and profile can be made out (figs. 37 & 145).⁴⁰ Other survivals include the inside of his right arm, portions of the ribbon dangling from his platform crown, part of his left arm and the *'nh* he grasps, the knee and shin of his left leg and the thigh and calf of his right leg. In restoring the figure, Seti made extensive use of plaster, both to fill in surviving traces of Amarna hacking and also to suppress the cut lines of Tutankhamen's version. Persistent damage was especially severe in front of his face, shoulders and upper arm, and much of the outer cut line of the sunk relief along the shoulder and arm was done in plaster. Where this has fallen away along the arm, a few segments of the Thutmoside relief survive. These are severely damaged and much shallower than either the final version or the penultimate restoration by Tutankhamen.

Amen's recut left plume intersects an -basket at the end of the original version of his speech (fig. 37). The earlier plumes of the figure were not as long as in Seti's version and would not have interfered with this sign, which was filled in with plaster, part of which has fallen away. The new forward plume also intersects a  basket, but this glyph was partially erased. Both signs are smaller than those of the new text, and therefore belong to the Thutmoside edition. Other vestiges of the original text, including the group  were not completely erased and can still be seen behind Amen's plumes. It is clear that the god's speech is a post-Amarna composition and that his figure and protocol have been restored twice in this period. Seti altered this titulary in the first column of his speech as restored by Tutankhamen, but whereas the latter had respected the Thutmoside edition of Amen Re's oration, Seti erased it and placed new words in the god's mouth praising his own restoration work.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 128, fig. 14.

Behind the large scene are three subregisters with five gods on each. Except for Atum, the second deity in the top subregister, all the figures of the Lesser Ennead were obliterated by Akhenaten's agents. Plaster masking that was used to conceal vestigial hacking has largely fallen away. Most of the images bear extensive signs of reworking, particularly along their limbs, indicating that they have been restored twice.

2.21.3 KG 103: Seti Offers Wine to Amen-Re & the Great Ennead

Restoration formula *snṯw v-nnw ir n nsw bṯw nb Tṯw Mn-M'ṯ-R'*
m pr it f ḥ

Speech of Amen acknowledging Seti's restorations

... *dd Mdw in Imn-R' nb nsw Tṯw nb pt nsw nṯw ss (i) nr (i) nb Tṯw*
Mn M'ṯ-R' lb (i) nḏm (w) w'ṯ m'ṯ (i) nṯw k smw n k hwt-nṯ i m
M'ṯw m sny r ḥt nt pt dī n (i) n k 'ḥ' n R' nṯwt nt tm

Words spoken by Amen-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods—my beloved son, lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre, my heart is greatly contented when I see your perfection, you having restored my temple as a new thing as that which surpasses the horizon of heaven. I have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum.

The figure of the king in this panel is the work of Seti I (figs. 40 & 146). The nose is prominent and aquiline, and the eye is rhomboidal in shape, with a down-turned inner canthus in keeping with reliefs of Horemheb (*supra* 121, fig. 146). The ear is hidden by a wig, while the mouth and chin have mostly been destroyed. Stylistically, the figure does not resemble those of Thutmose I and II on the same wall, which are Thutmoside originals, or that of any known early Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs, nor does it conform to reliefs of Tutankhamen. There are depressions of the surface surrounding the royal figure, but there are no signs of any recutting of an earlier version. Seti must have crased the original and replaced it with his own.

As with the scene above, the names and titles of Amen have been recut in the first line of the text, Seti having reworked Tutankhamen's edition (fig. 146). Here too the speech of the god deals with the restoration of the reliefs, and was composed under Seti, Tutankhamen having respected the original Eighteenth Dynasty text.

Extensive remnants of an earlier version of the Amen figure indicate that it also underwent two restorations in the post-Amarna era (fig. 40). Most of the leading edges of both earlier plumes can be observed slightly to the right of the final ones along with the upper front corner of the platform crown. The original ribbon dangling from the back of the crown is also preserved above the shoulder. The arms, especially the left one, have been reworked. The left forearm has been shifted to the right and is longer than the previous one, and parts of the earlier wrist and fist grasping an *'nh* are clearly visible.¹¹ The first *'nh* can be seen above and to the left of the later one. Two versions of the kneecaps and upper shins of both legs also survive. The right arm has been raised slightly higher than in the original restoration, and traces of the original version are evident. Here the fist was largely cut in plaster that has fallen away, and much of it is now lost.

In various areas around the figure of Amen, plaster now discolored, has been added.¹² Patches occur along the edge of the left arm from the biceps to the wrist, and down the chest. This stucco is found around other parts of the Amen, especially in front of the top of his platform crown and chin. Patches of it can be seen elsewhere in and around the figure and in a few other places in the scene as a whole. It seems to have been used primarily to mask evidence of the secondary restoration. On the left arm, a segment of the patch, which extended from the biceps to the end of the fist, has fallen out, exposing a deep cut line of the earlier fist. More plaster has fallen out around the front shoulder of the god, revealing a broken surface underneath. The front of the previous neck is also apparent, and the plaster in front of the god's face and crown now masks the earlier profile (fig. 9). Close inspection of this area revealed distinct traces of the tip of his nose and nostril as well as the lips and upper chin of the previous edition. The plaster also served to form an even background surface in the area immediately surrounding the relief where it had become broken and irregular as a result of the vandalism to and multiple restorations of the icon. As with the Amen at KG 102 above, this medium was also employed to mold a new outer cut line for the deep sunk relief around the god's shoulder, but here it has largely

¹¹ Ibid., 128, fig. 15.

¹² In June 1997 I was able to inspect these reliefs with a scaffold. Dusting off these discolored patches revealed the brilliantly white plaster.

fallen away, whereas it is still mostly intact along the outer edge of his left arm.

Behind the main scene, in three subregisters, members of the Great Ennead exhibit signs of severe Amarna hacking and two restorations in the post-Amarna period (fig. 42), extensive reworking being visible on all of them. Important for dating both extant versions of all the reliefs on the pylon are the easternmost figures on the lower two subregisters of this scene. After the original Eighteenth Dynasty decoration had been completed, Thutmose III added a wall between the Seventh and Eighth pylons, which obscured the leftmost edges of these subregisters. The lower courses of this wall are still intact, while the upper part is gone, but one can trace its balustrade, where it once covered the edge of the pylon, in the form of an engraved guideline. The Thutmoside relief is intact where this wall once covered it, including portions of the figures of the two easternmost gods on the lower two subregisters and the large was-scepter that framed the scene. On the lower subregister, Qebhsenuf has been hacked out and restored, but the back of his head, once covered by the wall, is pristine. The same is true of Nefertum at the end of the subregister immediately above (fig. 43). Here part of another version, once covered by the wall, is intact, while the rest of it was hacked. In restoring this, Tutankhamen shifted and replaced the icon entirely, which was then reworked by Seti. Here, then, is incontrovertible proof that the penultimate versions of many of the divinities on the pylon do not correspond to the Thutmoside original, but to Tutankhamen's initial restoration of the same, which Seti finally suppressed and reworked.

2.21.4 KG 105: Thutmose I Before the Theban Triad

This representation of the Theban triad within a large canopy was clearly restored in the post-Amarna era (fig. 7). The surface around them has been cut back, while the long text and figure of Thutmose I was not recut. Stylistically, the divine images are rendered in a post-Amarna style that contrasts sharply with the Thutmoside features of the king. There are, however, no traces of secondary restoration of any of the deities. The background surface of the relief is fairly even, with the exception of the area around Amen's name and titles, probably because the hacking was quite deep there. Unlike the other two scenes on the east tower, however, it too lacks evidence of a secondary restoration.

It is likely that the present version does not correspond to the original composition of Hatshepsut. This "family portrait" of the Theban triad together is not found before the post-Amarna era.⁴¹ The original scene, which had Thutmose I standing before a long text describing Hatshepsut's fictitious account of her coronation, would presumably have featured Amen crowning the kneeling Hatshepsut, possibly in the presence of Weret-hekau.⁴² This earlier tableau, doubtless usurped by Thutmose III, may have been restored by Tutankhamen but was erased by Seti, who replaced it with Amen-Re's "family portrait." Close inspection of the wall reveals that the negative space surrounding these gods is deeper than the pristine surface of the Eighteenth dynasty text to its right and of the deepest hieroglyphs carved there.⁴³ Presumably, then, the earlier vignette could have been erased by Seti without leaving any sign of its presence, thus accounting for the lack of recutting. Stylistically, the faces of these gods are in keeping with Seti's work on the rest of the pylon. The dense composition did not leave room for him to add a renewal text.

West Tower

PM II*, 174-175 (519), *Aes. Pylon*, KG 107-113

2.21.5 KG 107: Barque of Amen Carried by Priests

Murnane has demonstrated that this scene was first restored by Tutankhamen.⁴⁴ Horemheb subsequently reworked the rebus decoration of the veil and canopy of the barque shrine, which originally bore Tutankhamen's prenomen in rebus form, to reflect his own nomen. The cartouches of Thutmose II in the main text above the prow of the barque are of the Eighteenth Dynasty but were usurped from Hatshepsut. Amen-Re's name and protocols in the first column of text have been

⁴¹ William J. Murnane by personal communication. This anomaly was originally pointed out to him by Herman Te Velde.

⁴² Such a vignette appears on the upper right corner of the west tower of the Eighth Pylon and on numerous blocks from the *chapelle rouge*. Cf. *infra* 2.21.7 & *chapelle d'Hatshepsout, passim*.

⁴³ I am grateful to William J. Murnane, who took measurements of these reliefs in June 1997 for access to his notes on the subject.

⁴⁴ Murnane (1985), 60, 63-65 & 61, fig. 1.

restored twice, by Tutankhamen and Horemheb. There is no evidence that Seti ever altered the scene.

2.21.6 KG 108: Seti I Led by Monthu

Restoration formula: $\cdot + sm\dot{s}w\dot{y}-mnw\dot{t}r\dot{n}nsw-bity\dot{M}n-M\dot{F}t-R' [m\dot{p}r] \dot{t}f\dot{T}mn-R'$

Seti I has inserted his cartouches and Horus name into this scene (fig. 45). Traces of the original Horus name can be detected, including a *ph*-lion and a *wsr* sign, corresponding to Thutmose II's, *K3-nht-wsr-phity*. His prenomen is attested throughout the scenes on the upper registers of both wings of the north face of the pylon. Traces of an earlier 's and *hpr*-beetle of Thutmose' prenomen '*3-hpr-n-R'*' can be made out in the prenomen cartouche of Seti. This suggests, perhaps, that he also reworked the royal figure in a style contemporary with his reign. Although the face was hacked out in post-antiquity, the type of the royal kilt he wears is not known from the Thutmoside era, indicating that the figure is the work of Seti.⁸⁷

Monthu's image was obliterated under Akhenaten and restored in the post-Amarna age, undoubtedly by Tutankhamen. There is little evidence to suggest it was subsequently re-restored. The only signs of reworking are found on the calf and ankle of the right leg. This lone trace is more likely to be a cosmetic adjustment made to the original restoration than evidence of secondary alteration of Tutankhamen's work. Having the head of a falcon, Monthu's figure never bore the features of Tutankhamen, so Seti would have had little cause to rework it. He contented himself with adding a restoration inscription, usurping the titulary of Thutmose II and replacing the figure of the king in a contemporary style.

⁸⁷ This kilt, with an uneven hem line that slants down towards the back, first made its appearance later in the reign of Amenhotep III. W. Raymond Johnson by personal communication.

2.21.7 KG 109: Thutmose II Presented by Weret-hekau to Amen-Re and Khonsu, while Thoth Enumerates Regnal Years for the King

Restoration formula: *... smdwy-mnw ir.n nsw-bltv Mn-M³ti-R^c m pr ii f
Tmn-R^c s3 R^c Stv-mr-n-Pth*

The first Thutmoside edition of this scene featured Hatshepsut kneeling before the throne of Amen-Re facing the goddess Weret-hekau (fig. 46). The cartouche was later altered to name Thutmose II. Depressions corresponding to the kneeling king's lap and knee can be made out. At some point, the figure was suppressed and replaced with a standing one.

The icons of Amen, Weret-hekau and Thoth were all vandalized and restored but, as with the other animal-headed deities, Thoth and Weret-hekau were mended only once. Still, scant recutting persists, including the lower torso and front of Thoth's kilt and fainter traces on his left shin and along the bottom of his left arm and wrist. The only remnant of the earlier figure of the goddess is her right arm, which was crooked slightly lower and once touched the top of the kneeling king's crown. Traces of an original lower arm and hand of the Thutmoside Amen are also preserved, both of which overlap the figure of the king. Thus it is apparent that the goddess was restored only once. Nevertheless, these scattered traces are not consistent with the wholesale reworking of the other divine effigies on the pylon.

Amen has been repaired twice: as recutting around his lower torso, the elbow of his right arm, the small of his back and buttocks attests Khonsu, unlike the other deities, seems to have been a post-Amarna addition. Part of a suppressed inscription can be seen in the middle of his figure. Two glyphs, including a *nut*-sign, can be seen to the left of his buttocks, while three other horizontal signs intersect the back of his thigh.

Seli's only alteration to the accompanying texts was the addition of a restoration formula. The prenomen cartouche of Thutmose II can still be seen in what is preserved of the main text of the scene. There is no indication of recutting of the king's figure, as is indicated by the preservation of the Thutmoside version of Amen's arm.

2.22 Karnak, Eighth Pylon, Facade

PA II: 175-176 (521-522), *Key Plans* KG 143, 144, AR/I, 228-598, b. v. R/741 197, 598, b. v. R/741C 1, 149-151, 598, b. v. W Wreszinski, *Atlas II* pl. 184a, P Brand *GM* 170, 1999, fig. 6, idem, *JARCE* 36 (1999), 130, fig. 18, (fig. 47)

Restoration formulae

East tower : *smšw-y-mnw ir n sš R' Sry-mr-n-Pth m pr it f Imn*

West tower : *smšw-y-mnw [ir] n nsw-bity Mn-M'ir-R' di 'nh*

The two huge scenes on the south face of the pylon depict Amenhotep II smiling prisoners before much smaller figures of Amen-Re. The divine effigies, along with much of the text recording their speech, were expunged by the Atenists (fig. 47). These reliefs were restored on two occasions in the post-Amarna period, the second of these dating to the reign of Seti I, as indicated by restoration texts that accompany the final version. The restored images and renewal texts lie in deeper depressions than the rest of the surrounding wall surface. Still, these areas are peppered with chisel marks. Both icons were entirely recut, and it is apparent that both editions postdate the iconoclast's hack marks.

On the east tower, vestiges of the previous restoration include the upper part of the god's beard and lower profile (fig. 47). The original arm holding a *was*-scepter was slightly higher, and the back of the upper arm at the arm pit can be seen along with the upper forearm, wrist and part of the fist. The primary forward leg overlaps the secondary one. The final back leg was set further back than the first, and the previous calf can be seen inside the leg, along with the shins. The earlier version of the arm holding the *'nh* was shorter, and its fist and the loop of the first *'nh* are evident within the revised one. Traces of the earlier forward edge of the god's front plume can also be made out.

On the west tower, Amen's plumes were set at a more raking angle in the initial restoration.⁴⁴ The forward edge of the original front plume lies in the middle of the final one. The back and top of the rear plume remains behind the final one, with the cut line extending down to the back of the platform crown and the nape of the god's neck. The length of the arm holding the *'nh* was equal in both versions, but the primary one overlaps the final version slightly to the left. The same is true for the back leg and tail, with the former visible from the kneecap down to the

⁴⁴ Brand (1999c), 130, fig. 18.

base of the shin. Other traces include the base of the thigh on the forward leg and the front of the beard between the chin and shoulder.

Plaster was used both to fill in the pitting over the surface on which the Amen figures were carved and to suppress the earlier restoration. On the east tower, the name and epithets of Amen in his speech were deeply hacked and wholly restored in plaster.

2.23 Karnak, Stela "R" of Amenhotep II, Eighth Pylon, Facade
PM II 177 (R), Key Plans, KG 154, E. Edel, ZDPV 69 (1963), pl. 1 (figs. 39 & 48)

Restoration formula: [] *Ir n nsw-bity Mn-M'it-R' m pr It f Imn nb*
pt

The scene on this rose granite stela was entirely recarved by Seti I. It now sits in a square depression slightly deeper than the main surface. This basin is less than a centimeter deep. There are no traces of Atenist chisel marks, and the workmanship is excellent.

The glyphs on the stela are also of high quality and similar paleography. Moreover there is no evidence of damage to the names and epithets of Amen in the body of the main text. We may conclude, therefore, that Seti had the stela entirely recut. Its whole surface was smoothed down to remove all traces of even the deepest hacking marks in the body of the text and thus became the new background surface. The area of the scene was further cut down to remove the deepest hacking of the Amen figures in the scene itself, with only faint traces of the original front torso of the Amen figure on the left side being preserved. As a result, the whole scene was recut in a uniform depression. The final appearance of the restored stela was pristine, if unusual.

2.24 Karnak, Stela "Q" of Amenhotep II, Eighth Pylon, Facade
PM II 177 (Q), Key Plans, KG 150, M. Pilet, ASAF 24 (1924), pl. 9 (fig. 50)

Restoration formula: *sm'w-y-mnw Ir n nsw-bity Mn-M'it-R'*
Tsw-y

The entire surface of this grey granite stela was cut back when it was repaired. As a result, no traces of hacking or an earlier version are evident. Its present battered condition is largely a result of erosion that has utterly destroyed most of the text.

2.25 Karnak, Edifice of Amenhotep II, Court of the Tenth Pylon

PM II, 186 (527). *See Plans* KG fig. 3 C. Van Siclen, J 46 (1990), 75-90; *idem*, J 46 (1990), 169-176; P. Brand, *GM*, 70 (1999), fig. 2; *idem*, *JACE* 36 (1999), 131; fig. 19 & 132, fig. 20: (figs. 6 & 52-53)

Restoration formulae:⁸⁹

Pillar 31 *smšw y-mnw ir n st R^c Stv-mr-n-Pth m pr it f Imn-R^c*

Pillar 32 *smšw y-mnw ir n nsw-bity Mn-mš't-R^c m pr it f Imn-R^c*

Pillar 36 *smšw y-mnw ir n nsw-bity Mn-mš't-R^c m pr it f Imn-R^c*

Pillar 37 *smšw y-mnw ir n st R^c Stv-mr-n-Pth m pr it f Imn-R^c*

Scene 46 *[nsw-bity Mn-mš't-R^c Stv m(r)-n-Pth n it f
nsw-ny(rw)]*

This structure was originally erected by Amenhotep II in front of the Eighth Pylon. It was later vandalized by Akhenaten and restored by Tutankhamen.⁹⁰ Next, Horemheb dismantled it, reusing the material to build a new building of a radically different design. None of its reliefs, however, date to his reign. This new edifice was set up on the east side of the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons, and predates Horemheb's curtain wall.⁹¹

Numerous square pillars with decoration of Amenhotep II were reused in the new structure. Seti I added renewal inscriptions on the bases of four of these on the sides facing the central axis (fig. 53). The Amen figures on these piers were reworked on two occasions in the post-Amarna era, presumably by Tutankhamen and Seti I. Examination of all these scenes reveals that in most cases the icons were altered after the initial post-Amarna repairs. Recutting occurs on nearly every part of their bodies, especially on the limbs, faces, platform crowns, belts, necks and shoulders; this produces only cosmetic adjustments to the figures, in that it never alters their pose or iconography but only slightly modifies their proportions (figs. 52-53).

Many of the pillars from the original monument of Amenhotep II were not reemployed as such in the new structure. Rather their sections were built into the walls. These blocks were laid so that their decorated faces were hidden, the blank ones forming a dressed surface that was

⁸⁹ Van Siclen (1990b).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 75 & 77, fig. 2.

inscribed with new bas reliefs. Where part of a wall is missing, one of these original pillar surfaces is exposed, revealing the head and torso of an Amen figure that was repaired by Tutankhamen. Unlike those on the rebuilt pillars, it does not exhibit recutting. These revisions must, therefore, date to Seti I's reign after Horemheb had moved and rebuilt the structure. Tutankhamen having restored the monument *in situ* in front of the Eighth Pylon.

Horemheb decided that the original wall reliefs were unsuited to the new architectural format. The existing wall decoration is executed in the name of Amenhotep II, but the only other king named in these reliefs is Seti I, who was responsible for many if not all of the wall reliefs, especially those in the northern suite where he left a renewal text on the north wall.⁹² All these wall scenes were new compositions, not repairs of damaged Eighteenth Dynasty tableaux, the divine figures in the wall scenes being originals made by Seti, with no sign of restoration. Stylistically, they bear markers of post-Amarna art in their representations of both kings and gods, including protruding bellies, slightly tilted eyes and slender limbs (fig. 6). The faces compare favorably with examples under Horemheb and Ramesses I, as well as those known to date to Seti's earliest years (*supra* 1.2.1). We may conclude that Seti I found this edifice rebuilt by Horemheb with its new decorative program incomplete. He reworked the divine figures originally repaired by Tutankhamen and added four renewal texts on the first two pairs of columns along the main axis. He was also responsible for many if not all of the wall scenes, which are entirely new post-Amarna compositions.

2.26 Karnak, Contra Temple of Amen-Re-Horakhty

PWT 216 (6), *Key Plans* KJ 112-113, A. Varile, *JNES* 50 (1950), 152-153, pl. 171

Restoration formulae

Pillar 3 Destroyed except for traces of prenomen cartouche

Pillar 4 - [smḏw]-mḏw-ḥr n nsw-ḥw Mn-Mḥt-R' m pr-ḥt f Imn-R'

Seti carved restoration formulae on the west faces of the two central pillars on the facade of the building.⁹³ Their west faces are bas relief

⁹² Scene 46, *Key Plans* KG 245

⁹³ Varile (1950), 153, pillars 3-4. Only traces of Seti I's cartouche are preserved on pillar three

with scenes of Amen embracing the king.⁹⁴ The north and south faces have identical vignettes in sunk relief,⁹⁵ all restored by Seti I. In every case, traces of hacking remained after these reliefs were mended, with plaster being used to fill in the remaining pits.

Seti was also responsible for repairs inside the building. Here, the surfaces were shaved back so that the figures of Amen could be recut in very low relief, with the deepest traces of hacking filled in with plaster.⁹⁶ All the panels appear to have been restored only once in the post-Amarna era, presumably by Seti I. There are no signs of recutting, while the figures of Amen are executed in a style consistent with his earliest years.⁹⁷

2.27 Karnak, Contra Temple, Obelisk Fragments of Hatshepsut

PA II: 218 (32-33). A. Varille (1947-50) (1950), 40-2, fig. 1 & pl. 6. Ch. Kuentz *Obélisques* (Cairo CG 1308-3-5 & 17001-2036) (Cairo 1932), 20-24, pls. 7-9, R. Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst: Wesen und Ver.lichte* (Berlin, 1944), 222, abb. 238.

Fragment of the shaft of one of these obelisks

Restoration formula: -1 smtsw-mrw tr

This fragment preserves the heads and upper torsos of a king offering to the ithyphallic form of Amen Re. The figure of Amen has been reworked in a post-Amarna style.⁹⁸ Another fragment bears a figure of the god finished in a more conservative style, in keeping with the early Ramesside age.⁹⁹ Although the name of the king in the restoration formula is lost, there is no need to assign it to Ramesses II, as Varille does.¹⁰⁰ While it is true that he added marginal texts to this and other obelisks at Karnak and elsewhere, none of these has ever been associated with a restoration formula. Seti I, on the other hand, was responsible for restorations in the contra temple in which these obelisks were set up and of other standing obelisks at Karnak.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 153 & pls. 17-1 and 18.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 153 & pl. 17-2.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pls. 14-15.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pl. 18.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 140, fig. 1.

⁹⁹ Hamann (1944), 222, abb. 238. Cf. figures of Amen from the pyramidion of one of these obelisks, Kuentz (1932), pls. 7-9.

¹⁰⁰ Varille (1950), 142, fig. 1. Restoration inscriptions of Ramesses II are quite rare.

The decorative scheme of these monoliths was similar to the queen's other pair set up in the *wšdwt*-hall, including a series of ritual scenes on the upper shaft. Here again, the entire surface of the shaft was cut back, suggesting that they may also have been restored twice, by Tutankhamen and Seti (*supra* 2.11).

A pyramidion from one of these obelisks is now in Cairo (CG 17012). Originally, the scenes depicted Hatshepsut kneeling before the enthroned Amen-Re.¹⁰ At some point, the queen was suppressed and replaced by a pair of offering stands with lotus flowers on each face. This probably happened late in Thutmose III's reign, rather than in the post-Amarna era. The figures of Amen were entirely recut in a style reminiscent of Thutmose art. No traces of an earlier restoration of these icons or of Atenist vandalism are evident.

2.28 Karnak, Ptah Temple, Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34013)

*PAI II*², 198 (6), P. Lacau, *Stèles* 27, pl. 9, (fig. 51)

Restoration formula: *... sntwv-mnw tr n nsw-bity Mn-Mt-R' m pr it j Pth nb-Mt'*

The recutting on this stela is largely confined to the scene on the lunette. These areas of recutting are easily distinguished from the original surface by their lighter color and rougher finish. The entire lunette has been shaved down, excluding only the wings and disk of the Behdetite and the body and space behind a figure of a queen on the right side. Traces of a cut line behind the divine figure on the left define the back of the original (from the buttocks to the heel). Likewise, portions of the god's arms and two segments of his *wšdwt*-scepter, including its prong, are evident. From all this it is clear that the images of Ptah were considerably smaller in the previous version than in the final one. On the right, the cut line of Ptah's original back is preserved from above the buttocks to the heel. Two lines of his arms can also be made out.

The areas around the figures of Thutmose III have been cut back, but not as deeply as around those of Ptah. Unlike other restorations where the whole lunette was shaved down, the two royal figures on Cairo CG

¹⁰ Kucotz (1932), 20-24, pls. 7-9

34013 were not reworked following the cut lines of the original version. On the right-hand scene, traces of the king's back leg remain, as does the shin of his forward leg. These are very faint, having been almost completely erased. As with the deity, the earlier images of Thutmose III were smaller than in Seti's restored version. Moreover, the final royal effigies are larger than those of Ptah.

In the body of the text, several areas have been shaved down for the restoration of Amen's name. The largest of these occupies the first seven lines on the left side of the stela. Other, irregular patches of the surface have also been cut back where the god's name occurs, with the surface area that encompasses two or three groups of signs to either side and above and below the name being partially erased. It is not clear if the penultimate figures stem from the vandalized Thutmoside relief or from an earlier restoration.

2.29 Karnak, Stela Fragment from Temple J

D. B. Redford, *Orientalia* 55 (1986), 2 & n. 10

In 1971, Redford noted the existence of a stela fragment bearing a restoration text of Seti I. It has since disappeared.¹⁰²

2.30 Karnak, Loose Block Usurped from Horemheb

Restoration formula(?) *Ir n nsw-bity Mn-M^ct-[R^c] n Itf [Imn-R^c] hnty 7[pt-sw t]*

This sandstone block was deposited in the block yard south of the First Court and Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and remains unpublished. Finished in fine low relief, it bears part of a text suggestive of a renewal formula. Most interestingly the cartouche has been usurped. Beneath the *m^ct*-figure and *[-----]*-sign of Seti's prenomen, traces of *-hpr[w-R^c]-stp-n-R^c* can easily be made out. This can only belong to Horemheb's prenomen. It is not clear where the block comes from or why Seti usurped it.

¹⁰² Redford (1986a), 2 & n. 10

2.31 Karnak, Gateway of Amenhotep III Restored by Seti I

PM II², 77; Barguet, *Temple*, 35; (fig. 54)

This small gateway was erected by Amenhotep III and later rebuilt by Ramesses III. Ramesses IV and VI also added marginal inscriptions. In its ruined state, several blocks inscribed by Amenhotep III are visible. In at least two instances, restored images of the god Amen stemming from the decoration of Amenhotep III exhibit recutting consistent with secondary restoration. Another block preserves the cartouche of Seti I indicating that he was responsible for this ultimate restoration.

This block is inscribed in mediocre sunk relief of Amenhotep III, who offers a pot of incense. Only his head and protocol, including his cartouches, are intact. On the left edge of the text is a third cartouche giving the prenomen of Seti I. Above this is part of the title *nb Tm*. Traces of suppressed glyphs are apparent underlying this, proving the text is a later addition. These include a reed leaf intersecting the upper right portion of the cartouche and a horizontal line bisecting the *Mt*-figure just below her chin. In restoring the divine figure in this scene, Seti I apparently replaced a portion of a stereotyped *gd mdu* in text with a *smšw-mnw* formula.¹⁰³

2.32 Karnak, Reused Blocks from the Monthu Precinct

JM II, 7; A. Varille, *Karnak Nord I* (Cairo, 1943), 10, fig. 2; Kobichon *et al.*, *Karnak Nord IV I* (Cairo, 1954), 63 (20-22), figs. 95-97.

Block T 46 Sandstone¹⁰⁴

Only the base of a raised relief cartouche with a -sign is preserved.

Block E 162 Sandstone¹⁰⁵

Renewal formula: [*smšw-mn*]w n n nsw-bty [*Mn-Mt-R*]

The left side of this raised relief block preserves the right side of the torso and arm of a male deity holding an *ankh*. The figure has been restored, despite heavy hacking on the arm and the torso above the

¹⁰³ Cf. renewal texts he added to the obelisks of Hatshepsut from the *w d'yt*-Hall, and the Karnak Eighth Pylon. *Supra* 2.11 & 2.21.


¹⁰⁴ Varille (1934), 63 (20) & fig. 95.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 63 (21) & fig. 96.

waist. Plaster must have been used liberally to complete the restoration. To the right is part of a renewal formula in raised relief

Block E 161 Sandstone¹⁰⁶

Renewal formula. - I *imdw-y-m[aw]*.

This block bears part of a renewal formula inserted into the upper portion of a scene. Above the text is the lower part of the wing of a falcon or vulture. The text is capped by a  sign, with only the left half of the column of text being preserved. To the left of the inscription is a vertical border element. The extreme left edge of the block is rough, but there is no indication of hacking. All three blocks may come from one or more doorways.

2.33 Karnak, Temple of Maat, First Hypostyle (=II)

A Varille, *Karnak Nord I* (Cairo, 1943), 10-11, fig. 2, face 1B

Seti I seems to have erected, or simply decorated, a pair of limestone columns in hall II of the temple of Maat within the Monthu precinct.¹⁰⁷ These were engaged to the east and west interior walls of the chamber. The western pillar was decorated with the cartouches and epithets of Seti I, which are only partially preserved. Both Ramesses II and III subsequently added marginal inscriptions to the sides of the column. The eastern one must also have been decorated for Seti, but all that remains is part of a marginal inscription of Ramesses III.

2.34 Karnak North, So-called Gateway of Thutmose I

PM II 16 (63), *Key Plans* KO 117, 22. A Varille, *Karnak Nord I* (Cairo, 1943), pl. 98. C. Robichon, *Karnak Nord III* (Cairo, 1951), 76-77. C. Van Siclen, *JAM* 80 (1984), 83.

Renewal formula.  *Mn-Mf-R' s3-R' nb h'w* [Sty] *mr-n-Imn* [*di nh*]

On the west wall of the passage of this gateway, a relief depicts a king being led by Amen. At some point a smaller figure of a second king offering an image of Maat to the god was inserted. Seti had been


¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 63 (22) & fig. 97.

¹⁰⁷ Varille, *Karnak I*, 10-11, fig. 2 facing 10.

credited with decorating the west wall of the passage of this gateway, with the smaller king being taken as the work of a successor. After re-examining the reliefs, Van Siclen pointed out that Seti was responsible for the restoration of the Amen figure alone, with his name occurring only in the renewal formula.¹⁰⁷

2.35 Karnak, Kamutef Chapel

PWIT 275-276; H. Rieke, *Das Kamutef-Heiligtum in Karnak*, BABA 3 2 (Cairo, 1954), 4 fig. 1, 45 n. 11, pls. 10 [c]

There are only two fragments that can be assigned to Seti I from this structure. One, a fragment of the bottom of a cartouche with a  sign and the lower portions of a *Mst* figure, certainly belongs to Seti. Rieke's reconstruction of the scene in which this fragment occurs is not clear, although it might be an offering formula.¹⁰⁸

A second fragment, bearing the Horus name *K3-nht h'-m-W3st* cut over that of Hatshepsut, perhaps makes better sense as that of Thutmose III and not Seti I, since the former was responsible for suppressing the queen's memory late in his reign.¹⁰⁹

LUXOR TEMPLE

2.36 Luxor, Stela of Thutmose IV, Year One

E. Saved-Hegazy, *HE 1* 101 (January 1986), 20; E. Saved-Hegazy and B. Bryan, *JEA* 4 2 (1986), 9-13; B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Champaign, 1991), 184-186 c. 4 2, & pl. 22, fig. 32

Restoration formulae

Left column \square *sm3wy mnw it n nsw-hity Mn-M3'i-R' m pr it f Imn-R'*

Right column \square *Imn-R' nb nswt T3wy nb pt s3 R' nb h'w Sty-mr-n-Pth
dt 'nh ml R' dt*

¹⁰⁷ Van Siclen (1984b), 83

¹⁰⁸ Rieke (1954), 4 fig. 1 with n. 11. If so, the *t* behind a bird could be the remains of a worn sun disk of *s3 R'*. The traces below the cartouche would make better sense as *n it, f Imn*.

¹⁰⁹ Contra Rieke, *ibid.*, pl. 4 & 45, n. 11

This black granodiorite stela was recently found in front of the Ramesside pylon.¹¹ Its entire surface was shaved down by Seti I, leaving a raised lip around its outer edges.¹² As Hegazy and Bryan have noted, its figures and text were recut following the lines of the original. The paleography of the signs in the restoration text is the same as in the rest of the text, while no damage to Amen's name remains.¹³ To remove the deepest hack marks, when the icons were restored, the surface around the divine figures in the center of the lunette was cut down slightly more than on the rest of the stela. There is no evidence of a secondary restoration.

2.37 Luxor, Fragmentary Stela of Thutmose IV

PM I, 538; M. Abdul-Qader Muhammad, *ASAE* 60 (1966), 248-249, 27 (XXV) & pl. 25; B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose II* (Baltimore, 1991), 183 (54).

Restoration formula: *smwsw-nmw it n nsw-hwt [Mn]-Mf'r-R*

Only the upper portion of this black granodiorite stela is preserved, including most of the lunette scene. None of its main text survives. The restoration formula in the center of the scene is flanked by two figures of Amen. It appears that the entire lunette has been reworked below the winged disk at the top.¹⁴

2.38 Luxor, Colonnade Hall of Amenhotep III & Tutankhamen

PM I, 3, 2-316; Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Upper and Lower Egypt: Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I* (OIP 12, Chicago, 1945), pls. 43-49, 51-67; idem, *The Festival Procession of Upper and Lower Egypt: Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I* (OIP 12, Chicago, 1945), pls. 43-49, 51-67; idem, *The Festival Procession of Upper and Lower Egypt: Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I* (OIP 12, Chicago, 1945), pls. 43-49, 51-67; idem, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I*, forthcoming.

The Colonnade Hall in Luxor Temple was constructed late in the reign of Amenhotep III, but its decoration was largely forestalled by his death and the ensuing Amarna interlude.¹⁵ Work commenced in earnest under

¹¹ Hegazy (1986), 20.

¹² Hegazy & Bryan (1986), 94, pl. 1.

¹³ Ibid., 93-95.

¹⁴ As noted by Bryan (1991), 231, n. 245.

¹⁵ Several scenes on the facade were probably laid out in cartoon form late in Amenhotep III's reign. Johnson (1990), 29-31; drawing 3; idem (1994), 133-134.

Tutankhamen, and by the end of his reign, reliefs in all but the southernmost portions of the hall were complete. Ay finished the decoration of the facade, but the project lapsed under Horemheb, only to be resumed by Seti I, who completed the decoration of the southernmost portion. The compositional unity of the tableaux suggests that Tutankhamen was responsible for laying out the decoration of the entire Colonnade Hall in cartoon form.¹¹⁴

2.38.1 Luxor, The Festival Procession of Opet Reliefs

Although the southern third of the Colonnade Hall remained uncarved when Tutankhamen died, Horemheb never sculpted these scenes, contenting himself with usurping the cartouches of Tutankhamen and Ay in the completed decoration. He also revised the cartoon of the large barque scenes at the southern end of the hall, changing the rebus decoration of the veil and canopy to reflect his own titulary.¹¹⁵

The tradition of incorporating elements of the reigning king's titulary into the decoration of the canopy of sacred barques in rebus form seems to have begun with Tutankhamen.¹¹⁶ Now too depictions of such iconography in relief became the object of the usurper's chisel. At Luxor and elsewhere, Horemheb often suppressed such Tutankhamen rebuses in existing representations of the barque of Amen-Re¹¹⁷ while in other scenes from the northern portion of the Colonnade Hall, he unaccountably left them alone.¹²⁰

It was not until Seti I came to the throne that the decoration in the southernmost portion was finally carved in relief. The presence of unaltered cartouches of Seti in these compositions pegs him as responsible for carving them.¹²¹ Seti introduced a few changes of his own beyond those Horemheb had made to Tutankhamen's cartoon. While he

¹¹⁴ Epigraphic Survey, *Opet*, xvii, xix & n. 15.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. pls. 43-50 & 58. The bottom of this veil may have been partially carved by Tutankhamen and usurped by Horemheb. Ibid. 23 & n. 70 (epigraphic commentary on pl. 58).

¹¹⁶ Mumane (1985), 67-68.

¹¹⁷ E.g. on the east interior wall of the Luxor sun court and on the Eighth Pylon at Karnak (*supra* 2.2.5 & *infra* ? 41ff). So too, in the main sanctuary of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri. Janusz Karkowski by personal communication.

¹²⁰ In the Colonnade Hall: Epigraphic Survey, *Opet*, pls. 110-111.


Ibid. xvii.

respected Horemheb's iconographic changes to the veil of the barque, he altered the design of the exposed upper cabin to reflect his own prenomen.¹²² This combination of rebus decoration of two different kings on the veil and cabin of the barque is paralleled in the northern part of the Colonnade Hall, where Tutankhamen is named on the veil and Amenhotep III occurs on the upper portion of the cabin where Tutankhamen, like Seti, had sought to associate himself with a predecessor.¹²³ This is, perhaps, indicative of an early date for the reliefs.¹²⁴

Seti made other changes to representations of the barques. The hull was thickened at the prow and stern, and the collars of the aegises were enlarged.¹²⁵ These augmented proportions are characteristic of examples of divine barques made under Seti I,¹²⁶ and can be observed in alterations he made to the extant barque scenes carved for Tutankhamen on the east tower of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak and the east wall of the sun court at Luxor, as well as the stouter hulls of his own original reliefs in the Karnak Hypostyle and Gurnah Temple. Certainly Horemheb was not responsible for augmenting the proportions of the barque, as can be seen from original examples from his reign,¹²⁷ and the lack of such alterations to tableaux he usurped from Tutankhamen.

2.38.2 Columns, Architraves, Upper Registers & Clerestory

Seti was also responsible for the carved decoration on the two southernmost pairs of columns in the hall.¹²⁸ Iconographically and stylistically, these reliefs are similar to those on the northern columns, and it is clear that Seti was using existing cartoons of Tutankhamen. He abandoned,

¹²² For the veil, see *ibid.* 22-23, pl. 58. Only one fragment of the upper cabin survives, preserving a *khrys* figure standing on a -sign as found on other examples from Seti's reign (*ibid.* 21 (iconographic comments) and pl. 50, fragment 9).¹²³ Compare the barque of Amen from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, for which see *CH/IK* I, pls. 53 and 76.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* Epigraphic Survey, 23 (iconographic comments) and pl. 1-1.

¹²⁵ The only other monument of the early Nineteenth Dynasty that seems to honor Horemheb's memory is a small obelisk of Ramesses I. Aldred (1968), 100-103, fig. 1-4, pl. 17-1, *ARI* VII, 6.

¹²⁶ Epigraphic Survey, *Opes* 19-20 with pls. 43 and 56 (cf. the much more slender prow and stern of the barques carved under Tutankhamen *ibid.* pls. 7 and 10).




¹²⁷ See *ibid.* 19 n. 63 for references.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 19, n. 62.

¹²⁹ Epigraphic Survey (1998), pls. 190-193.

however, a scheme for the posthumous honoring of Amenhotep III adopted by Tutankhamen in the decoration of the columns, since he alone is the officiant in these scenes.²⁰

Only fragments of the upper portions of the building have survived. Its upper two-thirds were largely quarried away in the medieval period, and only a small portion of the original wall surface has been preserved. Above the Opet register, a series of tableaux representing the Min festival was laid out, while the uppermost register and the spaces between the window grills bore stereotyped offering scenes.²¹ Fragments of this register from the south west interior wall of the building have been reassembled, revealing three scenes carved for Seti I. These reliefs are inferior in quality to those from the Opet register.²²

Seti also completed a frieze of stereotyped decoration between the upper register and the cornice supporting the clerestory. Under Tutankhamen, this had consisted of the king's nomen resting on -baskets alternating with larger prenomen of Amenhotep III without cartouches.²³ Seti altered the pattern, his nomen cartouche now surmounting the  basket and alternating with his prenomen without cartouche. He also completed the inscriptions on the southernmost portions of the architraves, including a number of unusual prenomen cartouches written () again suggestive of an early date.²⁴

In general, the reliefs of Seti from the Colonnade Hall are easily distinguished from those of Tutankhamen by their high, rounded relief and careful finishing of details and background surfaces.²⁵ Stylistically, the large figures of the king and deities are comparable to reliefs from the reign of Horemheb.²⁶ Here the nose is not as aquiline as in other

²⁰ Johnson (1994), 136.

²¹ Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 3 forthcoming. For a preliminary schematic drawing of the west wall at the south end see Bell (1987), pl. 5B.

²² Peter Dorman by personal communication.

²³ Johnson (1994), 141.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 140-141; Bell (1987), pl. 5B.

²⁵ Epigraphic Survey (1998), pls. 196-197.

²⁶ Epigraphic Survey, *Opet*, xvii.

²⁷ Presumably Tutankhamen's cartoon was altered before the relief was carved so as to reflect the royal profile current at the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which differed markedly from the style of Tutankhamen's reign. *Ibid.* Epigraphic survey, pls. 53-54.

reliefs dating to the earlier part of Seti's reign, while the slight pot belly, also characteristic of post-Amarna relief, is retained.³⁷ These features point to an early date for the reliefs (*supra* 1.2.1).

In completing the decoration of the Colonnade Hall, Seti was clearly following a pattern laid out in cartoon by Tutankhamen and Horemheb. He made only slight alterations to the cartoon, such as augmenting the proportions of the sacred barques and inserting his titulary into the cartouches, adding stereotyped decoration of friezes on the walls, on the columns and on the alteration of the rebus decoration of the upper part of the barque cabin, while preserving Horemheb's decoration on the veil. Stylistic and iconographic features of the reliefs point to an early date in the reign for the completion of the Colonnade Hall reliefs. The project formed part of his overall restoration program to stamp his name on Egypt's monuments as quickly as possible.³⁸

Luxor Solar Court of Amenhotep III

2.39 Solar Court, North Wall, Amenhotep III Led by Deities
TM II 317 (93-94); *Key Plans* LC 109; A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. I, figs. 3-4

Restoration formula: *Mu-Mst R^c m pr tt f Imn-R^c*

Only the lower half of this scene, depicting the king being led by a god and goddess, is preserved. Both deities exhibit recutting, especially the male one, whose arm, chest, back foot and legs have been reworked. The rear foot was shifted farther to the left, making his stride longer. Only parts of the right arm, back and buttocks of the goddess were adjusted. All this recutting is consistent with a secondary retouching of a previous restoration.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Epigraphic Survey pls. 51-52.

³⁸ Perhaps the reliefs were completed in preparation for Seti's first visit to Thebes as king. Alternatively, it might have been ordered while he inspected the temple during that first visit.

2.40 Solar Court, East Wall, North End, Barque of Amen-Re

PAU I, 317 (95). W. R. Johnson in L. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: An Historical Analysis* (Cleveland, 1990), 30, drawing 2

Restoration formula . . . *smš(wy)-mnw fr.n nsw-bity Mn-Mš'i-R' m ʔpt-rsyi*

This fragmentary relief portrays the barque of Amen-Re resting on a socle in front of an array of offerings, accompanied by a statue of Amenhotep III and his *kȝ*. The decoration on the canopy contains Horemheb's nomen arranged in a rebus pattern.¹⁹ According to Johnson, this scene was later modified by Seti I, who enlarged the hull of the barque and the proportions of its aegises.²⁰

Horemheb had usurped the decoration of the barque canopy as first restored under Tutankhamen. He enlarged the space for the rebus decoration by pushing back the kneeling *Mš'i*-figures to make space for his rebus and by eliminating the decorative borders behind the goddesses' backs. Although no direct evidence for the original presence of Tutankhamen's prenomen rebus survives, the adjustments Horemheb made to this scene correspond to his usurpation of another barque scene on the Karnak Eighth pylon.²¹

The alterations of both Horemheb and Seti I are in keeping with their treatment of Tutankhamen's restoration work. Horemheb's alterations suppressed his predecessor's titulary in the rebus decoration on the barque. As he did at Karnak, Seti augmented the proportions of the craft and added a renewal text.

Elsewhere in the solar court, only the lower portions of the figures in the bottom register of scenes along the east interior wall remain, none being preserved above the waist. All of the deities were recut. It is clear

¹⁹ A similar design for the canopy can be found in wall scenes in the southern third of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor and on a barque scene usurped from Tutankhamen on the east tower of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak. Cf. *Epigraphic Survey, Opet*, pl. 58. Murnane (1985), 60 & fig. 1.

²⁰ W. Raymond Johnson by personal communication.

²¹ W. Raymond Johnson by personal communication. Murnane (1985), 60, fig. 1. At Karnak the kneeling *Mš'i*-figures were enlarged without suppressing the border elements at the edges of the canopy. The two secondary figures were not the same size, however, the figure at the back being somewhat larger.

that Seti revised Tutankhamen's restorations throughout the solar court, adding renewal texts intermittently

Luxor Hypostyle Hall Adjoining the Solar Court

2.41 Solar Court, Hypostyle, East Interior Wall

PM III², 318 (102) registers 1-III, *Key Plans* LD 31-46, A. Gayet, *Temple*, pls. 2, fig. 7 & pl. 8, fig. 47-pl. 16, fig. 60

Three registers of scenes on this wall were restored at some point prior to Seti's accession, presumably under Tutankhamen. Seti recut the divine figures and added restoration inscriptions to some of the scenes, mostly those on the lowermost register. The scenes on this wall are in low relief. As a result of their restoration, most traces of hacking were eliminated without cutting down the original surface dramatically. The transition between the original background and that in which the restored icons lie is often quite subtle. In general, little plaster was needed to fill in the few remaining hack marks. In the Coptic period, the faces, hands, feet and other portions of the gods and king on the lower registers were thoroughly hacked out, and several Coptic crosses were engraved on the reliefs.

Register I (=top)

None of the scenes on the top register of this wall bear *smjwy-nwn* formulae, although in every case the divine figures were altered after their initial restoration. No Coptic iconoclasm is evident on this level, presumably because they were too high off the ground.

2.42 (I.1) Amenhotep III with Offering-bearer Libating Before Amen and Amenet Making *nwn*

PM III 318 (102), 11 *Key Plans* LD 35-36, A. Gayet, *Temple*, p. 8, fig. 47 (fig. 55)

Here Amenhotep III pours a libation while a minor deity bears a tray of offerings to Amen-Re. At some point after the initial restoration, parts of the Amen figure were retouched. This is apparent on the forward shoulder and top of the arm, on the beard and along the whole front the armpit down the torso and legs to the instep and toe of the advancing foot. Similar adjustments can also be found on the minor deity.

2.43 (I.2) Amenhotep III Offering Milk to Amen

PM II², 318 (102), I.2, *Key Plans*, LD 34; A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 9, figs 48-49

Scattered remnants of Amarna vandalism survive as a light pitting of the surface. Again there is evidence of two successive restorations of the divine figure, the second one amounting to superficial tinkering. Amen's beard was adjusted, as were his platform crown, the front of his kilt and his tail.

2.44 (I.3) Amenhotep III Slays an Oryx Before Amen

PM II², 318 (102), I.3, *Key Plans*, LD 32-33; A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 10, fig. 50.

In this panel, the ithyphallic figure of Amen-Re was restored twice. In the second one, the front of his leg, as well as his arm and upper back, were shifted slightly. The epithet "Lord of Heaven" following his name has also been recut with a fuller writing.

2.45 (I.4) Amenhotep III Pours Ointment Over Amen

PM II², 318 (102), I.4, *Key Plans*, LD 31; A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 10, fig. 51 to pl. 11, fig. 52; P. Brand, *JARCE* 36 (1999), 133, fig. 22.

The image of Amen, sitting enthroned on a high plinth, was entirely recut by Seti I, the object of which was to shift it slightly to the left. A series of hacking patterns arranged in lines and set at various angles occur here, being especially numerous around his plumes and on and behind his platform crown. The arrangement of these marks indicates that they were not meant to obliterate Amen's facial features or other attributes, and they are consistent with neither Amarna nor Coptic iconoclasm. Instead, they are keying for a heavy layer of plaster used for repairs. To the left of the king, an image of Horus bearing a tray of ointment-jars has also been expunged and restored on two separate occasions, the later version having been shifted slightly to the right.

*Register II (= middle)***2.46 (II.1) Amenhotep III with Mace & *hks*-scepter Before Amen**

PM II², 318 (102), II.1, *Key Plans*, LD 40; A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 11, fig. 53.

Restoration formula: $\cdot sm\dot{h}wy-mnw \text{ hr } n \text{ nsu-hry } Mn-M^c\text{'t-R}^c \text{ m pr } It \text{ f } Tmn-R^c$

Coptic iconoclasts attacked the face and limbs of the figures in this episode. Secondary adjustments of the restored Amen-figure are found on his beard, his front torso and shoulder, the hem of his kilt and the calf and inner thigh of his forward leg.

**2.47 (II.2) Amenhotep III Before Amen with Foundation-ritual
Temple**

PM III² 318 (102), II, 2, *Key Plans*, LD 39; A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 12, fig. 54

There is no indication that the Copts disfigured this scene. Chisel marks around the top of Amen's plumes are consistent with keying for plaster employed by the restorers.⁴⁷ Subsequently the beard, neck, platform crown and front shoulder were revised under Seti I.

2.48 (II.3) Amenhotep III Before Amen with Litany

PM III² 318 (102), II, 3; *Key Plans*, LD 38; A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 13, fig. 55

The figures of both the king and Amen-Re were subjected to hacking at some point in post-antiquity, that of the deity having suffered badly both from Coptic defacement and natural erosion of the stone. From what remains, it is apparent that it was restored on two occasions. Thus the secondary version of his toe and instep can be seen, these having been enlarged dramatically.

2.49 (II.4) Amenhotep III Before Amen Consecrating Offerings

PM III² 318 (102), I, 2, *Key Plans*, LD 37; A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 4, fig. 56, (fig. 59)

Here the seated figure of Amen-Re has been readjusted under Seti I. Both legs and his forward arm holding the was scepter show evidence of two separate versions. The face was also reworked, with traces of the previous beard evident. The extant hacking includes both traces of the iconoclast's chisel marks and keying by the restorers. The Copts do not seem to have vandalized it.

⁴⁷ Often, a heavy layer of plaster was used in restoring the god's plumes. As the god's chief iconographical attribute, the plumes often sustained the deepest hacking. See Brand (1999b).

Register III (=bottom)

2.50 (III.1) Amenhotep III Driving the four Calves Before Amen
 PM II*, 318 (102), *Key Plans*, LD 44, A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 15, fig. 57 P. Brand (1998),
 pl. 37

Restoration formula: $\text{sm}^{\text{bwy}} \text{mnw} \text{ir n Mn-M}^{\text{f}} \text{t-R}^{\text{c}} \text{[n]} \text{it f Tmn}$

In this episode, the figure of Amen has been defaced in the Christian era, when a Coptic cross was engraved between his legs. The hacking was directed at the god's arms, belt buckle and face, the king's arms, face, buckle and legs, and the faces and legs of three of the four calves. Because of this damage it is not clear what alterations might have been made earlier to Amen's visage. His image was otherwise extensively modified by Seti I. His front shoulder, lower calf, thigh, kneecap and ankle of the back leg, along with his headdress and the hem of the kilt, were all reworked. These adjustments seem to have been designed to enlarge the icon slightly.¹⁴¹

2.51 (III.2) Amenhotep III Consecrating *mnt*-boxes Before Amen
 PM II*, 318 (102), *Key Plans*, LD 43, A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 15, fig. 58

Here again, the figure of the deity was reworked after the initial post-Amarna restoration to augment its proportions. These modifications included the front shoulder, biceps and forearm, the front leg from the kneecap along the shins to the instep of the advancing foot, and on the back leg, the kneecap, calf and ankle.

2.52 (III.3) Amenhotep III Erecting the *shnt*-pole for Amen
 PM II*, 318 (102), *Key Plans*, LD 42, A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 16, fig. 59 P. Brand,
JARCE 36 (1999), 132, fig. 23

Restoration formula: $\text{sm}^{\text{bwy}} \text{mnw} \text{ir n nsu-bity Mn-M}^{\text{f}} \text{t-R}^{\text{c}} \text{m pr it f Tmn s3 R}^{\text{c}} \text{[Sty]-mr-n-Pth}$

Here the figure of Amen has been vandalized in the Coptic period; his face, phallus, plumes and upraised arm were the targets of this icono-

¹⁴¹ Other secondary restorations by Ay and Horemheb also enlarged the icons. Brand (1999c), 15-120.

clasm. Once again, Seti has altered a restoration made prior to his reign. In this case, the knees, shin and instep of the god's leg and foot were modified. His chest and back were also adjusted, along with the leading edge of the forward plume of his headdress and the straps crossing his chest. The face was also recut, but only changes to the tip of the beard have survived the Christian iconoclasts.

2.53 (III.4) Amenhotep III Embraced by Seated Amen

PM III², 318 (102); *Key Plans*, LD 41, A, Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 16, fig. 60; (fig. 56)

Restoration formula = *smḏwy-mnw jr n nsw-hity st-R^c nb ḥ'w mry nṯrw [Sty]-mr-n-Pth m pr it.f Tmn-R^c nb nswt Tḥwy*

In this scene Amen sits enthroned on a high plinth touching an *'nh* to the king's nose. Because portions of the two figures overlap, the legs and left arm of the king had to be partially recarved, along with the entire figure of Amen, when the scene was first restored prior to Seti's reign. Both their faces were hacked by the Copts.

Here too Seti made minor adjustments to the proportions of the divinity. These included reworking his lower torso and making a slight alteration to the angle of his plumes. The god's head and neck have also been shifted forward slightly as a result of changes to his plumes. His arms have also been altered, originally the left arm, which holds an *'nh* to the king's nose, was higher. The right arm now reaches back behind the king's torso, with the hand touching the nape of his neck. In the earlier version this arm reached across in front of the king's chest and held a flail. The partially-erased fist and flail are evident at the left side of the scene above the king's shoulder.

2.54 Subregister Fecundity Figures

PM III², 318 (104); *Key Plans*, LD 45-46, A, Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 2, fig. 7; (fig. 57)

Restoration formula = *smḏwy-mnw jr n nsw-hity Mn-Mḥt R^c m pr [it.f] [Tmn-R^c st R^c] [Sty]-mr-n-Pth*

Here Seti added a restoration inscription in front of the first of a series of fecundity figures arranged along the subregister. Most of these exhibit various adjustments to their arms, buttocks, feet and legs. Again, these are consistent with a secondary restoration.

2.55 East Doorway Lintel: Amenhotep III with Fecundity Figures Offers Flowers to Amen

PM I, 318 (0.5a-b); *Key Plans* LD 30; A. Gayet, *Temple pi. 6*, figs 62-63, P. Brand, *JARCE* 36 (1999), 133, fig. 23

Both of the Amen's, and the two fecundity figures, have been restored twice. The one on the left was shifted to the left slightly with recutting being evident throughout. The minor deity on the left was also moved. On the right, both deities were reworked, with Amen being shifted to the right.

2.56 Pilaster Adjoining the North-East Corner of the Hypostyle

Here the divine effigies exhibit only minor amounts of cosmetic retouching, and, doubtless owing to the confined space in these tableaux, not one has been shifted from its original position.

North Face

2.57 (I) Amenhotep III Receiving Life from Monthu

PM II¹, 317 (98a, I); *Key Plans*, LC 80; A. Gayet, *Temple pl. 8*, fig. 46

Recutting in this scene is confined to Monthu's legs and back.

2.58 (II) Amenhotep III and Amen Holding Hands

PM II¹, 317 (98a, II); *Key Plans*, LD 81; A. Gayet, *Temple pl. 8*, fig. 46

Here the legs, arms and tail of the deity have been reworked.

2.59 (III) Amenhotep III with Mut Extending a *Menat*

PM II¹, 317 (98a, III); *Key Plans*, LD 82; A. Gayet, *Temple pl. 8*, fig. 46

Traces of Coptic hacking can be found on the faces and limbs of both figures. Mut's legs, crown and buttocks exhibit recutting, the upraised arm holding the *Menat*-necklace has been shifted higher in the final version. Keying for plaster can be seen on and in front of her legs.

*East Face***2.60 (I) Amenhotep III Receiving Life from Amen**

PM II² 317 (98b, I), *Key Plans*, LD 48, A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 46

Only Amen's platform crown, the nape of his neck and his belly have been adjusted after the initial restoration

2.61 (II) Amenhotep III with Weret-Hekau Extending a Menat

PM II² 317 (98b, II), *Key Plans*, LD 49, A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 46

The defacement of this tableau derives from a number of sources. Coptic hacking is evident on the face and limbs of the figure, while traces of Amarna vandalism survived the restoration process. Long strings of gouging on Weret-hekau's body are a characteristic feature of keying for plaster used in the restoration process, so the damage to her figure must have been particularly severe. Recutting occurs along the front of her body from the breast to her shins, on the top of her upraised forearm, and along the front apron and the back of her wig.

2.62 (III) Amenhotep III Embracing Amen-Kamutef

PM II² 317 (98b, III), *Key Plans*, LD 50, A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 8, fig. 46; P. Brand (1998), pl. 39A

Restoration formula: *msw-nmw ir n nsw-btj nb Tjw Mn-M'f-R' m pr it f Tm-R'*

Despite Coptic vandalism to the face and limbs of Amen-Kamutef, recutting of his image is evident on the neckline and down the front of the leg from the thigh to the shin.

2.63 West Gateway, East Jamb

PM II² 318 (106a), *Key Plans*, LD 2, A. Gayet, *Temple*, pl. 18, fig. 46 (= 106b)

Restoration formulae

South Jamb: *[s]msw-nmw ir n Mn-M'f-R' = [n] f [Tm]n*

North Jamb: *||||||| [Mn-M'f-R' m]*

The scenes above these much damaged renewal texts have figures of a king, probably Amenhotep III, facing the portal with one arm raised in

salute and the other holding a long staff. They are similar to scenes on the jambs of two gateways in the southern part of the *w3ḡyt*-Hall at Karnak, also restored by Seti (*supra* 2.9).

2.64

Luxor Temple Summary

Early in his reign, Seti I undertook extensive renovations in Luxor Temple. In the Colonnade Hall, he completed reliefs left unfinished by Tutankhamen and his successors at the south end of the building. Seti also made extensive modifications to reliefs restored by Tutankhamen in the solar court and adjoining hypostyle hall. In most instances, these constituted minor retouching of the divine figures. In particular, many effigies of Amen Re were enlarged slightly by augmenting the profile of their faces, limbs and the fronts of their torsos. In such cases there was little reworking along their hind portions. The position of the leading arm of the god holding the *w3ḡ* scepter was in some instances shifted as well. Although the only well-preserved examples are those on the nearly intact interior east wall of the hypostyle, figures on the now much denuded walls of the solar court were also revamped, apparently *in toto*. Prior to Seti's modifications, Horemheb had usurped a barque scene from the solar court first restored by Tutankhamen, replacing the latter's prenomen rebus with his own on the veil screening the canopy. From this we may conclude that Tutankhamen was responsible for initially repairing the mutilated tableaux in the solar court and hypostyle. Horemheb's contribution being restricted to eliminating his predecessor's name where it occurred in rebus form, while leaving the bulk of Tutankhamen's work alone.¹⁴⁴ Finally, Seti altered the restored images of the gods throughout this part of the temple, intermittently adding renewal texts to scenes on the lower courses of the walls. There is no evidence that Seti was involved in repairs to any part of the temple to the south of the solar court hypostyle. Beyond a secondary restoration of Ay, there are no further examples of this phenomenon in the southern portion of the temple.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Tutankhamen does not seem to have added *senwyt-nwrt* texts.

¹⁴⁵ Brand (1999c), 118-120.

THEBES/WEST BANK

*Memorial Temple of Amenhotep III***2.65 Thebes West, Stela of Amenhotep III (Cairo CG 34026)**

Pl II, 448 W M F Petrie *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), pl. 10, P Lacau, *Stèles*, 39-60, pl. 20

Restoration formula = *smšwꜣ-mnw ir n šš Rꜥ Šꜣ-mꜣ-ꜥ-Pth n i.f Imn-Rꜥ*

This limestone stela of Amenhotep III is carved in bas relief. On the upper register, two figures of Amen-Re standing back-to-back were restored by shaving down the surface around them, including their names and epithets in front of their plumes. Originally the offering formulae in front of the two kings, as well as the forward hand of the right one, were also shaved down and reworked to make the transition between the original surface around them and the lower one around the gods more subtle, thus giving a more aesthetically pleasing result once the icons had been restored in bas-relief. Once this process was complete, relatively few deep hack marks survived and little plaster patching was required, and that confined mostly to the chests of both deities.

A *smšwꜣ-mnw* text and two offering formulae were etched in sunk relief by the same hand. This restoration formula is wedged between the right side of Amen and his *wꜣs*-scepter. Stylistically the restored effigies are done in a somewhat Ramesside style, the aquiline nose being especially prominent on the right-hand Amen. They are executed in much flatter relief than the rest of the stela, carved in a particularly high relief current later in Amenhotep III's reign.⁴⁶

2.66 Thebes West, Stela of Amenhotep III (Cairo CG 34025)

Pl II, 447 W M F Petrie *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), pl. 11, P Lacau, *Stèles*, 47 & pl. 15, *ARL* 229-398, c. n. *RLA*, 197-398, c. n. *RLAC* 1-150, 398, c. n.

Restoration formula = *smšwꜣ-mnw ir n nsw-bꜣꜣ Mn-Mꜣꜣt-Rꜥ n i.f Imn-Rꜥ nsw-nꜥꜣꜣ nbw*

⁴⁶ Johnson (1990), 34-36

A large part of the original surface of the lunette scene was shaved down between the front edges of the two royal figures. Above their heads the area of the caption text was shaved down and reworked, although the restorers were able to follow the original text as a guide except for the name and epithets of Amen. The wings and titles of the Behdetite were left alone, as were the two uraei and prenomen cartouche dangling from its sun disk. The surface bearing the first 21 lines of the main text has also been shaved down while the amount of recutting decreases steadily from lines 22 to 27. The last four lines are in pristine condition except for the protocol of Amen.

Bell has noted vestiges of erased triangular projection kilts on both divinities and traces of a uraeus on the forehead of the god on the left.⁴⁷ Bickel points out that these conform to alterations made by Akhenaten, who converted representations of Amen in his father's memorial temple into those of the deified Amenhotep III.⁴⁸

Other signs of an earlier version include traces of the original prongs of the was-scepter and the corner where the shin meets the instep of the god's foot on both sides of the scene. The surviving traces of an earlier version presumably stem from just such a modification.

2.67 Thebes West, Blocks from Merenptah's Memorial Temple

S. Bickel, *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 277-285; J. J. Jansz and S. Bickel, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 277-285.

S. Bickel, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah in Theben III. Tore und andere wiederverwendete Bauteile Amenophis III.*, BABA 16 (Stuttgart, 1997), 94-97 & pls. 21, 34-35, 70, 72, 80 & 82.

Restoration formulae⁴⁹

Block 302 *////// Mn-M's't-R' n It.f Tmn*

Block 156 *smw-s-mw It n nsw-blt Mn-M's't-R' n It.f Tmn*

⁴⁷ Bell (1985a), 51 n. 124.

⁴⁸ Jansz & Bickel (1994), 282-284; Bickel (1997), 83-90. Cf. Cairo CG 34025 with a relief from the temple (Bickel [1997], 86-90 with figs. 34-35) and another stela of Amenhotep III from his memorial temple (Häny et al. Wiesbaden, 1981), pl. 5. In each case, the figure of Amen has been converted to that of the deified Nebmaatre and then restored as Amen.

⁴⁹ Bickel (1997), pls. 70 & 80. In both cases, Seti has replaced the prenomen of Tutankhamen with his own.

From a group of reused blocks of Amenhotep III recently discovered in the foundations of the memorial temple of Merenptah, it would seem that Tutankhamen was responsible for the initial restoration of Amenhotep's memorial temple.¹⁰ A pair of blocks have come to light bearing traces of Tutankhamen's cartouche in a restoration formula that was subsequently usurped by Seti I.¹¹

The figures of Amen on these blocks have been retouched by Seti. These modifications were confined largely to adjusting the god's crown and beard and to changing the proportions of his limbs.¹² The inclination of the plumes was altered, the height of the platform crown was changed, the beard was lengthened, and the god's proportions were made more svelte by narrowing his shoulders and making his legs more slender.

Memorial Temple of Thutmose III

2.68 Thebes West, Stela Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34015)

PM I 11² 428. P. Lacau, *Stèles* 31

Restoration formula $s[ms]w[ym]n[w]r n nsw-[bity]$

This stela fragment of yellow siliceous sandstone bears a damaged renewal text, which, despite the lack of a royal name, is surely that of Seti I, as no other king is known to have left such texts on restored stelae. Only the right half of the lunette is preserved.¹³ Here Thutmose III and a queen are shown offering to Amen-Re. The central part of the lunette has been shaved back and is rougher than the highly polished original surface. The restored figure and glyphs seem crude next to the crisply defined elements of the undamaged relief. The reliefs and inscriptions have been tinted with chalky yellow, red and white pigments.

¹⁰ Bickel (1992), 1-13; idem (1997), 94-96; Jaritz and Bickel (1994), 277-285.

¹¹ Ibid., Bickel (1997), 94 & fig. 39; ibid., Jaritz and Bickel, 284.

¹² Ibid., Bickel (1997), 96-97 & pls. 32b, 34, 35a-b, 80 & 85; ibid., Jaritz and Bickel, 284-285.

¹³ Lacau, *Stèles* 31.

2.69 Medamud, Lintel Fragment (Inv. 4980)

F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Medamoud 1930* (Cairo, 1931), 65, fig. 42

Restoration formula: 1 + ...[Mn]-M^ti-R' n itj Mn[*tw*]

Composed of pink granite, this fragment preserves Monthu's throne and a king's left foot on the right half of a lintel, as well as part of the central band of text and the back cushion of the god's throne on the right. It was unearthed in the foundations of the Monthu temple between two doorjambs of a gateway of Amenhotep II. This and the phrase "for his father Mon[thu]" suggest that Seti I restored the earlier king's gateway.

2.70 Tod, Barque Station of Thutmose III

J. Vercoffter *BIFAO* 50 (1950), pls. 4-5. P. Barguet, *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 96-97 & pls. 2b, 3a-b, 5a-b.

Restoration formulae

Door into chapel

West doorjamb: 1 - sm^{tw}y-mnw ir n st R' Stv-mr-n-Pth

East doorjamb: - 1 sm^{tw}y-mnw ir n nsw-bity Mn-M^ti-R' *tw*^c-R'

South entrance of peristyle, pillars flanking entrance

West pillar, east face: - sm^{tw}y-mnw ir n st R' Stv-mr-n-Pth

East pillar, west face: - sm^{tw}y-mnw ir n nsw-bity Mn-M^ti-R'

South bastiade, east end - sm^{tw}y-mnw [ir n] nsw-bity Mn-M^ti-R' *tw*^c-R' nrry
Mn^{tw} nb Qrry

Only the lower portions of the walls and columns of Thutmose III's peripteral barque chapel remain, and not one of the royal or divine images is preserved above the waist. Seti I, along with a number of his Ramesside successors, added several sm^{tw}y-mnw formulae as marginal texts to the facade and main doorway of the shrine. Examination of the original Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs and inscriptions suggests that the temple may not have been vandalized by Akhenaten. The divine figures are all on the same level and display the same quality of workmanship as those of the king, with no trace of residual hacking or recutting among any of them. Indeed, outside of Thebes, one often finds that deities other than Amen and his triad were not proscribed (*infra* 2.73ff).

If Amen was not one of the gods here represented, then the iconoclasts may have left the building unmolested.

But what of the nomen cartouche of Amenhotep III? One example survives, and it has not been defaced.⁵⁴ In this light, it seems likely that Seti's claim to have renewed the monument was false. Certainly, parallel renewal texts of Ramesses III and IV are not to be taken seriously.⁵⁵

2.71 Tod, Block of Thutmose IV

C Desroches-Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 97-98, pl. 34a

Restoration formula: $\sim 1 smj[wy]$

This sandstone block features the shoulder of an enthroned Amen-Re with the head and part of the torso of a goddess seated behind him. She was never attacked while Amen has been restored.⁵⁶ Between the two figures is part of a renewal text:

2.72 El-Kab, Desert Temple of Amenhotep III

PMV 189.7) & (c.1), *DDT* IV 45 (a-b) / *DDI* 138g J J Ty or & S Clarke, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Temple of Amenhotep III* (London 1898), pls 1, 3 & 15 *ARF* 1.229-230, §98, d, n, a/b, *RITAI* 198, §98, d, n, a/b, *RITANC* 1, 150, §98, d, n, a/b

Restoration formulae

Lintel over facade $\sim 1r n nsw-bwy Mn-Mj^t-R^c$

Doorway into the shrine

Right $\sim 1 smjw y-nm \sim 1r n nsw-bwy Mn-Mj^t-R^c st R^c Sty-mr-n-Pth m pr mwt f Njbr nbt pr$

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Betsy M. Bryan, who examined the chapel with me in June 1999.

⁵⁵ After Seti I $smjwy mwt$ inscriptions are comparatively rare. Examples such as those of Ramesses II in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (*ARF* II 643-48) are no different from other Ramesside bandeau texts and do not signal that the king had actually restored the monument on which they are found.

⁵⁶ There is no indication that the surface was reworked around the anonymous goddess while the god's shoulder has clearly been recut. Her face is treated in a style consistent with the mid Eighteenth Dynasty and other blocks at Tod attest to building activity by Thutmose IV there. Betsy M. Bryan by personal communication.

Left 1 - identical

This small desert shrine of Amenhotep III seems to have first been restored under Seti I. The figures of Nekhbet, as well as those of Amen, were vandalized by the agents of Akhenaten. Likewise, two renditions of sacred barques were also defaced. The names and images of the gods were carefully restored and repainted by Seti I, who also added renewal texts to the jambs of the doorway¹⁷ and on the lintel surmounting the facade.¹⁸ There is no indication of secondary restoration.

The reliefs have been carefully repaired and repainted, with extensive use of plaster, and show that these media, carefully employed, could banish nearly every visible sign of the iconoclast's chisel.

2.73 Elephantine

The island of Elephantine was the site of extensive building projects during much of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁹ Here, Amen-Re seems to have been associated with the local triad of Khnum, Satet and Anakis. Akhenaten's agents vandalized the protocol and images of Amen-Re on standing monuments on Elephantine, while those of Khnum and his triad were left untouched.²⁰

2.74 Elephantine, Destroyed Peripteral Temple of Amenhotep III

PACA 228; Borchardt & H. Rucke, *Ägyptische Tempelmalereien* (SABA 2) (Cairo, 1938), 96, abb. 28; *ÄR* 2:10, 598 d, i, *Ri* 11, 198, 598 d, ii, *Ri* 131, 150, 598, ii, ii.

Restoration formula (Balustrade) *smšw y-mnw tr n nsw bnty Mn-Mšr-R^c-lw^c-R^c m pr jr f Hnmw*

¹⁷ Tylor & Clarke (1898), pl. 3 & 15 top.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 1 & 15 bottom.

¹⁹ Jungé (1987). Eighteenth Dynasty kings attested here include Thutmose II, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.

²⁰ Numerous reliefs depicting members of the Elephantine triad are preserved, none of them having been attacked, nor were any other gods but Amen. Cf. Destroches-Noblecourt *et al.* (1983), cat. nos. 258, 258 bis, 260-261; Rucke & Sauneron (1960), p. 21a; *ibid.*, Jungé, pls. 6a-b, 10a, 11c, 13, 14c-d, 15c-d, 17a & c.

The only record of this peripteral shrine is an illustration by Nestor l'Hôte showing a general view of the building.⁶¹ A restoration inscription of Seti can be made out clearly on the balustrade of the temple. It is also apparent that the walls and pillars of the temple had reliefs portraying both Khnum and Amen-Re. Of these, only figures of Amen would have been suppressed in the Amarna period, since figures of Khnum and his triad were not attacked elsewhere in the Aswan region or Nubia. Seti presumably restored other parts of this temple, and added at least one other restoration inscription, on the exterior wall of the sanctuary.⁶²

2.75 Elephantine, Temple of Satet

W. Kaiser *MitJdA* 26 (1970): 109-110; idem, *MitJdA* 22.2 (1971): 195-196 & pl. 48a

The Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Satet on the island of Elephantine was built and decorated under Thutmose III. Here again only images of Amen-Re were expunged during the Amarna period. Tutankhamen seems to have restored most if not all of the temple's damaged reliefs prior to Seti's accession.

Extensive archaeological investigation and restoration of the site has been carried out by the German Archaeological Institute since the early 1970's, and their admirable work on the temple is complete save for a final publication of the relief decoration.

2.75.1 Thutmose III Before Amen (Louvre B73, E. 12921 bis 0)

C. Desroches Noblecourt et al., *Un siècle de fouilles françaises en Égypte 1880-1980* (Paris, 1981), 242 cat. no. 262

Restoration formula: $\text{ḥ} - \text{sm}(\text{w}) - \text{mn}(\text{w}) \dots \text{ḥ} \text{R}^c$

This block portrays the head and upper torso of Amen-Kamutef with the arm of a king holding up a small pot of incense. Part of a restoration formula is also preserved. A cast of this block has been restored to the south interior wall of the outer vestibule of the shrine.

The figure of the deity has been recut in a shallow trough, and some trace hacking remains. This is most severe around his collar, plumes and

⁶¹ Borchardt & Ricker (1938), 96, abb. 28.

⁶² *PM* V, 228 (4)-(5).

platform crown. Damage to the face, however, is only evident on the cheek and lower neck of the figure. Remnants of an earlier version of the god's front shoulder and his arm pit are also preserved, along with faint traces of an earlier version of the back of his crown. The block joins with a number of others belonging to a scene of Thutmose III offering incense to Amen-Kamutef, which preserves the god's upraised arm with flail and his plumes, both of which show signs of having been restored only once.

Stylistically, the facial features of the Louvre relief are rendered in a manner consistent with the early Nineteenth Dynasty.⁶³ The aquiline nose, small mouth with symmetrical upper and lower lips and the eye with its down-turned inner canthi can be found in other reliefs dated to Seti I's reign. Thus we may conclude that this restoration is his work. Faint traces of recutting around the profile probably do not correspond to a secondary restoration. Examples of this practice on bas and sunk reliefs on the exterior walls of the portico are much more definite and extensive.

2.75.2 Thutmose III Embracing Amen-Re

W. Kaiser *et al.*, *MDAIA* 27.2 (1971), 196, pl. 46a

According to the excavator, this block came from a temple relief restored by Seti I.⁶⁴ It portrays Thutmose III and Amen-Re embracing each other. The relief has been restored on the west wall of a side chapel that can be entered through a door in the north-west corner of the outer vestibule. Both of their heads and upper torsos are preserved. The figure of Amen is surrounded by a narrow trough into which it has been recut. Traces of hacking remain on his platform crown, on the ribbon dangling behind it and on his shoulders and arm. The space around his face and plumes have been cut down further than other portions of the relief. Despite this, the surface of the plumes is very uneven. The hacking to the figure was so severe that plaster was applied heavily to restore it. The paint and stucco is largely intact, nevertheless, traces of hacking are evident.

⁶³ As noted by E. Detange in Desroches-Noblecourt *et al.* (1981), 242.

⁶⁴ Kaiser *et al.* (1971), 196, n. 46.

Stylistically the present block resembles Louvre B 73. The eyes and lips are rendered in the same manner, the nose, although not as prominent as on the Louvre relief, is slightly aquiline.¹⁰³ As with the Louvre relief, there is no clear evidence of secondary restoration. Less similar is a relief from one of the portico columns with a portrait of Amen, finished in a more decidedly post-Amarna style that seems to be the work of Tutankhamen.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, no trace of a renewal text survives on either relief.

2.75.3 Amen-Re Accompanied by Khnum and Satet

Restoration Formulae:

Speech of Amen-Re : (1) *ḏd mdw-[n]* (2) *šš i* (3) *Mn-Mṛt-R^c šš R^c*
nb h'n (4) [*Srṯ-mr-n Pth*] *š[msw] n k* (5) *hwt-ntr <1>*
 (6) *snv*

(1) "Words spoken by <Amen-Re>" (2) My son, my <beloved>
 (3) Menmaatre, Son of Re, Lord of Diadems (4) [Seti-Merenptah] You have re[stored] (5) [my temple] (6) surpassing."

In front of Khnum: + 1 /////////////// *Mn-Mṛt-[R^c]*

In front of Satet /////////////// [*i*]r [n] *šš R^c [Srṯ-mr-n-[P]th mr Št*

Located on the Western end of the North exterior wall of the Satet temple, under the peristyle portico, this unpublished scene is executed in raised relief. Amen-Re, enclosed within a *pr-wr* shrine, sits enthroned, accompanied by standing figures of Khnum, Satet and probably Anukis. The officiant king, doubtless Thutmose III, is not preserved. Only the feet of Khnum and Satet remain, but it is clear that they were not vandalized. Nevertheless, Seti has inserted *msw-mnw* labels beside each. These consist of very low relief cut into the background of the somewhat higher Thutmoside edition. In a column of text behind Amen, his name and titulary have been restored in crude sunk relief.

¹⁰³ Cf. *ibid.*, Kaiser *et al.* (1971), 196 & pl. 148a, Destroches-Noblecourt *et al.* (1981), 231 fig. 262.

¹⁰⁴ Kaiser *et al.* (1970), pl. 42a.

Only the torso, arms and legs of Amen-Re are preserved, but clearly he was restored twice. The original version was somewhat smaller than the final one. Seti raised the level of the god's throne and lap, and thickened the front of his torso and his arms. The *gd mḏw* text naming Seti is obviously a post-Amarna composition similar to examples from the north face of the Karnak Eighth Pylon (*supra* 2.21.2 & 2.21.3). Here, the surface has been cut back somewhat and the glyphs are less salient than those of the original Thutmoside texts.

As one of the more prominent reliefs in the temple, featuring the national god Amen-Re and the Elephantine triad, Seti made the best use of it for touting his revisionist program of restoration.

2.75.4 King before a Goddess

This unpublished relief depicts a king before a goddess whose name is lost. Between her torso and nfr scepter is part of a renewal text with only Seti's nomen preserved. The goddess—presumably Satet—was never vandalized.

2.75.5 Seti I and Satet Before Amen-Re and Mut

C. Desroches-Noblecourt *et al.*, cat. 258, (fig. 140)

Restoration Formula: *Mn-mḏt-R' sḏ R' Sṯy mr n Pth knṯ šw n ms s[ḏ] smḏwy-mnw m lb mr n.f mn dt*

The Louvre wall reliefs B 61 & B 71 were excavated by Clermont Ganneau from the temple of Khnum on Elephantine and donated to the Louvre in 1908.¹⁶ Louvre B 61 (fig. 140) is divided into two pieces; its decoration is executed in fine sunk relief which is painted, and consists of figures of Amen-Re and Mut sitting inside separate shrines. Louvre B 71 portrays Satet holding *rnpt*-staves with *hḏ-sḏ* emblems behind the king who wears the *khepresh*-crown.¹⁷ Casts of these blocks have been restored *in situ* with adjoining ones to form a scene at the east end of the south exterior wall of the peripteral shrine. The relief is sunk and is an original composition of Seti I which he inserted into a space left blank by Thutmose III. Above the scene is a raised *hkr*-frieze. Behind Mut on

¹⁶ From the Louvre's records, graciously sent to me by Christiane Ziegler.

¹⁷ Desroches-Noblecourt *et al.* (1981), cat. 258.

the left and Satet on the right edge of the scene, adjoining reliefs of Thutmose III are also raised.

Most of Amen's figure is preserved, although his face, forward arm and shoulder are gone. He sits in a shrine with a double roof and two sets of support poles. Behind him is an unusual variant of the renewal formula: "Menmaatre son of Re Seti-Merenptah who produces benefactions for the one who bore [him], a renewal of monuments in the heart of the one whom he loves, enduring forever."

Mut's head, forward arm holding a papyrus-form scepter and legs remain. She sits in a pavilion similar to that of Amen, except that it has only a single roof and one set of support poles. The accompanying text with restorations is perhaps: "Words spoken by Mut-the-Great, lady of heaven in the midst of Isheru, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: [O my son] of (my) body Menmaatre [my heart is glad at seeing your] beauties."

An adjoining block preserves a pair of offering stands with *nnst*-jars and elaborate bouquets. Only the back of Seti's head with part of a nomen cartouche is extant, along with Satet's head and the right half of her body. The features of the two goddesses are executed in a decidedly Ramesside manner, in particular their large aquiline noses. There is no evidence that this section of the south wall was ever inscribed prior to Seti's reign.

NUBIA

2.76 Amada, Eighteenth Dynasty Temple

Renewal texts: PAVI 67 (34) Center of Documentation: *Le temple d'Amada*, Cahier II (Paris, 1967); B5 B6, *Cahier III*, B5 B6; *Cahier V*, B5 B6. Door into vestibule: PAV VII 69, 70-71; *Le temple d'Amada*, xi^e Q8; *Cahier V*, pl. Xv; *Cahier III*, 23; *Cahier IV*, 67 G; AR, 230, 398 c, 130; R, 141, 98, 398 c, 130; R143c, 150, 398 c, 1. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 21.

Restoration formulae

Main Entrance

B6 - . sm^hwy-nw n lt f nsw-bity s3 R^c Sty-mr n-Pth nwy R^c Hr-šhy Im nb T^hw T^hwn

B5 - . sm^hwy | m[nw n lt f] nsw-bity Mn-M^hr R^c s3 R^c [St]y-mr-n-Pth

Doorway into Vestibule

G7 : + smḏwꜣ-mnw n it f nsw-bꜣꜣ Mn-Mꜣt-Rꜥ sꜣ Rꜥ [Sꜣ]y-mꜣ-n-Pth mꜣꜣ
 Imn-Rꜥ nsw nꜣꜣ nb pt hꜣꜣꜣꜣ Wꜣst dꜣ ['nh]

G8 : + [smḏwꜣ-mnw n it f nsw-bꜣꜣ Mn-Mꜣt-Rꜥ] sꜣ [Rꜥ Sꜣ]y-mꜣ-n-Pth mꜣꜣ
 Hr-ꜣhtꜣ hꜣꜣꜣꜣ [i]ꜣ Kꜣht dꜣ ['nh]

The Amada temple, consecrated to both Amen-Re and Re-Horakhty, was dedicated in the names of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. Throughout the edifice, reliefs and inscriptions naming Amen were defaced while those of Re-Horakhty and other deities remained unmolested. Seti I left two pairs of renewal texts on the thicknesses of the main gateway and on the portal leading from the entrance hall into the vestibule.

Three reliefs featuring Amen-Re in the entrance hall were altered by Seti after an initial restoration by one of the post-Amarna pharaohs. In one case, the icon was shifted back somewhat, and entirely replaced,¹⁶⁹ while two others were recut *in situ*.¹⁷⁰

Relief in the shrine was often heavily plastered and repainted by the initial restorer, probably Tutankhamen. In the innermost chambers, this colored stucco is often well-preserved. By contrast, little of these media remain on most of the reliefs in the entrance hall – including three reworked by Seti. Although thick layers of plaster may have obscured evidence of secondary restoration in the innermost portions of the building, it is more likely that Seti's revisions, like his renewal texts, were limited to the entrance hall.¹⁷¹ This conforms with the pattern of such revisions elsewhere; they are typically found in the most public and conspicuous areas. Some recutting is apparent on two icons deep within the shrine, but it is not clear if this stems from the initial repair or a secondary one.¹⁷²

2.77 Sesebi, Temple of Akhenaten, Usurped by Seti I

PA/V I 172-173 + L III 41n. J. H. Breasted, *JSLI* 25 (1908): 60, 62-64, 66, 70-77; figs. 36-43, 45-46; p. 62; fig. a-c-e-h, p. 66; fig. d. A. M. Blackman, *JFA* 23 (1937), pl. IIC. Helm, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 6.

¹⁶⁹ Amada II & IV, C3b.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., II & IV, C32-33 & P22.


¹⁷¹ The temple was examined in June 1999 by William J. Murnane and myself. We found no evidence for secondary restoration beyond the entrance hall.

¹⁷² Amada I & IV, P2 & L5.

Located at the remote Nubian site of Sesebi, this temple was dedicated to the cult of the Aten during Akhenaten's reign.⁷³ During his survey of Nubia at the turn of the last century, Breasted had only one full day at the site to make epigraphic observations on the temple, and his work was hampered by fierce sandstorms.⁷⁴ Moreover, all that remained standing were three columns.⁷⁵ Still, he was able to uncover evidence of the temple's unique history.

The decoration of each of the three columns is a palimpsest; Akhenaten was responsible for building the structure,⁷⁶ and he decorated the columns with scenes of himself and Nefertiti making offerings to the Aten.⁷⁷ Seti suppressed these reliefs and replaced them with ones of himself making offerings to the Theban triad.⁷⁸

It seems likely that plaster was used on a wide scale when Seti recarved the reliefs, since the surface was not cut down far enough to remove the deepest traces of the sunk reliefs of Akhenaten.⁷⁹ In decorating the columns, Seti employed raised relief or lightly incised sunk relief.⁸⁰ In one scene, where a figure of Seti was superimposed over one of Akhenaten, extensive traces of the earlier king remain. The only portions of Seti's relief now extant are those that do not overlap with the earlier one. This strongly suggests that the final version was largely done in plaster used to mask the remains of Akhenaten's edition.

Two features of Seti's reliefs indicate a date early in his reign for his reuse of the Sesebi temple. The image of Amen-Re from the middle column displays the slightly protruding belly characteristic of the post-Amarna relief style.⁸¹ The second is the orthography of Seti's vertical prenomen cartouche, which in two examples is written 

⁷³ *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 61.

⁷⁴ Breasted (1908-1909), 53-57.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, figs. 32, 34.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 70ff.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, figs. 41-43, 45-46.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 60ff. figs. 38-40, 42, 45, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 61.

⁷⁹ The large sun disks in the original reliefs of Akhenaten have been noted since Lepsius' day I/D III 41n. Breasted (1908-1909), 62 fig. a 65 fig. 38 b fig. 39.

⁸⁰ Breasted does not record which type of relief was used, nor is this clear from his photos.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 67, fig. 39.

This variant, common in the first year or so of the reign, is the reverse of the standard arrangement (*supra* 1.4.5). It seems likely that the conversion of the Sesebi temple into a sanctuary of Amen took place very early in Seti's reign, probably during his first regnal year.

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent from the foregoing analysis that many, though certainly not all, of the monumental reliefs vandalized at the behest of Akhenaten had been restored prior to the accession of Seti. Considering the highly prominent locations in which his renewal texts are found, it would be an odd state of affairs indeed if so many important monuments had actually languished in ruin for the three decades or more that elapsed between Akhenaten's death and Seti's accession—a time when the post-Amarna kings, by their own declaration, were actively engaged in rectifying the desecration perpetrated by the heretic. And while there probably were a significant number of monuments that had not yet been restored at Seti's accession, surely few of these were found along the main processional axes of Karnak Temple or in other such prominent venues. Comprehensive epigraphic analysis of Seti's restorations has shown that he altered many of those effected by predecessors, in particular those of Tutankhamen. Moreover, in so doing he was merely engaging, on a much larger scale, in a policy first adopted by Horemheb.²⁰ But while Ay and Horemheb had altered only a few reliefs, Seti reworked large numbers of them. His restoration program can be distinguished from those of any of his post-Amarna predecessors by the wide use of the *imw-y-mnw* formula. Moreover, he standardized its phraseology, whereas kings had used various locutions with little or no observable consistency from monument to monument.

The lion's share of restorations are found in the Theban area, especially Karnak and Luxor Temples. This is due not only to the accidents of preservation but also to the fact that Amen Re and his triad were the prime targets of Akhenaten's religious proscription. Outside the Thebiad, the names and images of other deities were often left

²⁰ Brand (1999c).

unmolested, although Amen himself was ruthlessly proscribed wherever he occurred.

Seti I's restoration program can be dated to early in his reign based on a number of criteria. His great renewal text in the Speos Artemidos is dated to year one, and accompanies reliefs that may also be assigned to those first years on the basis of stylistic and iconographic analysis which indicates that they were finished in a post-Amarna style. In fact, many of the anthropomorphic images of deities Seti restored exhibit post-Amarna stylistic traits that contrast sharply with the mature Ramesside style found in his later reliefs.

As to what motivated this program of secondary restoration, one can imagine a number of political windfalls. The *smrwy-mnw* formula used in conjunction with his repair work was an efficient way for Seti to stamp his name on many highly visible monuments in a short time. By altering reliefs that had already been repaired by Tutankhamen, Seti again followed the lead of Horemheb, but on a much larger scale. The phenomenon of secondary restorations in the later post-Amarna epoch is undoubtedly related to the official *dumotio memoriae* of Tutankhamen and Ay. Despite the fact that the vast majority of Tutankhamen's restorations lacked inscriptions identifying them as his own work, they were nevertheless often targeted by Seti. Presumably it was the resemblance of the anthropomorphic deities in the young sovereign's restorations that Seti considered objectionable. So in most cases, Tutankhamen served as a convenient, if technically anonymous, scapegoat for Seti, since Horemheb had largely eliminated occurrences of Tutankhamen's protocol in both his own original monuments and in the few scattered restorations that named him. Thus Seti used his predecessor as a convenient straw man to demonstrate his own orthodoxy at a time when his own legitimacy as the scion of a new dynasty, scarcely two years old at his father's death, was open to question. In this way, he sought to establish himself as the definitive champion of orthodoxy and to close the final chapter of the post-Amarna era.

A number of unanswered questions remain surrounding Seti I's restoration program. These include the number and extent of *primary* restorations he is responsible for. It is not always possible to distinguish primary restorations from secondary ones, especially in the case of reliefs in harder media such as granite, where traces of recutting are generally rare. Moreover, traces of earlier versions of hard stone reliefs that have been restored could stem from either pre-Amarna originals or

cosmetic adjustments. Also requiring further study is the precise extent of Tutankhamen's program of restorations and the whole question of restored icons lacking *sm3wy-mnw* texts.

CHAPTER THREE

CATALOG OF THE MONUMENTS OF SETI I

INTRODUCTION

Seti I was one of the more prolific builders in Egyptian history. He left a huge corpus of monumental art and architecture known both for its grandeur and for its high quality. His monuments are found over a wide area encompassing Western Asia and the whole of the Nile valley from the Delta to Gebel Barkal.

In this chapter his monuments are cataloged comprehensively, if not exhaustively: no doubt some monuments will be overlooked, while others await future discovery. Most of the inscribed royal monuments of the reign will be included here, along with several private ones with decoration featuring Seti. Minor art objects, tomb furnishings, scarabs and the like, will not be treated. The catalog will be arranged from Syria in the north to Nubia in the south. Here again, as in Chapter Two, epigraphic, iconographic and art historical analysis of Seti's monuments, especially his reliefs, will be the primary approaches. Textual analysis of inscriptions will be limited to what is relevant to the building histories of his monuments, those chronological and historical issues to be discussed in Chapter Four and to a handful of new and unpublished texts.

Although inscriptions in this reign form a rich corpus of information on many other historical, religious and cultural issues, they have already been published with translation and commentary. They must, therefore, lie beyond the scope of the present work. Anyone seeking analysis of the texts of the larger Beth Shan or the year one Alabaster stela of the king, for example, must look elsewhere, although the stelae themselves are cataloged and examined from an epigraphic and art historical perspective here.

¹ E.g. Kitchen's *AR/1*, *RIT41* and *RIT4VC*. There is, in addition, a huge corpus of interpretive literature on the more important texts.

Each item has a reference number and a bibliography followed by commentary. Although many of these pieces do not lend themselves to extensive discussion, entries on others, such as the major constructions at Abydos, Gurnah and Karnak, are carefully considered, with the focus on their *Baugeschichte* and the chronology of their decoration during Seti's reign and his successors'. Although a summary and conclusions are given at the end of those sections, an overall treatment of the scope and ultimate state of the king's building program will be included in a synthesis in Chapter Five.

WESTERN ASIA

3.1 Kadesh, (Tell Nebi Mendu), Stela of Seti I (Aleppo 384)

PIA II, 49; M. Pézard, *Syrie* 3 (1927), 108-10 & pl. 22; idem, *Kadesh mission à Tell Nebi Mendu* (Paris, 1931), pl. 78. A. Loukianoff, *Ancient Egypt* (1924-5), 01-8, *ARF* 25, 49; *RITA* I, 20, 49; *RITANC* I, 26, 49.

This basalt stela was discovered in 1921 at the site of Tell Nebi Mendu, ancient Kadesh. Only the upper two thirds of the lunette are preserved. It is round-topped at the front, but the preserved upper right corner is squared off at the back of its thickness and its upper left corner has broken away.¹

Seti I stands before a row of four deities led by Amen-Re, who proffers a *hwt*-sword to the king. Loukianoff cleared up several epigraphic points about the stela's decoration that were misunderstood by its original editor.² Seti wears a *nemes*-headdress surmounted by an *swt*-crown consisting of long ram's horns supporting a sun disk flanked by a pair of tall plumes. According to Loukianoff, he once proffered an image of Maat or a similar offering to the god, but no trace of this is preserved.³

Behind Amen stands a form of the god Seth wearing Syrian garb. This particular avatar of the god is known from the Nineteenth Dynasty, particularly from the 400-Year Stela of Ramesses II, when he seems

¹ Pézard (1927), 108-110. Vandersleyen's (1997), 299-302, identification of Kadesh on the Orontes with a site in Palestine is not convincing.

² *Ibid.*, Pézard, pl. 22.

³ Loukianoff (1925), 101-108.

Ibid., 102.

to have been worshiped both in Egypt and abroad.⁶ His name here is given as *Swth*—"Great of Strength." The nature of the object that he holds aloft is unclear. On the basis of a comparison with the two deities to either side of him, one would expect it to be some kind of weapon.

The third deity is the falcon-headed Monthu holding a mace with an ax blade. He is titled Monthu—"Lord of Thebes." Behind him, only the headdress and back of the wig of a fourth deity is preserved, along with a staff surmounted by a lotus blossom. This is enough to identify Hathor, a goddess often associated with foreign countries, especially in Asia and Sinai. No trace of her titles is preserved.

The workmanship is crude: the figures and glyphs have been etched in sunk relief, with only the barest suggestion of modeling, while interior details are few, and are haphazardly indicated if at all. According to his Karnak war reliefs, Seti I captured Kadesh. This campaign has been dated to the later half of the reign by Mumane.⁷ It is unfortunate that the main text, which presumably would have included a date, has been lost.

The crudeness of the monument is striking, especially considering the import of the event it commemorates. Kadesh had been a thorn in Egypt's side since the time of Thutmose II, and its possession was desired by every subsequent pharaoh. How, then, is the stela's mean workmanship to be explained? It could have been made by Syrian craftsmen unfamiliar with Egyptian artistic standards, but this seems unlikely. More plausibly, perhaps, it was made on-the-spot, immediately after the capture of Kadesh, so that pharaoh himself might dedicate it before departing. In this capacity, it would have served as an important talisman of Syrian fealty to Egypt. Certainly the material, basalt, was local, for it occurs in Syria-Palestine and was used in other West Asian stelae, but not in Egypt (*infra* 3.4.3.5). It is a hard stone, not easily worked, especially under time constraints.

⁶ Te Velde (1977), 124ff.

⁷ Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pls. 22-26. For the most recent discussion with references, see Mumane, *Road to Kadesh*, 52-58.

⁸ After year five. Ibid. Mumane 64. Spaulinger (1979a), 42-43, would place it between years three and five, based partly on the notion that, since the king's Irem offensive of year eight was not included in the Karnak reliefs, the campaigns depicted there must have occurred before this time. This is a weak argument, however, since the Irem operation was a small affair and the king himself did not participate in it.

Kadesh, along with Amurnu, returned to the Hittite fold soon after Seti's campaign, and it was again the object of a failed invasion in year five of Ramesses II, less than a decade or so after Seti's victory there. It may be that the chiefs of Kadesh carefully preserved Seti's monument, even after dismounting it, as proof of their erstwhile "loyalty" to Egypt in the event that Pharaoh's armies should ever retake the city.⁹ Both its poor workmanship and the lack of other more substantial or carefully finished Egyptian monuments of this time at Kadesh probably lend weight to the notion that the Egyptians left behind, at most, only a small garrison at Kadesh when their armies returned to Egypt.

3.2 Tyre, Rhetorical Stela of Seti I

M. Chéhab, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 22 (1969-71), 32, pl. 8-3, *KRI* I, 1-7, §56, *RITA* I, 98-99, §56, *RITANC* I, 96, §56.

The upper and lower portions of this fragmentary stela are now lost along with much of the first line of the text which would have included a date, along with the lower portions recording the commemorated event.¹⁰ What is preserved comprises only the titulary of Seti and a poetical encomium on him (*KRI* I, 117, §56).

A scene from his Karnak battle reliefs shows the chiefs of Lebanon cutting down cedars for the monarch and paying him homage.¹¹ This episode probably commemorates part of the Asiatic campaign in his first regnal year that was in part a tour of inspection designed to assert the new monarch's sovereignty over his Palestinian and Lebanese vassals.¹²

A prenomen cartouche on the fourth line of the stela includes the epithet *tit R*.¹³ Various epithets were occasionally appended to Seti's prenomen on monuments, but these are particularly common in his first regnal year (*supra* 1-4-3). This would be in keeping with the traditional year one date for the king's inspection tour in Lebanon, and a tentative date in year one is suggested for this stela.

⁹ *Road to Kadesh* 53.

¹⁰ Chéhab (1969-71), 32, pl. 8-3.

Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, 28-34 & pl. 10.

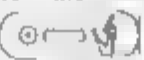

¹¹ Much ink has been spilled over this and other aspects of the campaign of year one. On this scene, see most recently Spalinger (1979a), 32 *Road to Kadesh* 43.

3.3 Tell es-Shihab, Stela Fragment of Seti I (Istanbul 10942)

PM VII. 383. G. A. Smith, *PEQ* 31 (1901), 347. L. Vincent, *Canaan d'après exploration récente* (Paris, 1907), 452 & fig. 304. W. M. Müller, *PEQ* 36 (1904), 78-80. *KRI* I, 17 §5; *RITA* I, 14, §5; *RITANC* I, 21-22, §5.

Only the upper two thirds of the lunette scene on this basalt stela is preserved. It depicts Seti offering two incense-burners to Amen-Re and Mut.¹¹ A prenomen cartouche flanked by uraei hangs suspended from the winged disk at the top of the lunette. Both the draftsmanship and carving of the stela are poor. The figures are distinguished by odd proportions and overly slender limbs. Mut's double crown is rendered ineptly, internal details are executed in a haphazard fashion, such as Amen's fist holding the *wls* scepter or the facial features of the figures, while many details are missing entirely—viz., the collars and bracelets on all three figures.

The stela was apparently found at Tell es-Shihab, which might correspond to Qiriat Anab (*RITANC* I, 15 §65). Kitchen suggests that the present monument was erected at a control post that the monarch established in a crossroads area where the routes east from the Yenoam ford to the Jordan river met the route running to Damascus and Lape from Transjordan (*RITANC* I, 21-22 §36). He notes that the toponym Qiriat-Anab is included in a topographical list at Abydos containing other toponyms connected with Seti's year one campaign (*KRI* I, 31 §12).¹² A case for the stela's connection with the year one campaign might be supported by evidence from the stela itself, which bears an unusual form of the king's prenomen.

In both cases where it appears the orthography of Seti's cartouche—arranged vertically—is , the reverse of the standard form. Although the more usual writing, , was widely used beginning even in year one, variant orthographies of the prenomen are found most commonly in the earliest part of the reign (*supra* 145). All this would suggest an earlier date for the stela, probably contemporary with the year one campaign. Stylistically, the

¹¹ Smith (1901), 348; Vincent (1907), 452 & fig. 304.

¹² The only other mention of this place in Egyptian texts occurs in the eastern topographical list from the battle reliefs of Ramesses II on the south exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. *KRI* II, 153-41; Simons (1937), XXIV-41.

maladroit draftsmanship and carving of the stela is useless for dating purposes. The poor workmanship suggests that the monument could have been made on-the-spot by craftsmen traveling with the army before it moved on.

3.4 Beth Shan, Larger Stela of Seti I (Jerusalem S. 884)

Plat. VII, 380. A. Rowe *Plat.* 70 (1929), 88-97; idem, *The Topography and History of Beth Shan* (Philadelphia, 1930), 24-29, fig. 5 & pls. 41, 413; M. Kruchten, *AIPHOS* 26 (1982), 21-62 & illustration facing 32; A. Mazar, *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* I (Jerusalem, 1993), 2-4, 221 & photo p. 2-9, *KRI* I, 11-12, §2, *RITA* I, 9-10, §2, *RIT (NC)* I 17-19, §2.

This celebrated monument is one of the best known and studied documents of the reign.¹ Although found broken in several pieces, it has been preserved intact. It takes the form of a tall, round-topped monolith of basalt. The vignette portrays Seti I offering two *mw* jars to Re Horakhty. An offering stand bearing a *nmw* jar and lotus blossom stands between them, while the winged disk of the Behdennu hovers above.

The workmanship is very fine, the signs being carefully incised and highly legible. The figures on the lunette are well drawn and modeled, including the wings of the Behdennu whose feathers are individually delineated. The two figures are rendered with wide shoulders, long legs, wasp-waists and flat bellies, all marking a rejection of the post-Amarna style which therefore could not have been the universal mode of relief in Seti's earliest years. The nose is decidedly straight and lacks the distinctive aquiline curve that marks the developed Ramesside style found later in the reign. The epithet *mn R* has been appended to the prenomen in the main body of the text but in only one of the two instances where it occurs (*KRI* I, 11-16).


Beth Shan had a major Egyptian garrison during the New Kingdom. Although the king does not seem to have visited the town in year one — dispatching an army to seize it after a rebellion — the recapture of Beth Shan warranted its commemoration with two stelae. The larger one, of particularly fine workmanship, was certainly not erected hastily after the battle in a locale that was not heavily occupied by Egyptian

¹ See most recently Kruchten (1982), 21-62; Davies (1997), 29-34. A treatment of the text and its historical implications lies beyond the scope of this study.

forces.⁶ This was a permanent memorial to Egyptian hegemony in Palestine, set up in one of the primary garrisons in the territory.

3.5 Beth Shan, Smaller Stela of Seti I (Jerusalem S.885A/B)

PM VII 380; B. Grdseloff, *Une stèle syro-palestinaise du roi Seti I^{er}* (Cairo, 1949), 24-34; A. Mazar, *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 1, 214-223 & photo p. 219; *KRI* I, 15-16, §4, *RITA* I, 12-13, §4, *RITANC* I, 20-21, §4

This smaller basalt stela apparently commemorates the same event as its larger companion – the recapture of Beth Shan during the king's Syro-Palestinian campaign of year one.⁷ About one fourth of the left side of the stela is broken off, along with all but the bottom of the scene.⁸ The preserved section is also somewhat eroded, making some passages of the text partly or wholly illegible. The double scene had on both sides a figure of pharaoh offering to two back-to-back figures of some mummy-form god or gods standing on  plinths. Only the legs of the two divine figures and of the royal one on the right side are preserved.

SINAI

3.6 Serabit el-Khadim, Stela of Ashahebused, Year Eight (No. 247)

PM VII 348 nos. 247 & 248; Cardiner, *Pict. & Cerny, Sinai* 175, 176 & pl. 68; *KRI* I, 62-63, §28, *RITA* I, 53-54, §28, *RITANC* I, 58, §28

This large free-standing stela was set up on the approach to the Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim, and was inscribed on both its north and south faces in the eighth year of Seti I.⁹ It was made under the supervision of an official named Ashahebused, who led several expeditions to the Turquoise mines in Sinai during the later years of Seti

⁶ Cf. *supra* 3.1. Seti's crude stela found at Kadesh (Tell Nebi Mendu), a site of equal if not greater strategic importance to Beth Shan, but one which probably lacked an Egyptian garrison.

⁷ Grdseloff (1949), *KRI* I, 16. Bff. Cf. the larger stela's text, *KRI* I, 12. 7ff. For a new translation and commentary, see Davies (1997), 35-40.

⁸ Mazar (1993), photo on 219.

⁹ *Sinai*² pl. 68, no. 247, north & south faces.

1 and the earlier reign of Ramesses II.²⁰ An official named Amenemhet later added an inscription to the west face during the reign of Ramesses II.²¹

The north face is capped by a vignette portraying the king offering two *nw*-jars to Re-Horakhty. Below this is a brief rhetorical text that follows his full titulary dated to year eight, I *prt* 2. Below the text is a figure of Ashahebused adorning the royal cartouches. The official text of the expedition, inscribed on the south face,²² is badly eroded and mostly lost. This was dated to year eight, and probably to the same day as the north face (*RITANC* I, 58, §107). Seti offers a conical loaf of bread to Hathor-Lady of Turquoise in the lunette scene. The text seems to have included an encomium to the sovereign, presumably followed by an official account of the expedition.

3.7 Serabit el-Khadim, Stela of Ashahebused with Seti I and Ramesses II (No. 250)

PM VII 363 no. 250, Gardiner, Peet & Cerny *Sinai* 176-77 & pl. 71 *ARI* I 63 §29 *RITA* I, 55, §29; *RITANC* I, 59, §29

This inscription has long been considered strong evidence in favor of the hypothetical coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II.²³ The stela is divided into two registers. In the upper panel, two standing figures wearing kilts and bull's tails face each other across an offering stand bearing a *nwst*-jar and a lotus blossom. Only the legs and the hems of their kilts survive. Below, a figure of the troop commander and royal butler Ashahebused stands with his arms raised in adoration of the king. In front of him, on the left half of the stela, a text gives his speech in praise of pharaoh:

Giving Praise to your Ka... multitudinous of chanotry, excellent of... [King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, son of Re, Seti-Merenptah and his

²⁰ Cf. *Sinai* 250 (*infra* 3.7), *ARI* II, 340-3, 7, 341-9, and *ARI* III, 203-204, §114, IX 1.

²¹ *Sinai*² pl. 68, no. 247, west face. It is not contemporary with the stela. See *Coregencies*, 87.

²² Compare the official record and expedition leader's report of an expedition to Wadi Hammanat under Nebtawyre-Menthuhotep A *ihh* nos. 113 & 192.

²³ E.g., *Coregencies*, 62-63; *RITANC* I, 59, §29.

royal son Usermaatre . . . with Hathor, Lady of turquoise, Lord of crowns,
Ramessu-Miamen, given life like Re . . . "

The two figures in the upper scene are certainly Seti I and Ramesses II shown with the full trappings of kingship. The figure on the left is the object of worship for both the figure on the right and for Ashahebused below, who faces to the left.²⁴ Neither one can be Re-Horakhty, as Heick suggests.²⁵ The kilt of the figure on the top left has the sloping hemline of a type that first came into use under Amenhotep III,²⁶ while the figure on the right wears a kilt with a triangular projection long associated with royalty. The upper register may then be reconstructed as a tableau depicting Ramesses II in the full regalia of kingship offering to his royal, deified father. Although this monument has been cited as evidence of a coregency, there is in fact no reason it could not date to the independent reign of Ramesses II. It may very well have been dedicated in the first year after Seti's death, when Ramesses actively associated himself with his deceased father's memory in commemoration of the former's activity there under the supervision of Ashahebused (*infra* 4.6.3.1).

3.8 Serabit el-Khadim, Relief Fragment of Seti I (No. 249)

PAI VII, 350, no. 249 (Gardiner, Peet & Lerner, *Sinai* 176 & pl. 69, *ARI* 64, §30A, *RITA* 1, 55, §30A, *RITAC* 1, 59, §30A).

This limestone relief fragment, split into two pieces, was found in room A of the shrine of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim.²⁷ It depicts Seti I offering two *mw*-jars to Ptah.²⁸ It appears to be a wall relief.

²⁴ The tops of the two lotus stalks also bend to the left, indicating that the blossoms faced towards the recipient of the cult on the left. *Sinai* 1, pl. 7, no. 250.

²⁵ Heick (1981), 212-213.

²⁶ W. Raymond Johnson by personal communication.

²⁷ Petrie (1906), 76.

²⁸ *Sinai* I, pl. 69, no. 249.

LOWER EGYPT

3.9 Qantara, Monument of Seti I for Ramesses I

Pl IV 6-7 S. Sauneron, *Bulletin Société d'Etudes de l'Isthme de Suez* 5 (1954), 45-58, pls 1-5. AR/I 105-107 §51. *RtAI* I, 88-89, §5. *RIFANC* I, 90-91, §5 (fig. 60).

This monument, resembling a truncated obelisk made of red siliceous sandstone, was once surmounted by a cavetto cornice upon which rested a statue of Horus of Mesen in the guise of a falcon.²⁹ At present, only the lower part of the shaft is preserved but its upper part, including the cornice, was seen on a number of occasions in the nineteenth century and has since disappeared.³⁰ The main shaft rests on a slightly wider base, the whole unit resembling the Λ -sign without a pyramidion. It was

originally decorated by Seti I on three of its four sides. Subsequently Ramesses II decorated the fourth side that had been left blank, apparently because it rested against a wall. He also added marginal inscriptions to all four sides of the pedestal.

The sides of the shaft are decorated with incised reliefs and texts that included a ritual scene with columns of texts arranged below them. The episode on the front of the object had Seti I kneeling before the falcon-headed Horus "Lord of Mesen," who stands on a Δ -plinth to whom he offers two *mw*-jars. A dedication formula records that Seti made the monument for Horus of Mesen to foster the memory of his father Ramesses I (AR/I, 106 10-12).

The two vignettes on the sides feature Seti I (west) and Ramesses I (east) kneeling before the throne of the Heliopolitan sun-gods Re and Atum, while Horus of Mesen extends the *mnw*-staff to the sovereign and touches his crown. Behind Horus stands a goddess, Wadjet on the west face and presumably Nekhbet on the east side, although her name is lost. The texts state that Seti made the monument for Horus of Mesen in memory of Ramesses I (AR/I, 106 5-12).

²⁹ Griffith & Petrie (1888), 103-104 & pl. 51.




³⁰ Sauneron (1954), 45-48.

¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 3.

These two gods are named in the inscriptions below the scenes but in both cases their figures are almost totally lost. Only the legs and the base of the god's throne are preserved on the west face. AR/I, 106 13-6.

Ramesses II's addition to the originally blank north side is an offering scene identical to the one on the south side. Only traces of the episode, which had the king kneeling before the deity, is preserved. According to the inscription, Ramesses' motivation was to "restore the monument" (*smw'w mnh*) "of his father Seti I" and to perpetuate the name of his grandfather Ramesses I in the temple of Horus." In the marginal inscriptions he claims to have "made" and "erected" the monument, but elsewhere the texts suggest that he merely rehabilitated the pedestal after finding that it had fallen over (ARU 107.13-14).

It may be that this pedestal dates to the earliest part of Seti's reign. The orthography of his prenomen is , while that of his father has three variants. Variation in the orthography of his prenomen was common during Ramesses' brief tenure, but the -sign was always placed in the middle (*supra* 14-5). This seems to have influenced the orthography of Seti's prenomen in the first year or so of his reign. By contrast, late in Seti's reign and during that of Ramesses II, writings of his grandfather's prenomen seem to have been influenced by that of Seti's, with the -sign being placed on the bottom of *Mn-phry-R^c*. It is likely then that Seti dedicated this monument to his father within a year or so of having succeeded him.

3.10 Khata'na-Qantir, Industrial/Military Site

I. B. Pusch in: *Antike Welt im Privaten Museum. Die Ägyptische Sammlung Arne Eggebrecht & Matthias Seidel* (eds.) (Mainz 1993), 26-43, fig. 128; idem, in: *Fragments*, 201-203.

Recent excavations by Pusch at Qantir have yielded new insights into Seti I's building activity there.¹⁴ Pusch has identified a site used for large-scale metalworking industry adjacent to a series of workshops at his stratum B3 dating to the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties.¹⁵ North of a 2.5 m thick enclosure wall of mud brick, he uncovered seven long "melting channels" and a series of cross-shaped furnaces. It is estimated that several hundred people would have been needed to work the foot bellows of blast pipes connected to these melting channels alone.

¹⁴ Pusch (1993a), 126-143, fig. 128.

¹⁵ Pusch in *Fragments*, 201-202.

A series of rooms were excavated south of the enclosure wall that comprised a row of multi-functional workshops for hot and cold metalworking and for work in other organic and inorganic materials including wood, leather and stone. This seems to have been a large-scale production line where every stage in manufacture can be identified, from smelting to final production.

The next level, B3, dates to the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II. Here the multi-functional workshops continued to operate, while the metalworks to the north of the enclosure wall were abandoned and leveled.¹⁶ They were replaced by a large military-administrative building described as "a vast courtyard lined with limestone columns, octagonal in section, and inscribed with the protocol of Ramesses II." The columns were seven cubits high or about 3.6 meters. All of them had originally been inscribed with the titulary of Seti I before Ramesses usurped them.¹⁷ Embedded in the floor of the building the excavators found hundreds of pieces of chariot hardware including yoke saddle-knobs, yoke knobs, decorative discs, as well as a complete horse-bit and many fragments of the same.¹⁸ The chariot hall seems to have been in use well into the reign of Ramesses II. Here too were found molds for the manufacture of Hittite shields that Pusch dates to the time after Ramesses II's diplomatic marriage with the Hittite emperor Hattusili's eldest daughter in year thirty-four.¹⁹ This exciting discovery, and the large amount of material evidence, pottery, etc., that Pusch dates to Ramesses' reign, has tended to overshadow Seti's role as the apparent founder of the chariot

The intensive and large-scale metalworking industry combined with the multipurpose workshops strongly suggests that it was an arms factory. One can easily imagine the production of large amounts of weaponry, including chariots, at this site in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty. Unfortunately the stratum below this, C/D1, which is datable to the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty by pottery and a scarab of

¹⁶ Large-scale metalwork may have continued nearby. Hamza identified blast pipes, presumably for similar melting channels, at a site 200 meters northeast of Pusch's excavations. Hamza (1930), 62ff.

¹⁷ Pusch in *Fragments*, 202-203. Leclant (1982), fig. 11. Seti's protocol does survive on some of these columns. See Pusch (1993a), fig. 128.

¹⁸ Ibid., Pusch in *Fragments*, 203.

¹⁹ Ibid., 203-204.

Amenhotep II, was too damaged for the excavators to establish its function.⁴⁰

Seti was certainly responsible for establishing the chariot hall, as indicated by the occurrence of his protocol on the columns. We also know that he embarked on a series of military campaigns into Western Asia on a scale not seen since the Thutmoseid era. Although they may have existed earlier, perhaps the most likely occasion for the establishment of the metalworking industry at the site was sometime in the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I.⁴¹

3.11 Khatafna-Qantir, Faience Inlays of Palace Doors of Seti I

PM IV 9. M. Hamza, *EA* 30 (1930), 41-42. J. Habachi, *ZAS* 100 (1974), 101-102, pl. 6, E, Lphill, *JNES* 28 (1969), 22.

These tiles came into the possession of the Louvre via an antiquities dealer who claimed they were from Qantir.⁴² This claim was proved accurate by the discovery of similar tiles and a factory for the production of faience there, all dating to Seti's reign.⁴³ The Louvre tiles belonged to more than one doorway: those from the lintel are decorated with stars and with Seti's Horus name, while others from the doorposts are embellished with the five-fold royal titulary and the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt.⁴⁴ From the tiles and the factory used to produce them, we may conclude that Seti founded an official residence at Qantir as part of a major development at the site that foreshadowed the capital Pi-Ramesses later established by his son.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁴¹ Seti was already campaigning in Chaly during his father's brief reign. Before this, no major campaign seems to have been undertaken in Asia since late in Tutankhamen's reign or perhaps under Horemheb. *ARF* I 111 10-14. See most recently *Road to Aqeshu*, 48-49. On Tutankhamen's Asiatic campaign, see Redford (1984), 2.2-215. A fragmentary series of reliefs depicting an Asiatic campaign of Tutankhamen has been reconstructed by Johnson (1992). Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 30-31, expresses doubts about Horemheb's military activity there. Horemheb did, however, decorate his memorial temple with battle reliefs. Johnson (1992), 120ff.

⁴² Habachi (1974), 101.

⁴³ Hamza (1930), 42.

⁴⁴ Habachi (1974), pl. 6.

⁴⁵ Ramesses states that he returned from Abydos to Pi-Ramesses in year one, but this claim is contained in the *Abydos Inscription Dedicatory*. Redford (1971), 2 n. 3 called the date anachronistic since the inscription was not made until sometime after the

3.12 Khatafna-Qantir, Barque Soct of Seth (Former Vienna)

E. Bergmann, *RI* 12 (1882), 4-6. I. Habachi, *JAS* 100 (1974), 95-102, figs. 1-2 pl. 5a-b, *KRI* 1, 232-234, §102. *RITA* 1, 200-201, §102, *RITANC* 1, 153, §102.

This monument takes the form of a pedestal with battered sides supporting a torus molding and cavetto cornice. Made of siliceous sandstone, it is decorated on the front and back sides with vignettes of two royal figures performing the *sms-Tjwy* ritual, and on the remaining sides with four royal figures, their hands apraised, supporting a sign.⁴⁵ Habachi was the first to identify this object as a barque soct, called a *sct* in Egyptian. The motif of the four kings supporting heaven is well known from Ramesside reliefs depicting barque soctes.⁴⁶ The name and epithets of Seth on the monument have been hacked out, but Habachi was able to read the damaged epithet as "Lord of Avaris," thereby establishing the monument's likely provenance.⁴⁷

3.13 Tell Birka, Block of Seti I

JM IV 9-1. Naville, *The Shrine of Sekt el elchennah and the Temple of Unashen* (Fribourg Memoir 4), London, 1887, 21 pl. 9D. *KRI* 1, 117, §57. *RITA* 1, 99, §57. *RITANC* 1, 96-97, §57.

Found by Naville at Birka close by the site of Avaris in a paved area adjoining six column bases.⁴⁸ This block's decoration consists of the double cartouches of Seti I. It may have come from either a temple or

first regnal year. Uphill (1969), 22, maintains that the capital was founded by Seti and may have been called "Per-Seti," but he offers no clear evidence for this. Clearly, a royal residence existed there by the end of Seti's reign. Moreover, further evidence that P-Ramesses was established early in Ramesses' reign may now be forthcoming. Among the miscellaneous included in papyrus Anastasi II is a praise of the Dea residence of the Ramessides. The prenomen of Ramesses II is given twice, both times simply as *Hsr-Mt-R* (Gardiner 1937), 13-14. The fuller orthography for *mt-R* is to be expected in hieratic text (*infra*, 3.1.4). More telling is the absence of the epithet *stpn-R* that was invariably appended to his prenomen from about year two (e.g. *ibid.* Gardiner 97-17, 98-8; 132-16; 135-10). Its absence here suggests that the copyist was transcribing an original written in Ramesses' year one. Since the manuscript dates to the reign of Merneptah (*ibid.* Gardiner xiv), the king in question must be Ramesses II.

⁴⁵ Habachi (1974), figs. 1-2 & pl. 5.

⁴⁶ E.g., Abydos II, pls. 10-11.

⁴⁷ Habachi (1974), 99-100.

⁴⁸ Naville (1887), 21 pl. 9D.

civil building, such as the palace the pharaoh built at Qantir (*RITANC* I, 97, §57 [a.]).

3.14 Kom Sheik Raziq, 2 Blocks (Doorjambs)

PM IV 10. C. C. Edgar *ASAE* 3 (1914), 279 *KRI* I, 117 §57 *RIT* I, 99 §57, *RITANC* I, 96-97, §57

Probably both these blocks derive from a minor structure Seti built at Avaris, the site of Kom Sheik Raziq being close to that of Avaris, from which the blocks were probably brought (*RITANC* I, 100). Their decoration consists of the nomen and prenomen of Seti I with titles and epithets arranged in opposite directions, which suggests that they were doorposts.⁴⁰

3.15 El-Mineiar, Block of Seti I

Y. Adam *ASAE* 55 (1958), 306-7, 315 pl. 26a. *KRI* I, 117 §57 *RIT* I, 99 §57 *RITANC* I, 96-97 §57

This limestone block apparently derives from a doorjamb of a destroyed temple at the site of El-Mineiar.⁴¹ Adam found an area full of limestone chips, indicative of a building that had been dismantled and burned for lime. Other blocks of Ramesses II and Merenptah are perhaps suggestive of a temple site. Kitchen posits that El-Mineiar may have been a settlement or staging post on the route between Heliopolis and Avaris. Pt-Ramesses (*RITANC* I, 97, §184).

HELIOPOLIS

3.16 Heliopolis, Flaminian Obelisk

PM V 1, 409. O. Marucchi *Obelischi egiziani di Roma* (Rome, 1868), pls. 3-4. P. Brund. *JARF* 34 (1911), 92, figs. 1, 2. *KRI* I, 118-20 §58 *RIT* I, 99-100, §58, *RITANC* I, 97-98, §58, (fig. 63).

Also known as the Popolo obelisk after the Piazza del Popolo in Rome where it now stands.⁴² This monolith is decorated on three sides with texts and scenes naming Seti I, while its fourth side is inscribed for

⁴⁰ Edgar (1914), 279.

⁴¹ Adam (1958), 306-307 & pl. 26a.

⁴² Marucchi (1868), pls. 3-4.

Ramesses II, who also added marginal inscriptions to both sides of the main text on all four sides of the shaft. At the base of the shaft on each facet is a representation of the king kneeling before a standing figure of either Re-Horakhty or Atum. Corresponding tableaux at the top of the shaft, just below the pyramidion, feature him kneeling before the same god, who is now seated. Finally, nearly identical scenes grace each facet of the pyramidion: this time the king is represented as a sphinx with human arms sitting atop a pylon-shaped plinth, raising up an offering to the enthroned solar deity.

The early history of this monolith is now better understood. The Flaminian is one of a pair of obelisks that Seti meant to erect in front of the pylon gateway he added to the temple of Re in Heliopolis, as depicted in a votive temple model found at Tell el-Yahudia (*infra* 3.29). It now seems likely that the obelisk is one of several such pairs he commissioned in his year nine (*infra* 3.120 & 3.121).²³ It remained unfinished at his death and was later erected by Ramesses II. Presumably it was moved to Heliopolis and decorated on three of its sides as it lay on the ground near the end of Seti's reign.²⁴

The obelisk may have lain unfinished and abandoned for more than two decades after Seti's death before Ramesses II completed its decoration and erected it, considering that the orthography of Ramesses' nomen on the monument was current only after his twenty-first year.²⁵ Its male has not yet been identified with certainty (*infra* 3.22).

3.17 Heliopolis, Granite Obelisk Fragments of Seti I (Inv. 3012)

J.-Y. Empereur, *Egyptian Archaeology* 8 (1996): 7. W. La Riche, *Alexandria: The Museum in* (London, 1996): 59. N. Grimal, *HEU* 96 (1996): 664. J.-P. Corteggiani, *BSEF* 42 (1998): 32 (fig. 4). J.-Y. Empereur, *Alexandria Rediscovered* (New York, 1998): 62 & 75; (figs. 61-62 & 64).

²³ Habachi (1973), 113-125; Brand (1997), 101-114.

²⁴ Cf. the history of the great Lateran obelisk of Thutmose III whose decoration was completed by his grandson Thutmose IV. According to the latter king: "Now His Majesty completed the very great sole obelisk from what his ancestor the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre brought after His Majesty found this obelisk having lain for a total of thirty-five years on its side in the possession of the craftsmen on the south side of Kamak." *Urk* IV, 1550: 3-7; *ibid.*, Brand, 110.

²⁵ Kitchen (1979a), 383-387. Although he notes that this phenomenon is only consistent in Upper Egypt, the marginal texts, by comparison with those on the Luxor obelisks bearing similar marginals, would have been added sometime after year twenty, perhaps in preparation for the first jubilee.

In 1994, a French expedition working in the harbor of Alexandria near the Qaitbay fort discovered thousands of pharaonic sculptures, architectural fragments and other monuments in a submerged area comprising some 2.25 hectares. Among these were fragments of obelisks of Seti I. Only a couple of preliminary reports on these discoveries have been published to date.⁵⁶ One fragment belongs to the uppermost shaft of a medium sized obelisk, probably twelve to fifteen meters high, made of pink granite.⁵⁷ Its pyramidion is missing, but the offering scenes at the top of the shaft are preserved (figs. 61 & 64). They feature the king as a sphinx before two enthroned manifestations of the Heliopolitan solar deities, the most remarkable ones being two vignettes in which the sphinx representing Seti I has the head of the Seth animal (fig. 62). A smaller fragment derives from a corner of the lower shaft.⁵⁸

One would expect from this iconography that the obelisk had derived from ancient Heliopolis. Many pharaonic monuments were removed from that site to Alexandria in late antiquity, including several belonging to Seti I. The original monolith was considerably smaller than the Flaminian obelisk. Moreover, it was, remarkably for an obelisk, made of black granodiorite and lacks marginal texts to either side of the main inscription on its shaft, as on the Flaminian. In the light of this evidence, we must take all the more seriously Seti's claim to have "filled Heliopolis with obelisks".

3.18 Heliopolis, Sandstone Obelisk Fragments of Seti I (Inv. 2001 & 2026 A, B, 2500)

W. La Riche, *Alexandria: The Sunken City*, 75. N. Grimal, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 564. J. P. Cortegiani, *BIFAO* 142 (1998), 33, fig. 5. J.-Y. Empereur, *Alexandria Rediscovered*, 79 (fig. 65).

Three fragments (Inv. 2001 & 2026 A, B) stemming from a siliceous sandstone obelisk of Seti I were also recovered from the sea floor near Qaitbay fort.⁵⁹ His prenomen can be made out on a cartouche from one

⁵⁶ Empereur (1996a), 7-10; idem (1996b), 9-22; Cortegiani (1998), 25ff.

⁵⁷ Ibid. (1996a), 8 & fig. on 7; La Riche (1996), 59; ibid. Cortegiani, 30 with n. 14, 32. If Cortegiani is right, and the obelisk is composed of pink granite, then it has become discolored lying some two millennia under the sea, and is now black. The main fragment is 144 cm in height with each facet measuring between 64-67 cm wide.

⁵⁸ Height 90 cm; width of faces at base: A, 72 cm, B, 51 cm.

⁵⁹ Cortegiani (1998), 30-33 & fig. 5.

of the fragmentary offering scenes at the top of the shaft. The main text consists of a single vertical column that begins with unusual variants of his Horus name.⁶⁶

At roughly 4.5 meters high, this monolith appears to be of approximately the same magnitude as a broken obelisk fragment of the king from the Gebel Gulab quarry near Aswan, which had its own mate (*infra* 3.122). It is more likely that the present obelisk was quarried at Gebel Ahmar near Heliopolis. The siliceous sandstone there is superior to Aswan's.⁶⁷ A fourth fragment (Inv. 2500), more severely eroded, was left *in situ*. It also bears Seti's cartouche and a variant of his Golden Horus name.⁶⁸

3.19 Heliopolis, Sandstone Doorjamb (Alexandria 420)

PM IV 5, G. Daresy (1904), 120-1, §xxxv, no. 21. *ARF* 1, 20-12, §59 (with corrections *ARF* Vol. 427-28), *RIT I* 1, 102, §59. *RITANC* 1, 98, §59 (figs. 67-69).

Made from siliceous sandstone, this rather small doorjamb is decorated with scenes of the king standing before Re-Horakhty and Atum and as a sphinx (figs. 68-69).⁶⁹ Mysliwiec dates it to the later part of Seti's reign based on stylistic criteria (fig. 67).⁷⁰ This jamb once formed part of a small portal, and clearly did not belong to the pylon gateway Seti appears to have erected at Heliopolis (*infra* 3.29).

3.20 Heliopolis, Offering Table for Atum-Khepri (Cairo CG 23090)

PM IV 70. A. Kamal (1901), 94-96, idem, *Tables d'offrandes* (Cairo, 1909), 73-74, pl. 19; *ARF* 1, 101, §60; *RIT I* 1, 103, §60; *RITANC* 1, 98, §60.

This offering table, composed of black granodiorite, was found reused in a house near the Bab el-Fetwa in Cairo. The spout has been broken off, marring the representations on the front side in the process.⁷¹ The decoration of the table top is severely abraded, but traces remain. This

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 32, n. 23.


⁶⁷ Klemm *et al.* (1954), 207-220. Indeed, the Aswan fragment and its intended mate were abandoned after it broke (*infra* 3.122).


⁶⁸ Corteggiani (1998), 33-34.

⁶⁹ Daresy (1904), 120-121, §xxxv, no. 21.

⁷⁰ Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 102-103 & figs. 218 & 220.

⁷¹ Kamal (1901), 95-96.

area was framed by an uninscribed border 6 cm wide on the leading and sides edges of the upper surface.⁶⁶ Such border elements were often inscribed, but on this table and on another of the reign dedicated to Horus (see next entry), the space was intentionally left blank. Originally the back edge of the table top would have had a representation of a reed mat in the form of a  sign but this is now mostly gone. Several "fertility gouges" have been carved into the surface. Kamal noted that only a pair of round loaves can be discerned in the surviving decoration of the top, but there must have been at least a few jars of wine and beer and perhaps other offerings before the surface was mutilated.

On the front side of the table, removal of the spout has damaged the two scenes to either side.⁶⁷ They are rendered in sunk relief and portray pharaoh kneeling with his torso inclined forward as he offers to Atum-Khepri. In both instances he wears a kilt and the *khut* wig. In the left panel he proffers two milk jugs to Atum-Khepri. His legs are lost in a break, but the cut line of his lap and part of his knee remain. On the right, Seti holds up a pair of milk jars to the god. In the captions of both episodes, only one of the royal cartouches, arranged horizontally, is given, with the nomen on the left and the prenomen on the right. The latter is written . The compound god Atum-Khepri is depicted as a man sitting on a block throne, wearing a long tripartite wig holding a *wjs*-scepter and an **nfr*-sign.

Two bandeau texts run from the outer edges of the front side along the other three sides of the table. These consist of a series of descriptive phrases and epithets centered on the ruler's nomen and prenomen. Although the standard dedicatory formula is not present, the bandeau texts do refer to the king's building activity on behalf of Atum-Khepri. On the right, Seti is called "the perfect god who is beneficial for his father, great of monuments." On the left bandeau he is "the effective (*sh*) offspring of the Bull of Heliopolis." The notion that Seti is the offspring of Atum-Khepri is further stated in the two prenomen cartouches where the epithet *sw-R* is appended.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 95.

⁶⁷ Kamal (1909), pl. 19.

3.21 Heliopolis, Offering Table for Horus-in-the-Great-Mansion (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek E. 115/AEIN 44/A 742)

M. Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg: la collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen 1930), 102 & p. 110. *ARL* 735-236, §104, *RII* 41-202, §104, *RII-IVC* I, 154, §104 (figs. 20, 70-71 & 73)

This magnificent black granodiorite offering table was acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in 1892, and is of an unknown provenance. The piece is nearly intact and generally in good condition (fig. 70), although the main part of the table is broken into three pieces, and the spout on the front has been neatly broken off and is now missing.⁶⁴ The removal of the spout seems consistent with reuse of the monument as a building block.

The surface of the table is well preserved and is carved in low relief with representations of various loaves of bread and jars of wine and beer resting on a mat. An undecorated border element runs along the side and front edges of the upper surface which, like a similar table dedicated to Atum, is uninscribed. A triangular-shaped depression with rounded corners occupies the center front portion of the table top that was presumably meant as a catch basin to collect libations and direct them to flow out via the now missing spout.

On the front side of the table, a pair of tableaux in sunk relief flank the emplacement for the spout (figs. 20 & 71). These depict Seti kneeling with his knees sprayed out and his torso inclined sharply forward as he offers to the falcon-headed Horus. On the left-hand scene the king, wearing a *nemes*-headdress, offers a jar of ointment, while in the right-hand vignette he sports a *khat*-wig and holds up a jar similar to a *nnst* jar, except that it lacks a lid and spout. In both episodes, pharaoh wears only a *shendyt*-kilt, the pleats of which are engraved on the right, but missing on the left.

Two bandeau texts with two sets of the full royal titulary occupy the outer edges of the front side and the whole of the other three sides of the table (fig. 73). The glyphs are rendered in an admirable style, many of them with fine detailing. In both instances, the standard form of the

⁶⁴ The removal of the spout was neatly done without further damage to the monument, in contrast to the offering table for Atum-Khepri (see previous entry), which received much rougher treatment in the hands of the Medieval builders of Cairo. This apparent respect for the table suggests it was reused in pharaonic times or late antiquity.

titulary is used, with epithets appended to the prenomen in both texts, on the right side this is *sw-R*, while on the left it is *stp-n-R*.

Kitchen has pointed out that this table may have been set up in a cult chapel dedicated to the god Horus within the main temple complex at Heliopolis (*RITANC* I, 154, §104 {b}). The Great Mansion is a term for part of the main temple in Heliopolis, and "Horus-who-is-in-the-Great-Mansion" may be the name for a specific form of the god resident in this temple.⁶⁰

3.22 Heliopolis, Grottaferrata Statue Fragment of Seti I

PM VII 4, 7 S. Bostocco, *Aegyptus* 36 (1956), 18-23 pls. 1-4 *ARI* 1, 22 §61 *RIT* I, 103, §61, *RITAVC* I, 98-99, §61

This badly damaged fragment was once part of a seated black granodiorite statue of Seti I. All that remains is the lower part of the torso and much of the king's legs along with the upper half of his black-throne.⁶¹ The figure is garbed in the same long, pleated garment represented on Turin 1380, the celebrated statue of Ramesses II dating to the earliest years of his reign.⁶² Another statue of Seti I (Vienna AS 5910) wears the same costume as Turin 1380 and the Grottaferrata statue. Only the upper torso and part of the head of Vienna AS 5910 survives, but like the Turin statue it bears the *hwt* scepter in its right hand (*infra*, 3.48). It is likely that the Grottaferrata did as well.

A fragmentary inscription on the dorsal pillar describes pharaoh as "one who enlarges the House of Re who bore him," which would tend to indicate a Heliopolitan provenance for the statue. There are a couple of reasons for assigning the Grottaferrata statue a relatively late date. Sourouzian has shown that most of the small corpus of Seti I's statuary dates to the later half of his reign.⁶³ Moreover, he made a large addition

⁶⁰ Kákosy (1977), 1111.

⁶¹ Bostocco (1956), 18-23 with pls. 1-4.

⁶² Stylistically Turin 1380 (Curto 1984), 146, closely resembles statuary from later in Seti's reign and was thought by some to have been usurped by Ramesses II from his father. This is not the case, but the earliest sculpture of Ramesses II was in much the same style as that employed late in Seti's reign. See Eaton-Krauss in *Fragments*, 16-17. Cf. Turin 1380 with New York MMA 27.2.21, Dallas Museum of Art 1984.50 & Vienna AS 5910. All of these come from the king's temple in Abydos (*infra* 3.48 & 3.49).

⁶³ Sourouzian (1993), 243.

to the temple of Re at Heliopolis, including a pylon gateway and perhaps a court (*infra* 3.29). Presumably the Grottaferrata statue was among the furnishings installed after construction had been completed on the Heliopolitan building(s) late in the reign.

3.23 Heliopolis, Lintel of Seti I (Former Brussels E. 407)

PM IV 64. A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 36 (1950), 35, pl. 1. B. Van de Walle, in Musée Royal d'Art et d'Histoire, *La collection égyptienne: les étapes manquantes de son développement* (Brussels, 1980), 23-25 with fig. 6 (figs. 12 & 22).

This beautiful lintel of Seti I was unfortunately destroyed in a fire in 1946.⁷¹ The workmanship of the piece is very fine. Made of black granodiorite, it is sculpted in sunk relief with a number of figures of Seti I and various gods. In the center of the lintel, the monarch stands between Horus and Seth who purify him (fig. 72). On the left side, Seti presents two *mnw*-jars to the falcon-headed Re-Horakhty (fig. 12), and the same offering to Atum on the right end. The texts are almost entirely conventional, except for the epithet *mnw-R*⁷² which is attached to Seti's nomen cartouche in each instance.

There is no evidence for the exact provenance of the object or for the nature of the building to which it once belonged. It was given to the Musée de Brussels on behalf of King Leopold II in 1900. Previously it had served as a lintel in a house in Alexandria, to where many Heliopolitan monuments had been removed in late antiquity.⁷³ The figures are rendered in the mature Ramesside style employed by Seti's artisans in the middle and later years of his reign. The outlines and internal details of the figure as well as the hieroglyphs are rendered with the precise elegance characteristic of Seti's best reliefs.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Gilbert (1946), 231; Van de Walle (1980), 25, n. 53.

⁷² So all the pharaonic monuments retrieved by the French archaeological mission from the harbor of Alexandria originally stem from Heliopolis: Corteggiani, 998, 28.

⁷³ Cf. sunk reliefs of Seti's reign from Heliopolis: Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 102-103 with figs. 217-218 & 220.

3.24 Heliopolis, Fragmentary Naos of Seti I

S. Curto, *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 40 pls. I-II. A. Roccati, *The Egyptian Museum Turin* (Rome, 1991), 22-23.

This fragmentary naos was made from a single block of stone. The upper part of the block consists of a vein of red granite, while the lower part is of black granodiorite.⁹ The outer walls of the shrine are decorated with kneeling figures of Seti, his torso inclined forward slightly, interspersed with ritual texts dedicated to the Heliopolitan solar cult. The upper two registers are carved in red granite, while the lower one corresponds to the vein of black granodiorite.¹⁰

3.25 Heliopolis, Naos Fragment of Seti I (Berlin 16782)

G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 2 (Leipzig, 1913-1924), 2-4, *ARI* I, 236, § 05, *RITA* 202-203, §105, *RITANC* I, 54, § 05.

This fragment derives from the upper right-hand corner of the front of a small naos dedicated to the cult of Re.¹¹ It is, perhaps, similar to another fragmentary example in Turin (see previous entry).

3.26 Heliopolis, Octagonal Pillar of Seti I (Berlin 2888)

G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften, Museen zu Berlin* 2, 322, *ARI* I, 236, §105, *RITA* I, 202-203, § 05, *RITANC* I, 154, §105.

This octagonal pillar is decorated on four sides with stereotyped texts and decoration.¹² At the top of each column of text there is a figure of the king as a sphinx and a cartouche. The texts consist of the king's Horus name, nomen and prenomen followed by the phrase "beloved of Atum or Re-Horakhty".

Similar pillars of Seti I were found at Qantir where they formed part of a chariot hall (*supra* 3.10). It is likely that the Berlin pillar once supported the roof of some mud brick construction of the ruler at Heliopolis, such as an administrative building, a palace or a storehouse.

⁹ Curto (1974), 40 & pls. I-II. Near the end of his reign, Seti also commissioned some monolithic colossi with red granite crowns and black granodiorite bodies. See Brand (1997), 112-113 & *infra* 3.120.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Curto, pl. 2. Fragments from the lower portion of the shrine bear patches of white stone among the black matrix which are characteristic of granodiorite.

¹¹ Roeder (1913-1924), vol. 2, 214.

¹² *Ibid.* 322.

3.27 Heliopolis, Block of Seti I (Alexandria 26290)

K. Mysliwiec, *Études et Travaux* 8 (1975), 113-116; idem, *Le portrait royal*, fig. 217

This siliceous sandstone block of unknown provenance has been assigned to "an atelier in the Eastern Delta, perhaps Heliopolis" by Mysliwiec.¹⁰ The top and bottom seem to be preserved, but the left edge, where the god Seth occurs, may have been broken off, otherwise it could represent a somewhat damaged block and. The even surface of the right-hand side is indicative of a block line. Thus the original scene, parts of which are missing to either side, must have been completed on other blocks, so the block itself cannot have been part of a lintel which would have been a monolith. Still, the scale of the figures is relatively small, and they are in sunk relief. The block, then, probably does not derive from reliefs inside a large building, although it might, however, belong to a smaller one or to a scene arranged on a gateway.

3.28 Heliopolis, Obelisk Socle Block of Seti I (Inv. 2260 & 2431)

J. Y. Empereur, *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), 22; W. J. A. Rieu, *Alexandria: The Sunken City*, 10-11, 47 & 104-105; J. P. Cortegiani, *RSPT* 142, 1998, 33, fig. 6; J. Y. Empereur, *Alexandria Rediscovered*, 75 & 79; (figs. 58 & 66)

A fine block (Inv. 2260) of calcite, described as one corner of an obelisk socle, was among those recently found in the harbor of Alexandria, "the fort of Qaitbay". It is decorated with part of a vignette in sunk relief depicting Seti kneeling with his knees splayed in a semi-prostrate attitude before a low offering table bearing what appear to be jar stands (fig. 58). A portion of a similar panel is found on an adjoining facel (fig. 66). The king wears a tight fitting round wig and a *shenyt*-knot, with the vulture goddess Nekhbet hovering above him. He proffers a tray of offerings, now much damaged, to some deity not preserved on this block. A speech of Ankh, recipient of the king's generosity, occupies the right side of the block's main face. A second fragment (Inv. 2431), severely eroded, remains on the sea floor. It may stem from this or another obelisk socle.

¹⁰ Mysliwiec (1975), 116.

¹ Empereur (1996b), 19-22; idem (1998), 79; Grimal (1996), 566.

3.29 Tell el-Yahudia, Temple-Model (Brooklyn 49.183 [66.229])

PM IV 57 E. Brugsch, *RT 8* (1886), 8-9 pl. 4, A. Badawy & E. Riefstahl, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), 1-23, *ARI* 122-24, §62, *RTA* 1 103-105, §62, *RTAVC* 1, 99-100, §62

This celebrated piece is the base of a "model" temple of Seti I from Heliopolis. It was found at Tell el-Yahudia by *fellahin* sometime before 1875 and eventually acquired by the Brooklyn Museum.⁸² Only the base of the model is preserved, bearing sockets that once held now missing elements of a gateway with statuary and obelisks for a pylon gateway of Seti I. Badawy developed a largely plausible reconstruction of these lost architectural elements.⁸³

One problem with Badawy's reconstruction, however, may lie in his insistence that the proportions of the model correspond to those of the actual building Seti constructed at Heliopolis. The dimensions of the sockets vis à vis the width of the doorway on the model led Badawy to conclude that it represents "a monumental gateway rather than a typical pylon which would show much more elongated towers and a narrower doorway: the span of the doorway is too large for a continuous lintel, and only a so-called broken lintel of the type used at Amarna and taken over in Ramesside and later portals can be surmised."

While Badawy is quite right that the portal of the actual temple, like his reconstruction of the model, would have had a broken lintel,⁸⁴ this does not prove that the actual building would have been a monumental gateway as opposed to a pylon gateway. Used to describe the monument in an inscription on the base is the term *bhnty*, a word referring to a

⁸² On the early history of the model, see E. Riefstahl in Badawy & Riefstahl (1972), 20-23 and the references cited there.

⁸³ *Ibid.* frontispiece—4. A small blue faience sphinx of Amenhotep II may have come from a similar model, although here the socket is in the base of the sculpture with part of a severed pylon remaining wedged inside. Friedman (ed.) (1998), 182-183, = cat. 22 & figs. 41-42.

⁸⁴ Broken lintels were commonly used on the doorways of Ramesside pylons. A depiction of the facade of the Second Pylon in a relief from the first court of the temple of Khonsu shows the pylon's gateway with a full lintel and with a doorway only half its height nested inside it. This smaller doorway has a broken lintel surmounted by a cornice decorated with a frieze of uraei and a pair of sphinxes. Epigraphic Survey, *Ahonsu*, pl. 52. For this and other features of the Second and Third Pylons, see Epigraphic Survey, *Opet*, pls. 15-16, at Karnak; see *Basileide Antiquit.* 32-41 with figs. 14 & 16.

pylon gateway with twin towers.⁴⁵ Thus the model undoubtedly represents a conventional pylon.⁴⁶ As for the notion that the model's proportions reflected those of the actual building, this seems unlikely, the individual towers of pylon gateways were much wider than their portals yet in a relief depicting the Second Pylon at Karnak, this difference in scale is reduced.⁴⁷ Furthermore, had the width of the sockets for the pylon towers accurately reflected the dimensions of the actual monument, the model would have been considerably larger, making it unwieldy in both size and weight.

A few other corrections to Badawy's reconstruction can be made. Given that it represents a building with a monumental pylon gateway, it is probable that it would have included at least two flagstaves per tower for a total of four whereas his reconstruction has only one per tower. If the monument's scale approached the Karnak Second Pylon, it may have had as many as four per tower. Finally, Berg has called into serious question Badawy's conclusions regarding the object's purpose. It does not seem to have been used in the foundation ritual, as Badawy had thought. Although it obviously had some kind of ritual or votive significance and seems not to have been an architect's model, its precise function remains unclear.⁴⁸

The side walls at the back of the model may represent a court similar to the Ramesside court at Luxor Temple. In fact, the building represented by the Brooklyn model is strikingly close in design to that of the Luxor forecourt. This is perhaps more significant now that the latter appears to have been planned and partially constructed late in Seti I's reign.⁴⁹

It is unfortunate that the texts on the model's base nowhere gave the official name of the proposed structure. In fact, the bandeau texts describing it are somewhat vague. The inscription on its right side does list the individual elements of the model, but only so as to catalog the materials of which its various parts—and not the actual building, were

⁴⁵ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 192-196.

⁴⁶ Spencer cites only two cases where *bhnt* seems to refer to a large gateway built into the brick temenos wall of a temple precinct, and these are both quite late. The usual term for such a gateway is a *sh* *ḥt*, "great doorway." Ibid., 196.

⁴⁷ Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 52.

⁴⁸ Berg (1990), 103-105, *contra* Badawy & Reifstaht (1972), 7-10.

⁴⁹ Brand (1997), 107ff.

made.⁹⁰ The left bandeau text describes the monument as an "August sanctuary," *shn spss*, which seems to be a generic term meaning "shrine/sanctuary."⁹¹

Only one part of Seti's projected pylon gateway and forecourt can be identified with any degree of certainty, namely the Flaminian obelisk. As of yet, no trace of the pylon itself, or of the colossal statues or sphinxes that might have stood in front of it, have been found.

3.30 Heliopolis, Fragment with Decoration of Seti I

W. M. F. Petrie, *Heliopolis: Asir, Imur & Shurah* (London, 1905), 7 pl. 8

This fragment, apparently of black granodiorite, bears a portion of the royal titulary [*nsw bit y Mn mš't R' tū-R*], in a horizontal inscription bordered by a pair of register lines. There is no indication of decoration in the space above or below the line of text. Petrie gave no specific measurements, but the fragment appears quite small. The small size of the fragment, the horizontal arrangement of the text and the presence of the epithet *tū-R* appended to the cartouche might suggest that it came from an offering table, perhaps dedicated to Re-Horakhty. Seti dedicated at least two other offering tables to Heliopolitan deities, one to Atum-Khepri and another to Horus-who-is-in-the-Great-Mansion (cf. *supra* 3.20 & 3.21).

3.31 Heliopolis, Block of Seti I

A. Rowe, *Bulletin de la société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 35 (1942), 153-154 & p. 33 B2. H. Champollion, *L'Égypte de Jean-François Champollion: lettres et journaux de voyage (1828-1829)* (Paris, 1998), 51.

This block made of siliceous sandstone is built into the pedestal supporting Pompey's Pillar in Alexandria. Doubtless, it too was transported from some construction of the king in Heliopolis for reuse in Alexandria in late antiquity. Decorated in sunk relief, it includes part of a scene depicting the king kneeling with splayed knees offering four *hxt*-vases, incense pots and lotus blooms to deity now missing, perhaps Nekhbet. The king's titulary includes an unusual

⁹⁰ Badawy & Reifstahl (1972), 1.

⁹¹ *Hb* III, 468-8-2.

variant of his Horus name. *K3 hdt nwy R^r*, a common phenomenon with his Heliopolitan monuments

MEMPHIS

3.32 Memphis, Temple of Seti I



Foundation deposits

H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* V (Graz, 1968), 223, idem, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte* (New York, 1879), 235. Hayes, *Scepter 2* (New York, 1990), 332b. J. J. Clère, in *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), 51–57. K. A. Kitchen, in *Fragments* 87–104, *ANU*, 24, §63 n/b, *RIT* I, 105, §63 n/b, *RITANC* I, 100–101, §63 n/b

These three small objects—a scarab, a glazed faience plaque and a small inscribed stone block—are all that is known of a major building of Seti I in Memphis. The scarab is said to derive from Mit Rahineh, site of the ancient city of Memphis and the great temple of Ptah. The site of the “new” temple of Ptah built by Amenhotep III, lies several hundred meters to the west of the Jubilee Hall of Ramesses II.⁹²

The name “Beneficial (sh) is Seti-Merenptah in the Domain of Ptah” exactly parallels that of his Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. This, as Kitchen points out, is clearly deliberate.⁹³ They are just two of a whole series of temple foundations bearing similar names. Two others are the king’s memorial temple at Gurnah in western Thebes and the Osireion in Abydos.⁹⁴ Kitchen posits that the Memphite building was a large Hypostyle Hall like that at Karnak.⁹⁵ As with the Theban monument, the building was probably incomplete in some way upon Seti’s death.⁹⁶ Ramesses apparently finished it and certainly usurped it, renaming it “the Temple Beneficial is Ramesses-Meriamen in the Domain of Ptah” as recorded on a papyrus dated to his year forty three.⁹⁷ As with the

⁹² Kitchen in *Fragments*, 88–89.

⁹³ Ibid., 89.

⁹⁴ Brand (1999a), 32–33.

⁹⁵ Kitchen in *Fragments*, 89.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 89–90.

⁹⁷ P. Bulaq 19 (Cairo GC 58096): *KRI* VII, 102.15, 103.9.

Karnak Hypostyle Hall, Seti's Memphite building was considered a temple (*hwt-nfr*) by itself.⁹⁹ Being constructed of limestone, it was almost certainly dismantled and reused for building material or burnt for lime at some point in post-antiquity.

3.33 Memphis, Statue of Atum (Cairo CG 1293, SR 13676)

PM III 2, 863-86 Brugsch, *Thesaurus* V 066 [9]; L. Borchardt, *Statuen* IV 150-51; B. Hommer, *Types* 4, pl. 1127; *ARI* I, 124 §64; *RITA* I 105, §64; *RITA* I 101 §64

This broken statue of black granodiorite represents Seti kneeling before the enthroned Atum. Kitchen suggests that the Heliopolitan Atum may have had an official cult center in Memphis (*RITANC* I, 101, §64). Unfortunately the head is gone, making it impossible to date the piece on stylistic grounds.

3.34 Memphis, Lintel of Seti I

PM III 2, 846; A. Badawi, *ANF* 54 (1956), 161 pl. 5; *ARI* I 124-125, §65; *RITA* I, 105, §65; *RITANC* I, 101-102, §65

Finished in high raised relief, this limestone lintel was found reused in the tomb of Prince Shoshenq D, son of Osorkon II, who was High Priest of Ptah in Memphis.¹⁰⁰ It is inscribed with a double scene of the monarch running before some unidentified goddess. Only the lower half of the king's nomen cartouche, on the right-hand panel, survives, giving [*Sitv-mw-n-[Pt]*] (*ARI* I, 125-3). According to Kitchen, it may have derived from a chapel similar to the one Seti dedicated to Ptah and two Memphite goddesses, but the style of relief is quite different, casting doubt on this assessment (*RITA* I, 102, §65, see next entry).

3.35 Mit Rahineh, Ptah Chapel of Seti I

PM III 2, 843; J. Berandani in A. P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au nouvel empire* (Paris 1988), 35-36 & pl. 3; idem, *BSE* 99 (1984), 28-29 pl. 3; J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 20 (1951), pl. 33-34; H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 247-249 & pls. 46-48, (fig. 77)

⁹⁹ Stadelmann (1978), 175-180; Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 50.

¹⁰⁰ Badawi (1956), 161 & pl. 5. The lintel is inside the tomb chapel over the main entrance. The chapel is now in the garden of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Built of limestone, this small building was dedicated by Seti I to Ptah and a pair of goddesses named *Mn-nfr* and *Tsmi* who personified the city of Memphis itself.⁹⁰ Inside its central chamber were three elegant limestone statues.⁹¹ The middle one represents Ptah enthroned. It is well preserved save only for the head, which is missing. His torso is intricately detailed, with the broad collar and the *fish*-feather pattern of his cloak being particularly striking.⁹² The surface decoration of the lower portions of the statue is largely eroded.

Ptah is flanked by statues of two goddesses, *Mn-nfr* on his left and *Tsmi* on his right, both of which are double statues, each having a figure of Seti as a child sitting on her knee. They wear a long shift and an enveloping wig surmounted by a modius, while each of the royal figures sports a pleated kilt, sandals and a *khepresh*-crown and holds a *hik*-scepter in his right hand.⁹³

Sourouzian has demonstrated that the statuary from the chapel dates to quite early in Seti's reign, as their facial features are rendered in a post-Amarna style.⁹⁴ The same appears to be true of the reliefs on the side walls of the chapel. The only face preserved is the kneeling king's on the north wall.⁹⁵ The eye is rendered with a natural modeled brow without cosmetic line and with a crease that runs halfway between the eyebrow and the eyelid,⁹⁶ while the eyeball itself is almond-shaped. This face bears a striking resemblance to reliefs of Ramesses I on the north interior wall of the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak,⁹⁷ and to other post-Amarna reliefs.⁹⁸ The bellies of the figure on the north wall of the chapel, and another from the south wall of the chapel

⁹⁰ Berlandini (1984), 28-49 & pls 2-3; idem (1988), 35-36.

⁹¹ Sourouzian (1993), 247-249 & pls. 46-48.

⁹² Ibid., pl. 47b.

⁹³ These statue groups reproduce in three dimensions a type of scene often found in relief during this time. Reliefs of the king as a child sitting on the goddesses' lap are found on the side walls of this chapel and in Seti's temples at Gurnah and Abydos. Cf. ibid., Sourouzian, pl. 48a; *Abydos IV*, pl. 20.

⁹⁴ Ibid., Sourouzian, 247-248.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pl. 48b.

⁹⁶ This feature is often found in Amarna and post-Amarna relief. Cf. Mysliwiec, *Le Portrait Royal*, 76 & 83 with figs. 57-200, *passim*. On the post-Amarna style used during the earliest part of Seti's reign: *supra* 1.2.1.


⁹⁷ PM III² 39 (144); *Key Plans* KA 187-188; Legrain, *Karnak*, 89.

⁹⁸ E.g. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, Tuankhamen figs. 186-187; Horemheb fig. 200.

depicting the ruler sitting on the lap of the goddess *Tsmt*, protrude slightly in the manner of post-Amarna art.⁴⁶ It is likely, then, that the chapel was dedicated in the earliest years of Seti's reign.

3.36 Memphis, Lintel of Seti I (Pennsylvania E. 13573)

PA 13573 860 D. P. Silverman (ed.), *Searchings for Ancient Egypt: Art, Architecture and Artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Dallas, 1997), cat. 49; (fig. 74)

This limestone lintel was found in the vicinity of the palace of Merenptah.⁴⁷ Surmounting the lintel proper is a torus molding and cavetto cornice. Two round holes have been bored into the sides of the lintel to either side of the beam of the aniel. The piece is inscribed in highly incised sunk relief, the workmanship being quite elegant. Its decoration consists of a winged sun disk, the Behdente, whose name is inscribed at both ends of the wing tips. Below this is a double inscription bearing the cartouches of Seti I. The left-hand text reads *'nh nsw-bity Mn-mt' t-R' mr Imn* "Live the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre beloved of Amen." On the right is *'nh st R' stv-mr n Pth mr Mwt* "Live the son of Re, Seti-Merenptah beloved of Mut." It is apparent that the piece stems from some Memphite chapel or shrine dedicated to these Theban gods. It is possible, too, that this monument dates to quite early in the reign. The prenomen cartouche is written . This orthography

is most common on monuments dating to the first year or so (*supra* 1.4.5).

3.37 Mit Rahineh, Cornice of Seti I

A. Mahmoud Moussa, *ASAE* 68 (1992), 115-118 & pl. 2

This limestone block forms the left corner of a cavetto cornice.⁴⁸ The cornice does not continue on the side of the block; instead the front surface of the block was cut back slightly deeper beyond the edge of the front corner of the cornice and left rough. The front of the cornice is decorated with alternating nomen and prenomen cartouches of Seti I, with each cartouche resting on a gold sign and surmounted by double

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 49a-b

⁴⁷ Ranke (1950), 15 [2-3]

⁴⁸ Mahmoud Moussa (1992), 115-118, pl. 2

plumes and a sun disk. The block was found near, and may have come from, the small chapel the sovereign dedicated to Ptah early in his reign.¹¹²

3.38 Saqqara, Stela for Renenwetet (Leiden V 16 Inv. #AP 61)

P. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung Ägyptische Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden IV* (Hague 1913), 12 pl. 24 no. 44; H. D. Schneider and M. S. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid* (Leiden, 1981), 109 no. 107; *ARI* 1, 232 §101; *RITA* 1, 199, §101; *RITANC* 1, 152, §101, (fig. 76)

This elegant limestone votive stela is preserved nearly intact save only for severe abrasion near the top of the lunette—which obscures the facial features of Seti and the goddess along with most of their names and titles—and a bash in the lower right corner of the piece.¹¹³ Here Seti offers two *nw*-jars to the goddess Renenwetet. Between them is an offering stand bearing a *nmst* jar and a bouquet of lotuses. He is clad in a long pleated garment beneath which he wears a long skirt. He wears the *khepresh*-crown with streamers falling down his back along with a pair of bracerets, a broad collar and an apron hanging from the front of his belt.

Renenwetet is garbed in a long, light-fitting shift with bracelets, anklets and a broad collar. She has the head of a cobra to which is attached a tripartite wig, and holds an *ankh* in one hand and a *wdj*-scepter and a sheaf of wheat in the other.

The figures are rendered in the mature Ramesside style current in the middle and later years of the reign. The king's shoulders are broad, but the forward one slopes down towards the front. His torso has a flat belly and a wasp-like waist, and the legs are long. The chin is square and the mouth has small full lips with chiseled edges, while the nose is large and aquiline. The rest of the face has been damaged. The interior details of the relief—in particular the king's long garment—are rendered with detailed precision. Overall the relief compares favorably with those from Seti's temple at Abydos. The text features a hymn praising the monarch as a favorite of various harvest deities and as a provider of agricultural abundance himself (*ARI* 1, 232 §101).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 115.

¹¹³ Boeser (1913), 12 pl. 24, no. 44; Schneider & Raven (1981), 109, no. 107.

3.39 Saqqara, Relief of Amenwahsu and Tia (Chicago OI 10507)

L. Habachi, *Rdt* 21 (1969) 27-47; G. T. Martin, *Corpus*, 30-31 & pl. 27; G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia—A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* (London, 1997), pl. 98, AR 1.320, §126.1; *RITA* 1.260, §126.1; *RITANC* 1.212-213, §126.1, (fig. 137).

This limestone relief, apparently from a funereal stela, depicts the table scribe Amenwahsu and his associate, the royal scribe Tia, paying homage to the deified Seti I and Crown Prince Ramesses. Ramesses is entitled "King's son of his body, his beloved, Ramessu," while Seti is described as an Osiris-king. The monarch is deified, for he holds the crook and flail in one hand and a mace in the other. Behind him Prince Ramesses holds aloft a *hw-fan* behind his father that serves as a mark both of Ramesses' status as a royal son and of Seti's divinity.¹⁴ This divine iconography is appropriate both for living and deceased pharaohs, and the image might represent Seti as a cult statue as is also the case on two boundary stelae from his earliest years (cf. *infra* 3.42-3.43). If his exact status, alive or dead, is ambiguous, so is his son's, for Prince Ramesses is shown holding an *'nh*. Among mortals, this amulet is normally borne only by deified rulers, whether dead or alive. From an iconographical perspective then, Ramesses' status, living or dead, is as ambiguous as the king's. Since he must have been alive when the piece was made, however, it seems most likely that the piece was made during his father's reign before his own accession. The relief attests, then, to Ramesses' tenure as Crown Prince before his father's death.¹⁵

3.40 Giza, Stela of Hatiny (Cairo JdE 72269)

Pl. II 1-43; S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets: Excavations at Giza 8* (Cairo, 1953), 263; fig. 199 (no. 2); idem, *The Sphinx* (Cairo, 1949), fig. 36; C. M. Livie, *Le Sphinx au deuxième millénaire* (Cairo, 1976), 89-91, Nr. 51; AR 1.78, §4; *RITA* 1.67, §4; *RITANC* 1.67-68, §4; G. T. Martin et al., *The Tomb of Tia and Tia—A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* (London, 1997), pl. 98.

This small stela is in limestone and of rather crude workmanship. It is divided into two registers, the upper one depicting Seti I kneeling before the compound god Hwt-Horemakhet in the guise of the Great Sphinx, to whom he proffers two *nmst-jars*. Pharaoh's head is bowed and his torso

¹⁴ On the significance of the *hw-fan* as a mark of divinity, see Beil (1985a), 31-60.

¹⁵ Murnane, *Coregencies*, 60 (b).

inclined forward slightly. He is garbed in a kilt with bull's tail, while his crown consists of a *nemes* surmounted by ram's horns holding a sun disk with tall plumes and uraei.

In the register below, the "Chief Sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands" Hattay kneels in adoration of the Sphinx. This Hattay has been identified as an official named Userhat Hattay, also known as Penya, from this reign.¹⁶ More recently van Dijk has identified this man with a certain Userhat who served as Maya's chief sculptor during the reign of Horemheb.¹⁷ If this is one and the same man, he had a very long career and seems to have survived at least until the sixteenth year of Ramesses II and perhaps as late as year thirty.¹⁸ In contrast to the elegant reliefs attributed to Maya's chief sculptor, this stela is of fairly crude workmanship. Given the high quality of reliefs under Seti I, the crudeness of the piece is hard to understand, even more so as it was commissioned by none other than the chief royal sculptor. Presumably he did not make it himself.¹⁹

3.41 Giza, Huntsman Stela of Seti I (Cairo JdF 72269)

PIF 111, 39; S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Setting* (Cairo 8, 1949), figs. 74-75 (no. 80); idem, *The Sphinx*, fig. 42; M. L. G. A. *Les stèles de Seti I* (Cairo 184, 189); NE 50; AR 1, 76-77, §39; RIF 1, 65-66, §39; RIFANC 1, 66, §39.

This limestone stela is badly eroded and broken off at the top. Originally it had two registers of tableaux with a main text below, but, unfortunately, only the lower scene and the text now remain, and these are severely worn in several places. The text accompanying the hunting episode describes how pharaoh slew a lion in the presence of his courtiers, while the scene depicts him shooting arrows at a herd of gazelles.²⁰ The formal text below makes reference to the construction of some kind of shrine dedicated to *Hwt Horemakhet* at which commoners could worship, which is followed by an encomium lauding the monarch's prowess as a military leader (AR 1, 76-77, §39). The monument here referred to may correspond to the additions and

¹⁶ Gütsch (1983), 23-24.

¹⁷ Van Dijk (1995), 29-30.

¹⁸ Ibid., 29.

¹⁹ Hassan (1953), figs. 74-75; idem (1949), fig. 42. See most recently Davies (1997), 271-276.

renovations Seti made to the Sphinx temple of Amenhotep II (*RITANC* 1, 66, §130; *supra* 2.4 & 2.5)

3.42 Fayum, Seti I Boundary Stela, Year Two (Cairo CG 34502)
PM IV, 104 G. Daressy, *RI* 14 (1893), 38, pl. viii. *ARI* 1, 45, §23, *RI* 14, 38, §23
RITANC 1, 47-48, §23, (fig. 75)

This sandstone boundary stela is similar to one from year one set up in Kom el-Lufi and now in Brooklyn (see next entry). It was commissioned as the result of a land survey. The tableau dominating the stela bears a single figure of the king holding a staff and an *ankh*. He wears a *shemshet*-kilt and on his head the white crown. As on the Brooklyn stela, the image represents a cult statue of the deified ruler.²⁰ The workmanship is mediocre sunk relief, the face being relatively astylistic save only for the eye, which is *sfumato*.

UPPER EGYPT

3.43 Kom el-Lufi (Minya), Seti I Boundary Stela, Year One (Brooklyn 69.116.1)

D. Kessler, *JA* 10 (1982), 215-220, pl. 4a. R. Fazzini, *Art of Ancient Egypt: A Selection from the Brooklyn Museum*, Exhibition Catalog, Emily Lowe Gallery, Hofstra University (Hempstead, New York, 1971), no. 17. *ARI* 1, 231, §100; *RITA* 1, 199, §100; *RITANC* 1, 152, §100, (fig. 76).



This round-topped limestone stela was discovered at the west bank site of Kom el-Lufi, 4.5 km south of Samalut and 17 km north of Minah in Middle Egypt. It once had a large blank area about 55 cm deep below the bottom line of the text. This was removed prior to its acquisition by the Brooklyn museum.²¹ Kachen notes that it is not a donation stela as Kessler had asserted,²² but a boundary marker on the border of two estates (*RITANC* 1, 152, §300). Its text describes it as having been positioned "south of the domain of Re and north of the middle of Nacho" (*RITA* 1, 199, §100[b]).

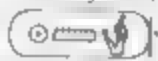

²⁰ Bell (1985a), 36 & 53, no. 149-150.

²¹ Kessler (1982), 215-216.

²² *Ibid.*, pl. 4a.

²³ *Ibid.*, 218-220.

The vignette is carved in sunk relief with a figure of Seti I holding a staff in his right hand and an *'nh* in his left. Behind the king a *hm*-fan sits in a -sign with a half -sign and a second below it. Bell has shown that the figure on the stela portrays a royal cult statue that was apparently the beneficiary of a foundation.¹³⁴

The main text, dated to year one, exhibits an early variant of the prenomen cartouche, arranged horizontally as , a variant most commonly found in other early monuments (*supra* 145). By contrast, a vertically arranged cartouche in the lunette scene exhibits the standard orthography with the -sign on the bottom.

3.44 Hermopolis, Decree of Seti I

El Brunner, *WZA* 8 (1939), 161-4 pl. 23. *ARI* 25-26 §67 (with corrections, *ARI* VII, 428.3-7), *RTA* I, 106, §67; *RTANC* I, 102-103, §67

Only the bottom right hand portion of this sandstone stela is preserved.¹³⁵ Much of the main text, along with the scene at the top is missing. Although no part of Seti's protocol survives in the text, both its rhetoric and subject matter parallels that of the Nauri decree.¹³⁶ The royal herald Nedjem, who is named in the text, is also attested in the Memphite palace accounts from the early part of the reign (*KRI* I, 272-5).

3.45 Hermopolis, Fragment of a Doorjamb

G. Roeder *Hermopolis 1929*, 939 (Hildesheim, 1959), 296 IX §5 & pl. 6 c

Roeder published this limestone fragment of what appears to have been part of a doorjamb inscribed with a vertically arranged text. Only the lower two glyphs of Seti's prenomen are preserved. No further information on the monument from which the block may have stemmed is forthcoming.

3.46 Girga, Building Cramp of Seti I

PMV, 39; U. Bouriant, *RT* 9 (1887), 89 (64).

¹³⁴ Bell (1985a), 36 & 53, nn. 149-150.

¹³⁵ Brunner (1939), 161-164 & pl. 23.

¹³⁶ *RTANC* I, 102 §701. On the text of Nauri Decree and its legal implications, see Griffith (1927), 191-208; Edgerton (1947), 219-230; Gardiner (1952), 24-33.

courses of stonework remaining. There is some evidence that Seti may have completed parts of these courts and their pylons, since his cartouches were found in a number of instances, including one inscribed on a block found below the pavement level on the facade of the first pylon.³¹ David notes that his name also occurs twice on the west wall of the first court, which might suggest that Seti built the wall separating the two courts.³² Other cartouches of Seti occur, however, in dedication texts that are undoubtedly the work of Ramesses II, casting some doubt on this assessment.³³

3.47.2 The Portico in the Second Court

In contrast to the destruction of the pylons and first two courts, the middle and rear portions of the temple are well preserved. The middle section consists of two hypostyle halls. The facade of the outer hypostyle, at the back of the second court, consists of a portico supported by twelve square pillars of limestone; the wall behind it, also composed of limestone, was originally pierced by seven doorways. All but the central one of these were later plugged up with sandstone blocks by Ramesses II so that the wall could be inscribed with his *Inscription Dedicatione*. According to David, the facade itself, i.e. the wall behind the portico, was constructed by Seti, but the pillars were erected by Ramesses.³⁴ She notes that the interior lintels of the original doorways leading to the first hypostyle hall, along with other portions of the outer hypostyle hall, were partially decorated by Seti at the end of his reign.³⁵ Surely the interior surfaces of this wall could not have been decorated before the wall itself and the portico that adjoins it, had been constructed. Since the roof and side walls of the portico were connected to the first hypostyle hall, it would have been more economical to build

³¹ Ghazouli (1954), 167-169 & pl. 24B.

³² David, *Guide*, II. Following Mariette (1869), 10-11.

³³ E.g. in a scene depicting a row of Ramesses' daughters from this same wall. *Ibid.*, Mariette, pl. 3. Omm Sety & El-Zein: *Histoire*, 58, fig. 6-11. *PMV*, 3 (3). So too in the procession of his sons on the south and west walls. *PMV*, I & 2 (2-1). *Ibid.* Omm Sety & El-Zein: *Histoire*, 57, fig. 6-9. Seti's name occurs in several dedication texts carved for Ramesses II in the first and second courts where it is given as part of the name of the temple.

³⁴ David, *Guide*, II.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

both at the same time. The walls of the second court, which was unroofed, could have been built at a later stage.¹⁶ Murnane argued that Ramesses claimed in the *Inscription Dedicatoire* to have built this portico. Describing the state in which he found the temple after Seti's death, he states: "its architectural elements (*mur*) had not been completed, the pillars had not been erected on its terrace."¹⁷ Murnane believed this to be a description of the portico at the west end of the second court,¹⁸ but it is more likely that Ramesses was referring to an identical, and now mostly destroyed, portico at the west end of the first court, of which only the pedestals and lowest courses of the pillars remain.¹⁹ As in the second court, these lie on a low terrace about a meter above the floor of the court.²⁰

3.47.3 First Hypostyle Hall

Both limestone and sandstone were used in constructing this part of the temple. So, for example, the north and south walls of the first hypostyle are composed of limestone while the columns are of sandstone. Seti had decorated the entire chamber in raised relief before his death.²¹ Ramesses II converted all of these into sunk relief following the outlines of Seti's designs, and finally repainted them. On the door thicknesses, where the reliefs were too small to adapt, new incised reliefs were substituted. Traces of Seti's original decoration remain in some instances.²² Similar palimpsests are found in the scenes between the doorways, especially on the upper registers.

The royal figures in many of these episodes are often shown bowing, a practice well attested under Seti here and elsewhere but one quickly

¹⁶ Cf. the structure of the Gurnah memorial temple of Seti I where the roofed portico at the back of the second court is integral to the rear portions, which are built of stone. The side walls of both courts along with the two pylons were added separately. These outer portions were largely built of mud brick at Gurnah, while those at Abydos are of stone. Still, comparison of the two structures is instructive for understanding the building history of the Abydos temple.

Murnane (1975), 165.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* IV, pl. 3.

¹⁸ David, *Guide*, 11.

¹⁹ According to John Baines (personal communication) who inspected the building. So contra David, *ibid.*, 18.

²⁰ Baines, forthcoming, 4; Omen Sety & El-Zemi, *Holy City*, 79.

rejected by Ramesses upon his accession (*supra* 125). In converting these to relief, Ramesses II's sculptors immortalized the by then obsolete iconography of the raised version. Another feature that betrays the fact that Seti composed the decorative program in the first hypostyle is the survival of his name on the shrine of Wepwawet in a panel from the north wall.⁴²

It is apparent that Seti had laid out and carved the decoration of the first hypostyle hall before his death, and that Ramesses converted them into sunk relief of his own. This is precisely the pattern found in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.⁴³ As David has noted, far from piously completing the work of his father, Ramesses adapted the decoration of this chamber to suit his own design.⁴⁴

3.47.4 Second Hypostyle Hall

The walls of the second hypostyle are limestone throughout, embellished with magnificent bas-reliefs for which Seti's temple is famous. Its columns are of sandstone.⁴⁵ By his death, all the reliefs in the second hypostyle were carved. Those on the west wall had also been colored,⁴⁶ and the painters had just begun to tint reliefs on the north wall.⁴⁷ Although the scenes on the west wall proper had been painted by the end of the reign, those on the doorways leading to the seven chapels had not. In fact, the sculptors had not yet applied the finishing touches to them; they lack the intricate detailing found on other reliefs in the hall, but upon closer examination it is apparent that the process of finishing them was underway at Seti's death. There are extensive traces of such minutiae rendered in paint but not yet carved on the reliefs on most of these doorways.⁴⁸ In a number of instances, the process of engraving

⁴² *PA VI* 6 (58), David, *Guide* 21 & pl. 6. Such accidental survivals of Seti's name in murals and reliefs carved or usurped by his successors is also known from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and the Osireon. Murnane (1975), 180: *II/IA* 11 pl. 33. On survivals of Seti's name in painted decoration usurped by Merenptah in the Osireon: *infra* 3.53.

⁴³ Murnane (1975), 180-183.

⁴⁴ David, *Guide* 20ff.

⁴⁵ *Ibydos* IV, pls. 4-5 & 57 with drawings of the scenes pls. 67-78.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. 13-14, 16-17, 19-20, 22-23, 25-26, 30-31 & 35.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 8-9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 12, 15, 18, 21-23, 27 & 32.

them had just begun on the lowermost registers of the doorways when the project was abandoned.¹⁴⁹

On the east wall, the representations above and between the portals leading to the first hypostyle hall generally lack the extensive fretwork found elsewhere in the building.¹⁵⁰ In particular, none of the scenes along the top register have been embellished, and no traces of painted guidelines are evident. Similarly, some of the column panels have been carved but not detailed.¹⁵¹ Traces of painted guidelines for their embellishment are found on a number of them.¹⁵²

From the above we may conclude that the sculptors carved the reliefs in two stages. After converting the painted cartoon into bas relief, intricate detailing was laid out on the reliefs and then engraved. Normally, such *minutiae* was rendered in painted outline as part of the coloring of the reliefs by painters. Even the seemingly crude reliefs of Seti's Ramesside successors were often intricately finished in paint, although the carved reliefs themselves were almost completely lacking in engraved details. In fact, the elaborately carved reliefs at Abydos were exceptional even in the corpus of Seti's own work. No comparable level of embellishment is found in either the Gurnah memorial temple or in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. It is true that the sandstone medium found at Thebes was not as conducive to such fretwork as the fine-grained limestone used at Abydos, but even the Ramesses I chapel, also made of limestone, lacks a comparable level of embellishment.¹⁵³ Thus at the end of the reign, the sculptors had completed the first stage of cutting the bas relief and were in the process of engraving the fine *minutiae* where it had been laid out in paint. At the king's death, many of the panels on the east and north walls had been detailed and the painters were in the process of coloring them. Although Seti's successors

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* pl. 15 (doorway into Isis chapel), the reed mats supporting the god and goddess on the right jamb and the navel of the goddess on the left jamb. Cf. the lowermost registers on the other doorways where the reed mats have often been detailed. *Ibid.*, pls. 18, 24, 32.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. 45-52.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pls. 67-78.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pl. 72, column 6A-C & pl. 73, column 7A-C.

¹⁵³ Winlock, *Bas Reliefs*, pls. 1-1 *passim*. While it is true that these reliefs are exquisitely finished, particularly the texture of the pleated linen robes and wigs of the figures, other details such as the broad collars, bracelets and armlets are generally not indicated: *supra* 1.4.1.

respected his reliefs in the second hypostyle, none bothered to finish painting them. Ramesses II did usurp the columns on the central axis of the second hypostyle, but did not encroach further on his father's program there.¹²⁴

3.47.5 The Seven Chapels and Osiris Suite

It is apparent from their state of completion that the seven main chapels were among the first areas of the temple to be decorated, with both the initial sculpting and the final detailing of the reliefs having been largely completed in each chapel.¹²⁵ Likewise the reliefs in the Osiris suite were finished before Seti's death,¹²⁶ and late in the reign, the painters began to color the reliefs in this part of the temple. By the time work stopped, the reliefs in the chapels of Amen Re and Osiris had been finished in polychrome along with large portions of the Osiris suite, including the chapels of the Abydene triad within it. Colored early in Ramesses II's reign were some of the reliefs in the Osiris suite, where he finished details of a few tableaux in paint that were normally carved in relief under Seti such as an inscription on the pole of a tent shrine of Osiris.¹²⁷ It may be that the sculptors had not yet applied all the finishing touches in the Osiris suite. In the Horus chapel the sculptors had left the detailing of the north wall incomplete at Seti's death, and Ramesses II seems to have had a number of these reliefs colored after his accession, adding the final embellishments in paint.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Baines, forthcoming, 4. So contra Gardner in *Abydos IV*, ix.

¹²⁵ *Abydos I-II*, *passim*.

¹²⁶ *Abydos III*, *passim*.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* pl. 52a. El-Sawi (1983), 307-310. Beginning under Ramesses II, many details that were engraved in bas-relief under Seti I began to be finished only in paint. Even the outlines of broad collars and bracelets were left out, although such details were then rendered meticulously in color. Cf. painted reliefs from the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (e.g. Omm Seti & E-Zem: *Hof* (n. 223, fig. 24-4—located in room XIII west wall = *Plaf VI*, 38). So too at Medinet Habu (*supra* chpt. 3, n. 134). This practice also extended to bas-reliefs from Ramesses' Abydos temple that lack the extensive detailing in relief found in Seti's nearby temple.

¹²⁸ *Abydos III*, pl. 33, El-Sawi (1987b), 67-72.

3.47.6 South Wing of the Temple

The unusual L shaped south wing of the temple consisted of a number of suites with related chambers.¹⁵⁹ The Gallery of the Kings (X)¹⁶⁰ leads to the Slaughter Court with its four subsidiary rooms (rooms A'-D').¹⁶¹ A door through the west wall of the Gallery leads to the Corridor of the Bull (Y)¹⁶² followed by a stairway (Y')¹⁶³ exiting through the west wall of the building. South of this exit there is another portal leading to an antechamber with four more doors opening into storerooms (E'-J')¹⁶⁴. A gateway in the south west corner of the second hypostyle hall leads to the suite of Nefertem and Ptah Sokar (T-V)¹⁶⁵. This now consists of a large chamber supported by three pillars, communication to a pair of chapels entered via doorways in the west wall. Baines has shown that the original design of this suite would have included three chapels and a larger antechamber supported by six columns before it was compressed to make room for the Corridor of the Bull and its connecting stairwell.¹⁶⁶ Finally a second door through the west wall of the Gallery of the Kings leads to the Hall of Barques, which in turn has a stairway leading to the temple roof.

3.47.7 Layout of Decoration in Paint

It appears that the decorative program of the entire southern wing of the temple was laid out in the form of polychrome cartoons during Seti's reign (fig. 88).¹⁶⁷ Most of these were never converted into relief before his death, their purpose was to serve as both a temporary substitute and a sculptor's guide for the reliefs to be carved later.

¹⁵⁹ PM VI, 22-27. The lettered designations for the rooms are those of Manette.

¹⁶⁰ PM VI, 24-25.

¹⁶¹ PM IV, 26-27.

¹⁶² PM VI, 25-26.

¹⁶³ PM VI, 26.

¹⁶⁴ PM VI, 27.

¹⁶⁵ PM VI, 23-24.

¹⁶⁶ Baines (1984), 16-18.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. 18. Baines *et al.* (1989), 13-30. PM VI, 26-27. For descriptions of these murals, see David, *Guide: Hall of Barques*, 152-154; Slaughter Court, 154-157; store rooms leading off Slaughter Court, 157-159; south-western store rooms (=E-J), 159-161. Cf. Omm Seti & E.-Zetna, *Hofu City*, 71-175. See also Zayed (1983), 19-71.

3.47.8 Reliefs in the South Wing Finished by Seti I

3.47.8.1 Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Suite

By the end of Seti's reign, the sculptors had completed their work in the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar suite. Although the fine detailing of the tableaux had been engraved, not one of them was ever colored.¹⁶⁸

3.47.8.2 Gallery of the Kings


This chamber contains some of the most famous and historically important reliefs in the temple. Besides the invaluable king list, several of the tableaux portray the future Ramesses II as a prince officiating in the ritual alongside his father (figs. 79-82 & 142).¹⁶⁹ He is entitled "hereditary prince, king's eldest son of his body, his beloved, Ramesses true-of-voice (*irv-p't st nsw smw n h'f m'f R'-ms-sw m'f-hrw*)."¹⁷⁰ Ramesses is invariably depicted on a smaller scale than his father as an adolescent prince with the side-lock. His name (without cartouche) and titles also mark him as a prince. Exceptionally, the double cartouche of Ramesses as king occurs in one case on a pendant hanging from the end of his sash, employing the short form of his prenomen (fig. 82).¹⁷¹ There is no reason to believe this feature was added subsequent to the original edition of the relief, but since the overwhelming preponderance of evidence indicates that he was still only a prince at the time these reliefs were carved, we may conclude that the cartouches were prospective ones already chosen before his accession as sovereign.

The relief decoration in the Gallery of Kings encompasses all but its southernmost portion. The final fifth of the eastern wall was left blank, along with the space to the south of the left jamb of the doorway into the Hall of Barques. Likewise, the southern doorway leading to the Slaughter Court was never decorated. In the last tableau on the east wall, the king lays his hands on a table of offerings dedicated to Amen-Re (fig. 79). The space beyond it is blank, the frieze of cartouches and *hkr*-

¹⁶⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, Omm Sety & El-Zein, 140-153, figs. 11.1-11.26, Lange & Hirmer (1961), pls. 218 & 222.

¹⁶⁹ *PM/Vol. 25*, 223-225, 228-230; Murnane (1975), 163, fig. 5a-b; *ibid.*, Omm Sety & El-Zein, 154-155, figs. 12.1-12.2; *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 12, fig. 4, Destroches-Noblecourt (1996), 80.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Murnane, 163, fig. 5b.

friezes, along with a ribbon pattern and -sign below it and the dado below the tableau, all stop at the right edge of the scene. No trace of decoration is found to the left of this vignette, but it must have once existed as a polychrome cartoon that has long since faded away,¹¹ and the area was covered with graffiti during the Roman period.¹² The scene to the south of the doorway into the Hall of Barques is also blank, but, like the east wall, must have been laid out in paint and left uncarved at Seti's death. Adjacent to this, the left jamb of the door into the Hall of Barques bears a figure of pharaoh wearing the White Crown entering the temple. The bas relief is completed in raised relief with Seti's protocol, but Ramesses II has added his cartouches in sunk relief below those of his father.¹³ Baines suggests that the relief may have been completed by Ramesses, who added his name as evidence of his filial piety.¹⁴

From the above, it is apparent that the south end of the Gallery of Kings remained incomplete at Seti's death, which suggests that it was among the last parts of the temple to be decorated at the end of Seti's lifetime. This in turn, would imply that the episodes depicting Ramesses II as still a prince are indicative of his status shortly before his father's death.

3 47.8.3 Slaughter Court

This area of the temple remains largely unpublished.¹⁵ Its decoration is executed in sunk relief naming Seti I,¹⁶ the only work in this medium naming him in the temple.

¹¹ Baines notes that many of the painted cartoons in this portion of the temple have faded substantially since they were photographed in the 1930s. Baines *et al.* (1989) 4. The roof was missing at the southern end of the Gallery admitting sunlight that bleached the painted decoration away. On the roof of the southern end of the Gallery of Kings, see Baines (1989), 20-21.

¹² Otho Serry & El-Zein, *Holy City*, 158 & figs. 12.4A-B, 160, figs. 12.6-12.7.

¹³ David, *Guide*, 110.

¹⁴ John Baines by personal communication.

¹⁵ *PM* VI, 26 (243-244); David, *Guide*, 154-157.

¹⁶ John Baines by personal communication.

3.47.8.4 Corridor of the Bull and Staircase Y¹

Seti may be responsible for a handful of reliefs on the doorway leading from the Corridor of the Bull to staircase Y¹. A double tableau over the lintel of the doorway inside the Corridor shows him running with the *hpt-oar* to Osiris and Sokar.¹⁷ The shadow of the door is inscribed in raised relief with Seti's protocol, with later texts at the base of these in sunk relief naming Ramesses II.¹⁸ Seti is responsible for two of the panels in Staircase Y¹, which feature long speeches of Thoth and Sefekhmet abu on the eastern end of the south and north walls respectively.¹⁹

3.47.9 Work in the South Wing Completed After Seti's Death by Ramesses II

In addition to finishing and usurping his father's partially finished decoration in the first hypostyle and outer courts, Ramesses II undertook the completion of reliefs in parts of the southern wing. Most of this work is characterized by the use of sunk relief and the longer form of his prenomen (style R²) indicating that it was done sometime after year two (figs. 83-85 & 88). All such reliefs were laid out in paint by Seti I and feature the king bowing. That Ramesses was following such cartoons left by his father is proved by reliefs in the Hall of Barques (fig. 88).

3.47.9.1 Gallery of the Kings

As noted above, Ramesses may have completed a relief on the left jamb of the entrance to the Hall of Barques that was already partially carved by his father. He added his cartouches in sunk relief bearing the long form of his prenomen (R²) below those of Seti. This was presumably done sometime after year two when he did most of his work in the temple.

¹⁷ *PAI* VI, 26 (238a-b); David, *Guide*, 115.

¹⁸ *PAI* VI, 26 (238c-f); *ibid.*, David, 115.

¹⁹ *PAI* VI, 26 (239) & (241); *ibid.*, David, 115, 117.

3479.2 Corridor of the Bull

All the tableaux in the Corridor of the Bull are finished in R³ by Ramesses II. Only the lower register remains substantially intact, but traces of panels on an upper register are also preserved in a few instances. A number of the episodes depict him alongside his eldest son Amenirkhopeshef, including the celebrated bull-lassing episode on the north wall (figs 83-85).⁴⁰ Also on the north wall, Ramesses drags the boat shrine of Sokar towards Thoth and the deified Seti I, while a smaller, mostly destroyed figure, undoubtedly the prince, follows behind.⁴¹ Two other scenes depict only the monarch sacrificing an ox and offering to Ptah and Sakhmet.⁴²

On the south wall, the easternmost panel features Ramesses driving the four calves towards Khonsu and the deified Seti I.⁴³ The middle one has Ramesses running with his vases before a badly damaged figure of a mumiform deity while in the next episode he is accompanied by three deities snaring waterfowl in a clap net.⁴⁴ In the final scene the king and Prince Amenirkhopeshef present captured waterfowl to Amen-Re and Mut (fig. 83).⁴⁵

The two scenes featuring the deified Seti I are probably alterations made by Ramesses II to the original design his father had laid out in paint. In one case, the figure of the dead ruler holds a *wss*-scepter and *snh*-sign in his hands (fig. 84); the other has a *hst*-scepter instead of the scepter (fig. 85).⁴⁶ Presumably the painted version of Seti included two deities in each tableau. Ramesses transformed these divinities into ones

⁴⁰ PM VI, 26 (236-237).

⁴¹ Ormn Sety & El-Zein, *Holy City*, 163, figs 13.4-13.5.

⁴² Ibid., 162, fig. 13.3 & 164, fig. 13.6.

⁴³ PM VI, 25 (234), *ibid.*, Ormn Sety & El-Zein, 166, fig. 13.8.

⁴⁴ PM VI, 25-26 (235), *ibid.*, Ormn Sety & El-Zein, 167, fig. 13.9. Westerman (1988), 9.

⁴⁵ PM VI, 25-26 (235), *ibid.*, Ormn Sety & El-Zein, 167, fig. 13.10. *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 34, fig. 12.

⁴⁶ The figure with the *wss*-scepter would have been another deity; the other with crook and flail—squeezed in between Thoth and a column of text—may have replaced a goddess in the original version. Similar changes were made on the inter or jamb of the south gate of the Karnak Hypostyle. Cf. these scenes—*CMAA* 11—pls 57 & 61 with those on the registers above (*idem*, pls 55-56 & 59-60, and on the interior jambs of the north gateway (*idem*, pls 182-87). The same is true of the exterior jambs of both gateways.

of his father merely by substituting the head of the sovereign for that of the god, modifying the kilt and adding the royal titles, and in the case of the second one by repositioning the forward arm and placing a *hki*-scepter in it.¹⁸⁷ The three figures of Prince Amenirkhopeshef accompanying Ramesses were surely based on the painted tableaux of Seti I, with Ramesses as the prince. Although Ramesses' sons and daughters are depicted on many of his monuments, he is rarely shown acting in concert with them.¹⁸⁸ The jambs of the doorway leading into staircase Y' are inscribed with the titulary of Ramesses II, while the thicknesses are inscribed with elongated cartouches of his in bas relief.¹⁸⁹

3.47.9.3 Staircase Y'

As noted above, Seti may have completed the two vignettes bearing long speeches of Thoib and Sefekhiet-abu, but two other scenes in this chamber feature Ramesses II as king offering to the deified Seti along with Isis and the Ennead (figs. 86-87).¹⁹⁰ His titulary also appears on the jambs of the doorway leading into the Corridor of the Bull.¹⁹¹ These are the only ones featuring Ramesses as king with the short form of his prenomen and are in bas relief (style R 1). The fact that he is not shown bowing in these scenes implies that he did not follow a design laid out in cartoon by Seti.

¹⁸⁷ In the south wing of the Abydos temple, Ramesses II converted another divinity into one of his deified fathers. Distinctive traces of both versions can be seen. See Zayed (1983), 9-22 & fig. 2. On the lowermost scenes on the interior jambs of the south gate of the Karnak Hypostyle, the second divine figure (which may have been a goddess or a mummiform deity like Ptah) was, in each case, entirely replaced by a figure of the deified Seti before Ramesses had Seti's painted cartoon sculpted in relief (cf. *GTHA I I*, pls. 57 & 6, with the interior jambs of the north gate (ibid., pls. 184 & 187) and with the scenes on the exterior jambs of both gates (north gate: Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 19C & 19F; south gate: *PM II*², 59 [164f-g])).

¹⁸⁸ E.g., from the later part of the reign when Merenptah served as heir apparent. See Sourouzian (1989), 11ff with figs. 1-2 & pls. 1-2.

¹⁸⁹ *PM VI*, 26 (238c-d); David, *Guide*, 115.

¹⁹⁰ *PM VI*, 26 (240 & 242); Murnane (1975), 162 & 164, fig. 6a-c.

¹⁹¹ David, *Guide*, 112.

3.47.9.4 Hall of Barques

Like the other rooms in the southern wing, the walls of the Hall of Barques had been covered with polychrome cartoons during Seti's reign (fig. 88).¹⁹² Here, reliefs are executed in R¹ indicating that it was never visited by the sculptors until sometime after Ramesses II's second regnal year, when the cartouches of Seti were altered to those of Ramesses II in paint before being cut in relief. Ramesses never completed the work, and the various tableaux include examples of every stage in the decoration process, from the full cartoon to the earlier and later stages in the sculptor's work, thus leaving an invaluable record of the procedures used to decorate New Kingdom temples.¹⁹³ In particular they indicate that portable scaffolding was used and that sculptors of various levels of expertise worked on the same reliefs.¹⁹⁴

That Seti laid out the decoration as polychrome cartoons is proved both by the survival of his painted cartouches on the uncarved columns in the chamber,¹⁹⁵ and by the occurrence of bowing figures of the monarch that were rendered in sunk relief by Ramesses. This is significant because Ramesses did not employ this iconography beyond the earliest months of his reign.¹⁹⁶

3.47.10 Reliefs in the South Wing Completed by Merenptah

Merenptah made a half-hearted attempt to complete the decoration of part of his grandfather's temple.¹⁹⁷ In antechamber E' in the south-west corner of the temple he began to carve some of the painted designs into relief, but only parts of the east wall and doorway into storerooms F and H were carved. A double panel of the king adoring Osiris is flanked on the right by a carved figure of Thoth while on the right side of the scene, part of a figure of the king was cut before the project was

¹⁹² Baines *et al.* (1989), 13-30.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, pls. 2-4.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24-28.

¹⁹⁵ David, *Guide*, 152.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Baines *et al.* (1989), pls. 2-4, *supra* 1.2.6. Likewise, Ramesses seems to have been following painted cartoons of his father on many of the columns and on the south gate of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. *infra* 3.70.3.6.

¹⁹⁷ Sourouzzian (1989), 133-134, Zayed (1983), 19-27.

abandoned.⁹⁵ On the jambs of the doorway into storerooms F¹⁰⁹ and H¹²⁰⁰ Merenptah's titulary occurs, marking him as responsible for the project.

3.47.11 Temenos Wall, Palace and Magazines

The entire temple complex was enclosed by a mud brick temenos wall interspersed with tower-shaped buttresses.¹⁰¹ A complex of magazines with a formal palace style reception hall was built in the south-east quadrant of the temple precinct, including a reception hall that was supported by ten columns, with a throne dais set in the east wall of the room. Six doorways in the hall gave access to various suites of rooms and store rooms.¹⁰² Most of the structure was given over to storage magazines which consisted of long barrel-vaulted galleries.¹⁰³ The building is entirely unlike the model palaces attached to the Theban royal memorial temples of the Ramesside age, including the prototype structure within Seti's own memorial temple at Gurnah.¹⁰⁴

Despite the presence of the reception hall and perhaps a window of appearances as well, the Abydos structure cannot really be compared to model temple palaces of the Ramesside period.¹⁰⁵ Although it is situated in the position usually occupied by such buildings, its layout is almost identical to the magazine complex in Seti's Gurnah Temple.¹⁰⁶ Similar magazine complexes with formal entry halls are found in other Ramesside memorial temples.¹⁰⁷ The presence of the throne dais in the reception hall, along with the position of the magazine complex adjacent to the east side of the outer courts, suggests, perhaps, that the Abydos structure was meant to function as a kind of abbreviated temple palace.

⁹⁵ *PM IV*, 27 (250). Capart (1912), pl. 50. David, *Guide*, 160. Seti II was not responsible for these reliefs as Capart asserts.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Capart, pl. 50; *PM VI*, 27 (251).

¹⁰¹ David, *Guide*, 160.

¹⁰² Ghazouli (1964), 111, fig. 2, 156-157.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 113ff.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 113ff.

¹⁰⁵ Stadelmann (1972), *idem* (1975), *idem* (1982), *idem*, in *Fragments*, 254-255.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., Medinet Habu: *PM I*², 522-525, Hölscher, *Excavation 3*, 49-59; *idem* (1958), *Ramesseum: PM II*², 442-443, Hölscher, *Excavation 3*, 77-78.

¹⁰⁷ Stadelmann, in *Fragments*, 255, 269, fig. 2.

¹⁰⁸ E.g., Ramesseum: *PM II*², 442.

3.47.12 Conclusions The State of the Temple at Seti's Death

Seti had finished constructing all the roofed portions of the temple, including the south wing, the Osiris Suite, the seven chapels and the two hypostyle halls, before he died. In the *Inscription Dedicatoire* Ramesses claims that he found the front and back portions of the temple incomplete, noting specifically that "the pillars had not been erected on its terrace." The reference to the back portion probably pertains to the incomplete state of the carved decoration, not to construction. The portico at the back of the second court, which adjoins the east wall of the first hypostyle hall, is decorated with reliefs of Ramesses II including his *Inscription Dedicatoire*. In it Ramesses claims to have erected pillars on the portico. Although it has been claimed that he meant the pillars on this very portico, it is perhaps more likely that he was referring to the one at the back of the first court.

At Seti's death, pharaoh's artisans had sculpted all the reliefs in the Osiris suite, the seven chapels, the second hypostyle hall, and the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar suite. In the Osiris suite and the chapels of Amen-Re and Osiris, the painters had largely or entirely completed coloring the panels. In the second hypostyle, only parts of the west wall were tinted, and the painters had just begun work on the west end of the north wall. The sculpting was apparently a two-stage process. At the end of the first stage, the reliefs compared well in their level of intricacy with all but the most ornate bas-relief of the New Kingdom. Next, however, the draftsmen laid out minute details of the figures such as their jewelry, costume, and other minutiae normally rendered only in painted outlines. Large portions of the decoration in the second hypostyle still awaited this detail work, and the draftsmen's outlines remain on some of the columns and on the doorways leading into the seven chapels. Elsewhere, in the seven chapels and the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar suite, the finer details had been engraved, but the reliefs remained untinted. In the first hypostyle hall, Seti had managed to carve only a fraction of the decoration. In completing it, Ramesses often followed his father's painted decoration. This is attested in the survival of Seti's name on the shrine of Wepwawet in a scene entirely carved by Ramesses, and by the presence of bowing figures of Ramesses that clearly show he followed a design laid out by his father. By contrast, when he usurped his father's extant reliefs, Ramesses replaced them with new scenes of his own composition.

Seti had laid out the decoration of the entire south wing as polychrome cartoons, and had begun to convert some of them into relief, completing all but the southernmost portion of the Gallery of the Kings at his death. He may have also begun work in staircase Y' and was perhaps also responsible for sunk reliefs naming him in the Slaughter Court. Throughout the southern wing, his cartouches survive in the painted cartoons even in a handful of instances in the Hall of Barques, where Ramesses replaced most of them before he began to render the cartoons in sunk relief.

It is apparent that the Gallery of Kings was among the last portion of the temple to be decorated before Seti's death, and its southern end remained uncarved. Ramesses may have completed one vignette on the left jamb of the door into the Hall of Barques to which he appended his cartouche below his father's. His sculptors also carved some decoration at the western end of the Corridor of the Bull above the doorway leading into Staircase Y', along with parts of the walls in the stairway itself. Since the Corridor of the Bull and the Gallery of Kings represent the latest portions of the temple to be decorated while Seti lived, the appearance of the future Ramesses II as a prince, not as a king, both in the reliefs in the Gallery and doubtless in the original painted decoration in the Corridor, argues that Ramesses had remained a crown prince on the eve of his father's death.

3.48 Abydos, Seti Temple, Statue of Seti I (Vienna ÄS 5910)

Plaf VI, 9–A. Mariette (*Atlas général des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris, 1880), no. 35), idem, *Théâtre descriptif des Fouilles I* (Paris, 1869), 28 [8], idem, *Fouilles exécutées en Égypte en 1867 et au début 1868* 2 (Paris, 1867–90 [c. 8]) I, Rogge (34) *Statuen des Neuen Reiches und der Dritten Zwischenzeit*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien 6 (Mainz, 1990), 67–73, W. Seipel, *Der Mensch Pharaon viertausend Jahre Menschenbild in der Skulptur des alten Ägypten* (Vienna, 1992), 285–286 ca. Ob. v. Sonja JARC (29) (1992), 121–122, fig. 27. H. Sourouzian, *MitA* 49 (1993), 254–255, p. 5.

This fragmentary bust of a black granodiorite statue is the "colossus" unearthed by Mariette in Seti's Abydos temple.²⁰⁹ Originally, it represented the ruler seated on a throne holding a *was*-scepter in his right

²⁰⁹ Mariette (1880b), no. 35.

hand,²⁰⁹ and is one of only two extant statues of Seti that depict him with the long military wig first worn by the sovereign of the early Nineteenth Dynasty.²¹⁰

On art historical grounds, Sourouzian dates the piece to late in Seti's reign,²¹¹ and Solia notes its close affinity to the New York and Dallas busts of Seti from Abydos.²¹² On stylistic and iconographic grounds, the statue certainly cannot be dated to the reign of Thutmose III, as Altenmüller contends.²¹³

3.49 Abydos, Seti Temple, Statue of Seti I (Dallas Museum of Art 1984.50)

S. Nash, *Dallas Museum of Art Bulletin* (Fall, 1984), 1 & frontispiece; V. Solia, *JARCE* 79 (1992), 107-122, figs. 6-18a, 19a; H. Sourouzian, *MDAIA* 49 (1993), 250-251, p. 49a-b; A. R. Bromberg & K. Kulinski, eds., *Menapii Heroes: Ancient Art at the Dallas Museum of Art* (Dallas, 1996), cat. 2, 20-21.

This black granodiorite statue bust consists of the head and upper torso of the king wearing a *nemes*-headdress. The upper portion of the dorsal pillar bears the epithet *nir-nir* followed by his prenomen. Solia has demonstrated that this bust was once part of a kneeling figure of the pharaoh presenting offerings. Stylistically, it is related to two other kneeling statues from the Abydos temple (see next two entries).²¹⁴ Although its provenance is unknown, Solia convincingly argues for an Abydene provenance,²¹⁵ and Sourouzian dates the piece to the latter part of the reign on stylistic grounds and concurs that it probably belonged to a kneeling statue presenting offerings.²¹⁶ Two other kneeling statues from Abydos were pendants,²¹⁷ and it is quite possible that another, along with the lower part of this one, has been lost.

²⁰⁹ Similar to other statues of the period, including a fragmentary statue of Seti I from Heliopolis and Turin 1380, the famous statue of Ramesses II from the earliest years of his reign: *supra* 3.22.

²¹⁰ The other is Cairo CG 751 also from Abydos: *supra* 3.58. On this wig: *supra* 1.2.10.

²¹¹ Sourouzian (1993), 255.

²¹² Solia (1992), 122.

²¹³ Altenmüller (1980), 601, n. 352.

²¹⁴ Solia (1992), 107-122.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

²¹⁶ Sourouzian (1993), 250-251.

²¹⁷ Di Savoia-Aosta-Habsburg (1975), 214.

3.50 Abydos, Seti Temple, Statue of Seti I (New York MMA 22.2.21)

W. C. Hayes, *Scepter* 2: 330-331, 335, fig. 710; V. Solta, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 113-120, figs. 7-12, 18c, 19c; H. Sourouzian, *MDOG/A* 49 (1993), 253-254, pl. 50a-b.

This black granodiorite statue represents the monarch kneeling and presenting a table of offerings supported by a papyrus blossom. Much of the table, along with the king's arms and shoulders, is now missing.¹⁸

The head was found broken off, and large portions of the right side of the face and both sides of the *nemes*-headdress are lost.

Sourouzian would assign this statue to an intermediate phase in the sculpture of the king, earlier than the Dallas bust,¹⁹ but the differences in style between the two sculptures are slight, and they are more than likely contemporary works, possibly by different hands.²⁰ If much of the statuary for this and other temples was begun rather late in the reign as construction of the building neared completion, which Sourouzian herself posits, then they are probably more or less contemporary. The piece appears to be a companion to a fragmentary statue now in Sorrento (see next entry). The table of the latter is supported by a lotus stalk, both sculptures being identical in their scale, iconography and material.²¹

3.51 Abydos, Seti Temple, Statue Fragment of Seti I (Sorrento, Museo Correale di Terranova 74)

PMVF 419; M. di Savona-Aosta-Habsburg, *Sc.* 234 (1975), 21-5, pls. 1-7; V. Solta, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 120-2, figs. 3, 4, 18b, 19b; H. Sourouzian, *MDOG/A* 49 (1993), 254, pl. 50c-d.

Companion to New York MMA 22.2.1, this piece has sustained greater damage, with only the battered lower half of the statue now remaining, broken into two pieces. The larger fragment includes the base, the sovereign's legs, the lower half of the lotus stalk that supports the offering table and the lower part of the back pillar bearing an inscription. The second fragment consists of the support for the offering table, in the form of a papyrus stock, and a portion of the table itself. The two

¹⁸ Solta (1992), figs. 7-12.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 253-254.


²⁰ Solta (1992), 113-118 & 122, notes only minor differences between the two works and considers them to be of one school.

²¹ Di Savona-Aosta-Habsburg (1975), 214.

pieces are broken along the line of his lap. A detailed history of the sculpture was published by Savio-Aosta-Habsburg,²² and Solia and Sourouzian have both recently considered the piece from an art historical perspective, noting its affinity with other Abydene sculptures from the reign.²³

3.52 Abydos, Seti Temple, Altar Pedestal of Seti I (Cairo JdE 4743)

PM VI 27. A. Mariette *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris, 1880), no. 1365; idem, *Abydos: description des Fouilles* (Paris, 1869), 28–9; idem, *Fouilles exécutées en Égypte, en Nubie et au Soudan 2* (Paris, 1867), 99–101 (fig. 94).

This is the lower portion of what appears to be a sandstone altar pedestal. Its four sides rise up from a square base, narrowing towards the top. The decoration of each face consists of a vertical inscription with elements of the royal titulary flanked at the base of the pedestal by reliefs of two secondary figures bearing trays laden with offerings.²⁴ The upper portion is now largely missing, but on one side of the table traces of two  signs can be seen on which sat Seti's cartouches. The latter are missing, along with most of the cavetto cornice that supported the now missing table top.



The texts on the sides are as follows:

A) Hr K3-nht-s'nh-T3wy st R' Stv-mr-n-Pth mr Skr

B) Nfr-nfr nb T3wy Mn-m'rt-R' st R' Stv-mr-n-Pth mr Hr

C) Hr K3-nht h' m W3st nsw-bity Mn m'rt-R' mr W3sr

D) Nfr-nfr nb T3wy Mn-m'rt-R' st R' Stv-mr-n-Pth mr Hr 3hty

The epithet beloved of Osiris is spelled with a -sign and two reed leaves. In the other three cases, only the  sign is used. The original provenance of this altar-stand within the temple is unclear.

²² Ibid., 111–115.

²³ Solia (1992), 120–121; Sourouzian (1993), 254.

²⁴ Not four as Mariette (1880b), no. 1365, states.

3.53 Abydos, Osireion



PMV 29-31 M. Murray *The Osireion at Abydos* (London, 1904); H. Frankfort *et al.*, *Cenotaph*, 2 vols., EES Memoir 39 (London, 1933)

This celebrated monument is known by various names, including Strabo's Well, the Tomb of Osiris and the Osireion. It is Seti I's royal cenotaph. The practice among royalty and commoners of building such cenotaphs in Abydos predates Seti by hundreds of years, as does that of building royal memorial temples. The Osireion was first excavated at the turn of the century by Murray,¹²⁵ and work continued off and on until 1926.¹²⁶

The date of the building has been the subject of controversy. Junker drew attention to both the similarity of its construction to that of the so-called temple of the Sphinx at Giza, and to the lack of Ramesside parallels, dating it to the Fourth Dynasty,¹²⁷ and his view was once widely accepted.¹²⁸ Frankfort has proven beyond all doubt, however, that the Osireion is Seti's original work. He pointed out that the similarities between it and the Giza temple are quite superficial, arising in part from the former's unfinished state. Seti's cartouches are found stamped on mud bricks¹²⁹ and carved in relief on the walls of the sarcophagus chamber. Moreover, large portions of the building are built of limestone and sandstone, neither of which were used in the Giza monument.¹³⁰ Likewise, the granite columns and lintels sit upon sandstone blocks identical to others joined with cramps inscribed for Seti.¹³¹ Even the notion that Seti was working with the "kernel" of a granite construction of the Fourth Dynasty was refuted when a number of granite cramps inscribed with his name were found within the walls.¹³²

¹²⁵ Murray (1904).

¹²⁶ Frankfort, *Cenotaph*, 1-8.

¹²⁷ Junker (1928), 1-14.

¹²⁸ See Frankfort, *Cenotaph* 1, 23, n. 2 for references.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 24, vol. 2, pl. 11.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pls. 2-3.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 4 & 24 with pl. 8.

¹³² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 24, vol. 2, pl. 8.1.

If the Osireion may be dated confidently to Seti's reign, its date within that reign is somewhat more problematical. Frankfort concludes that the limestone retaining wall must first have been constructed before work could have proceeded further on both the rest of the cenotaph and the rear portions of the nearby memorial temple, lest the latter collapse into the pit sunk to receive the subterranean Osireion. He also posits that the sarcophagus chamber the only other portion of the cenotaph constructed in limestone, must have been built at roughly the same time as the retaining wall.¹²

At some point, the decision was made to build the remaining portions of the cenotaph largely in sandstone and granite. By good fortune, we possess a handful of documents apparently touching on the construction of the Osireion. Two of the three ostraca found at the site of the Osireion by Frankfort contribute little to our understanding of how it was built,¹³ but a third is invaluable.¹⁴ It is the only record of what is apparently the ancient name of the building *Sh Mn-nfr-R3 n Wsr* "Beneficial is Menmaatre for Osiris." The work described on this ostrakon includes the transport of two shipments of various stone blocks, apparently column bases and paving slabs, from the quay to the south of the building. Since these shipments were destined for the Osireion and included paving stones and column bases, they would have consisted of sandstone.¹⁵ All these are described as having come from the quarry.

The same document records work done that day for the excavation of a canal "which is on the south of (the building) Beneficial is Menmaatre for Osiris." The blocks described here were probably destined for the foundations and lower courses of stonework in the main chamber, as they included column bases and paving stones. This work might correspond to the earliest part of what could be called a second phase of construction. During the first, the limestone retaining walls, which allowed safe access to the site, along with the sarcophagus chamber, had been installed. The blocks used up to this point were fairly small, and could be transported by men overland from the quay, apparently located

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 9-10.

¹³ B. Gunn in *Cenotaph*, 94 & pls. 90-92, nos. 2-3, *KRI* I, 128, §72; *RITA* I, 108, §72; *RITANC* I, 105, §72.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Gunn in *Cenotaph*, 92-94 & pls. 90-92, no. 1, *KRI* I, 127-128, §70; *RITA* I, 107, §70; *RITANC* I, 103-105, §70.

¹⁵ Frankfort, *Cenotaph* 2, pls. 2-3.

near the front of the memorial temple, to the site of the Osireion. Yet once the foundations, paving stones and pillar bases were in place, the third stage began, involving the installation of the huge granite monoliths for the pillars and architraves and large sandstone blocks for walls of the central chamber. To facilitate this, a canal was being extended to the south end of the site that was still under construction when ostrakon Osireion no. 1 was written. It was situated so as to avoid the site of the temple, which was also under construction.¹⁷

But when might this second phase in the construction of the Osireion have taken place? A quarry inscription of Seti I from eastern Gebel Silsila may provide the answer. The stela, dated to year six, IV *shw* 1, commissions a royal messenger and a task force of 1000 men to go to East Silsila to produce sandstone for monuments "on behalf of Amen-Re along with Osiris and his Erment."¹⁸ Much of the stone procured for Amen-Re was destined for Seti's memorial temple at Gurnah, but some of it was earmarked for Abydos, for both the temple and the Osireion.¹⁹ The new quarry at East Silsila was commissioned on IV *shw*, day 1 in year six—a little more than halfway through the king's reign, while O Osireion no. 1 dates to IV *pri*, day 22. No year is given, but if it was in year six, then some four months and 22 days would have elapsed between the dispatch of the quarrying expedition by Seti and the arrival of the shipments mentioned on the ostrakon. The next possible date would be in year seven, over sixteen months after the expedition had set out. Given the relatively small size of the blocks, mostly paving stones and column bases, it is conceivable that the first shipments of stone could have arrived at the site within four and a half months of Seti's decree.²⁰

We may then date the beginning of the second, major phase in the construction of the Osireion to the monarch's sixth regnal year. Thus,

¹⁷ David maintains that this canal was located on the site of the temple, positing that it was filled in and the temple built on top of it. She attributes subsidence that damaged the temple to the earlier existence of the canal there. In fact, the temple lies to the north of the Osireion, while ostrakon Osireion no. 1 states that the canal was to the south of the Osireion. Contra David, *Guide* 48.

¹⁸ A reference, perhaps, to the gods honored in Seti's temple?

¹⁹ *RITANC* 1, 52-57, §95, 57, §101.

²⁰ A contemporary document from Abydos O. Berlin P 1292 is dated to X+2 month of *pri* day 3, possibly nine days before Osireion no. 1. *AR11*, 128, §7. *RITA* 1, 108, §71, *RITANC* 1, 105, §7.

at the end of the season of *pri* of that year, the retaining wall and sarcophagus chamber had been completed, and blocks for the foundations and lower courses of the central chamber were just beginning to arrive at the site. Meanwhile, a canal was being dug in preparation for receiving the huge granite blocks for the walls, pillars and architraves of the chamber.

The decoration of the cenotaph was never completed in Seti's lifetime; reliefs naming him are found only in the sarcophagus chamber, and these were left incomplete at his death.⁴¹ It is impossible to say when these were carved, but it need not have been while the rest of the building was under construction.⁴² They were carved in limestone of the same high quality as reliefs found in the nearby temple. Presumably the temple was Seti's first priority, and decoration of the cenotaph would have drawn sculptors away from their work at the temple. Thus, the carving of the reliefs in the sarcophagus chamber might postdate its construction by a considerable period.

There is evidence that the decoration of the cenotaph was largely if not entirely, laid out in paint under Seti I. Baines has shown that the decoration of the Hall of Barques in the nearby temple was laid out as a polychrome cartoon before it was carved.⁴³ A simplified polychrome palette in this and probably other chambers was employed so that these cartoons might serve as a stopgap measure until the sculptors were able to convert them into fine bas relief. This practice was apparently used elsewhere during the later New Kingdom.⁴⁴ In the reign of Merenptah, most of these designs were converted into sunk relief. The palette used in the Osireion, as in the temple, was not elaborate.⁴⁵ Touches of red, blue and green paint were added to the figures that were outlined and detailed in black ink, but yellow, which was found in the temple murals, was not used in the Osireion. Although Seti's name has been replaced by that of Merenptah in the reliefs and even in the extant polychrome

⁴¹ Frankfort, *Cenotaph 2*, pls. 75-80.

⁴² *Ibid.* I, 10.

⁴³ Baines *et al.* (1989), 13-30, pls. 2-4.

⁴⁴ E.g. in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor and in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall cf. *supra* 2.38.1 & *infra* 3.70.3.6 respectively.

⁴⁵ Baines *et al.* (1989), 14, 18-20.

cartoons in the rooms beyond the sarcophagus chamber,⁷⁴⁶ certain iconographic features of these tableaux point to Seti as their author. Throughout these scenes, many standing royal figures lean forward, while kneeling ones have their torsos inclined forward, often with their knees splayed.⁷⁴⁷ Moreover, in one case Seti's name was written without a cartouche, and this was overlooked when the sculptors replaced Seti's name with that of Merenptah.⁷⁴⁸

By the end of Seti's reign, construction of the Osireion was largely complete, with the tableaux laid out in polychrome throughout. The sculptors apparently had little time to convert the murals to relief while he was alive, such work being confined to the limestone walls of the sarcophagus chamber. Years later, Merenptah began to convert the paintings into relief, after replacing the painted cartouches of his grandfather with his own. Work reached the entrance corridor before the project was finally abandoned.

3.54 Abydos, Chapel of Ramesses I

PM IV 31-33 H. E. Winlock, *Buxton's dem. Temple of Ramesses I* (J. J. Clere, *RdI* 11, 1957, 1-15 figs 1-8; W. C. Hayes, *Wepet* 2, 331 fig. 208-333 fig. 209; S. Schott, *Denkmal* 9-14 & pls. 9-10; *ARI* 1, 108-10, §53, *RITA* 91-93, §53, *RITA* 92-93, §53, (figs 5 & 136).

This small building functioned as a memorial temple in miniature for Ramesses I, who died before he could build one for himself.⁷⁴⁹ The dedication texts on its doorjambs describe it as a "Mansion of Millions of Years," the term used by the Egyptians to describe such temples.⁷⁵⁰ The shrine was located immediately to the north of the north-east corner of the precinct wall of Seti's temple. It sat within a small mud-brick walled precinct of its own, perhaps twenty-five meters long by fifteen meters wide entered via a limestone portal.⁷⁵¹ The chapel proper was

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. Horenbach's alteration of existing cartoons of Tutankhamen in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor which were not carved in his reign. *Epigraphic Survey, Oper.* xvii & 22-21 (=commentary on pl. 58).

⁷⁴⁷ Frankfort, *Cenotaph* 2, pls. 50-51, 73; Murray, 904, pls. 2, 3 & 5 *supra*, 25 & 125.

⁷⁴⁸ Frankfort, *Cenotaph* 1, 23.

⁷⁴⁹ Winlock, *Temple of Ramesses I*, 12-13 with pl. 2 & figs. 2 & 5.

⁷⁵⁰ Haeny (1982), 1-16, *idem* (1997), 86-26, especially 112-115.

⁷⁵¹ Winlock, *Temple of Ramesses I*, 10 with pl. 1 & fig. 2.

built of limestone, measuring some 7 m long x 4 m wide and consisting of a single room. The facade of the temple was flanked by either a mud brick pylon tower or a small complex of service rooms of the same medium (*RITANC* I, 92, §173). Among the furnishings Seti provided for the chapel, cataloged below, were a large dedicatory stela in the courtyard, a black granodiorite statue of Ramesses I as Osiris and an offering table.

The decoration of the shrine was limited to its interior walls and the facade. The jambs of the main doorway are inscribed with dedication texts (*KRI* I, 109 5-104 10). On the chapel facade are figures of Seti I on the left and Ramesses I on the right. Texts in front and below the two monarchs record Seti's speech to Ramesses in which he describes his beneficence to his father, and the latter's response acknowledging this generosity and entreating the gods to bless his son (*ARI* I, 109 10-110 9).

Inside the chapel, the reliefs were arrayed in two registers. The lower register on the south wall shows Ramesses I offering to Osiris, Isis and Hathor-Mistress of the West.¹⁵¹ Behind him are his queen, along with three female and two male relatives—perhaps his children and Seti's siblings—but all, sadly, are anonymous due to the loss of the top of the register. From the upper register of that wall only a single fragment depicting Ramesses driving the four calves before Osiris-Wennefer (lost) is preserved.¹⁵² On the rear (west) wall, the lower register is perfectly intact with a magnificent double scene of Ramesses and Seti offering to the portable reliquary of Osiris, the so-called fetish of the god (fig. 136).¹⁵³ Also on the upper register there are two connected blocks of a second double scene.¹⁵⁴ On the left Seti offers a tray of offerings to Osiris, behind whom stands Horus. On the right, Ramesses I (lost) offers bouquets to Osiris attended by Isis. In the center of the vignette is a personified *dd*-pillar representing Osiris. The lower half of the north wall bears a representation of Ramesses sitting before several tables and piles of offerings with a large offering list arrayed before him.¹⁵⁵ Traces of a second offering list above the first also survive.

¹⁵¹ Winlock, *Bas-reliefs*, pls. 6-8.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pls. 1-3.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 4.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pls. 9-10.


while two sub-registers below the list depict rows of priests making and purifying funerary offerings. Below the enthroned pharaoh himself, two fecundity figures perform the *smi-Tjwy* ritual while six others bring trays of offerings. This episode recalls a number of elements found in the decorative program of Old Kingdom royal memorial temples, such as those of Sahure and Pepi II. Perhaps Seti deliberately emulated an ancient thematic program by including this scene on his father's memorial chapel, but it does not occur in his own nearby temple.


Stylistically, the reliefs in the chapel bear similarities with examples dating to Ramesses I's own reign, such as those on the vestibule of the Karnak Second Pylon, and with others from the earliest part of Seti's own reign (*supra* 121). In several instances, the eye is rendered with a naturally modeled brow, and lacks evidence of cosmetic bands behind the eye and on the brow. Such cosmetic lines are, however, indicated as often as not, both in the reliefs in the chapel and in examples from the Second Pylon's vestibule.²¹ By contrast, reliefs in Seti's Abydos temple consistently portray the cosmetic bands, and the treatment of the corner of the mouth differs somewhat. In most respects, however, the reliefs from both these Abydene monuments are nearly identical in both their style and proportions, and the chapel reliefs lack other overtly post-Amarna traits such as narrow shoulders, distended paunches and the rather block-like proportions found in the reliefs of Horemheb. The only other significant difference between the two sets of Abydene reliefs is the lack of fine detailing found in reliefs from the Ramesses I chapel. We have seen, however, that the highly embellished reliefs of Seti's temple are the exception, not the rule (*supra* 347-4). In most respects, the reliefs from the chapel have more in common with those from Seti's temple than they do with reliefs known to date to Ramesses I's own reign and the earliest years of his son's, suggesting that they date to the period in between.

Winlock averred that the chapel was undertaken by Ramesses I while he was alive but only just begun at his death and that Seti obviously completed it.²² More likely the shrine was the product of Seti's efforts alone, as the text of the dedication stela and those on the jambs of the gateway claim. Its location and small precinct were governed by the

²¹ Cf. Winlock, *Bar Reliefs* *passim*. For the Second Pylon reliefs: *supra* 121.

²² *Ibid.*, Winlock, *Bar Reliefs*, 11-12.

emplacement of his son's temple precinct, rather than the other way round.²⁵⁹ Stylistically, it seems unlikely that the chapel reliefs date to the beginning of Seti's reign. The orthography of Ramesses' nomen and prenomen on the monument are entirely consistent. Moreover, the prenomen is always rendered  reflecting the standardized

form used throughout Seti's reign (*supra* 1.4.5). Earlier in his reign, Seti wrote his father's name and sometimes his own, in a manner reflecting the predominant usage during the latter's brief tenure, with the  sign in the central position. Thus, while the chapel of Ramesses I might easily date from the first half of Seti's reign, it was probably not built at the very beginning.

3.55 Abydos, Ramesses I Chapel, Offering Table for Ramesses I
A. El-Khatib, *GM* 133 (1993), 67-77 figs. 1-10

This well-preserved black granodiorite offering table was discovered in 1992 some eight km east of the site of Abydos.²⁶⁰ It is intact except for the spout, which is often broken off on monuments of this type. Its decoration is intact. The upper surface has a group of food and drink offerings rendered in bas-relief of high quality, surrounded by a border filled with incised texts. The area of the food offerings lies in a shallow depression connected to a shallow channel that ran through the spout, allowing liquid offerings to pour off the table via the spout. The sides of the table are decorated with two horizontal bandeaux inscriptions describing provisions Seti made for his father's cult after the old king's death.²⁶¹ The epithet *ut R* has been appended to the prenomen of both rulers in each instance.

3.56 Abydos, Ramesses I Chapel, Osiride Statue of Ramesses I
(Calro: JdE 89525; SR 15522)

PM IV 33 H. Gauthier (1924-31: 931), 92-97 J. J. Clère *RdE* I (1957) 13-16, figs. 14-16. S. Schott, *Denkschrift*, 5. pt. 1 *ARU* 108 §52 *RIF* 11 90-91 §52 *RIFAVC* I, 90-91 §52.

²⁵⁹ See Winlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I*, 9, fig. 1.

²⁶⁰ El-Khatib (1993), 67.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 67, upper line of text on the side.

This black granodiorite statue was first published by Gauthier in 1931 when it was still in the possession of an antiquities dealer in Bahariya.²⁶² By 1947 it had passed to a dealer in Cairo, where Clère found it; it has since come into the possession of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The piece is mummyiform, with its head, arms and base missing, while traces of a divine beard remain. The statue's interest derives from its dorsal pillar inscription commemorating the provisions Seti I made for the cult of his deceased father at Abydos. Despite the lack of a provenance, it has always been thought to have come from the Ramesses I chapel,²⁶³ since the text clearly states that the statue represents Ramesses I (KR I, 108).

It may have served as the cult statue of Ramesses I in the chapel Seti erected for him. A wall relief from there does show Ramesses as a cult statue seated on a throne receiving offerings, but this need not reflect the actual form of his statue. The god Osiris is shown in the same manner as the statue in several of those reliefs²⁶⁴ and the statue, therefore, like the chapel itself, may have served a dual function. Most of the time it would represent the deceased king, but during the festival of Khoiak, when the portable reliquary of Osiris made a stopover in the chapel, it could serve as the cult statue of the god himself. The chapel itself may have been designated as a "mansion of millions of years" because it housed the cult of a royal statue.²⁶⁵

3.57 Abydos, Ramesses I Chapel, Dedicatory Stela

JAFIV 33 G. Lefebvre 45-47-51 (1951), 62-200 & plate, J J Clère *Raf* 11 (1957), 15ff & plate, S. Schott *Denkstein*, pls. 2-8 KR I, 110-114 §54 RIT I, 93-96, §54 RITANC I, 93-94, §54

This fragmentary alabaster stela was unearthed at the site of the Ramesses I chapel. Its upper portion is missing, including the vignette and a significant portion of the text, which would have included the date line, royal titulary and an encomium of the sovereign. The surviving text picks up at the end of the first part of the main inscription a historical retrospective on the Amarna period put in the mouth of Seti

²⁶² Gauthier (1931), 194.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 197.

²⁶⁴ Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs*, pls. 4-6.

²⁶⁵ Hucny (1997), 113-115 & 126.

I. He goes on to describe Ramesses I's accession and his own role as prince regent. The next section describes Seti's accession after his father's death, his own filial piety in building a memorial temple for his father and his devotion to Ramesses' memory.

This text has been considered in detail on a number of occasions and a text critical analysis lies beyond the scope of this work.¹⁶⁰ It is apparent that Seti's description of his activities during his father's brief reign is in keeping with the notion that he was prince regent, but not a full coregent (*infra* 4.5). Moreover, it is abundantly clear that Ramesses' memorial chapel was commissioned only after his death.

Uncertain Provenance within Abydos

3.58 Abydos, Statuette of Seti I (Cairo CG 751)

PAF V 47; L. Borchardt, *Statuen III*, 74 pl. 139; V. Solia, *JARCE* 79 (1992), 121 n. 30; fig. 26; *KRI* I, 126, §68; *RITA* I, 107, §68; *RITANC* I, 103, §68.

This grey schist statuette of Seti I is said to derive from the "metropolitan" temple of Osiris at Abydos.¹⁶¹ It may, however, come from Karnak, perhaps from the temple of Mut.¹⁶² The piece is in relatively good condition, though the king's legs are missing below the thighs along with parts of his arms. The head is well preserved except for the very tip of the nose¹⁶³ and there is damage to a portion of the wig. Otherwise it is largely intact. Stylistically, it belongs to the mature Ramesside school of sculpture from the later years of the reign, hallmarks of which include an oval face with full cheeks, large aquiline nose, taut Ramesside mouth and heavily lidded eyes whose lower lids bulge out in the center in the manner of Seti's later reliefs.¹⁶⁴

Seti wears the type A long military wig made up of long, wavy tresses gathered into tight braids near the bottom of each strand (*supra* 1.2.10).

¹⁶⁰ Clère (1957), 1-38; Schott, *Denkstein*.

¹⁶¹ Mariette (1880b), cat. 352, 32; Borchardt, *Statuen III* (=Cairo CG 751), 74, pl. 139.

¹⁶² According to the *journal d'entre* 2078, this statuette was registered from the "vestibule de Pachet" which may correspond to the temple of Mut at Karnak. I am grateful to May Trad of the Egyptian Museum for this information.

¹⁶³ Solia (1992), 121, n. 30 & fig. 26.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs. 207-220 with Borchardt, *Statuen III*, pl. 139.

A royal uraeus is coiled over his brow. He is garbed in a long pleated garment that seems to have replaced a much older costume to become the official Heb-Sed garment under Amenhotep III.²⁷

Only a section of a thick pole held in the king's left hand is preserved. This was undoubtedly a divine standard of the type borne by many royal and non-royal statues of the New Kingdom. Standard-bearer figures are known from the New Kingdom as both statues and statuettes.²⁸

3.59 Abydos, Statue Fragment of Seti I (Dewsbury Museum)

PM V, 4, (fig. 104)

Only the back half of this limestone statuette is preserved.²⁹ It appears to represent a seated deity. The back of a tripartite wig is preserved on the right side of the figure. The ample curve of the lower waist and hips suggest that it is female, although this is by no means certain. The figure sits on a block throne with a dorsal pillar rising above the seat back, which is inscribed with a damaged text: $\dots n \dots jn \dots Wsr \dots n \dots$ *Mn-mf'r-R* \dots of [his father(?) for the *Aa* of the Osiris-king Menmaatre \dots]

3.60 Abydos, "Portal Temple"

D. O'Connor *Expedition 10*, no. 1 (F&E 967), 12-14

This temple was largely built and decorated by Ramesses II.³⁰ During excavations in the late 1960's, however, several architectural elements and fragments inscribed for Seti I were found, although these may have been brought in from somewhere else as reused material was incorporated into the structure.³¹ Further archaeological investigations have revealed that the temple lay atop a mud brick platform composed of

²⁷ Sourouzian (1995, 499-530). Cf. Vienna AS 5910 (*supra* 348) and Turin 380 (Ramesses II) both of which wear this same costume.

²⁸ (Häfele 1982; Eaton-Krauss 1976, 67-70). The earliest example of this type seems to be a statue of Thutmose IV (Cairo JE 43611). See Bryan (1987), 13ff.

²⁹ I am grateful to Brian Haigh of the Bagshaw museum for information on the piece.

³⁰ O'Connor (1967), 12-14.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

bricks naming Seti I, which very strongly suggests that he indeed founded the temple.⁷⁶

3.61 Abydos, Lintel of Seti I (Cairo JdE 32091)

PM V 49 PM V 77 A. Maspero. *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1904), 173 [703] idem. *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* (1915), 185-6, [703]; K. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal* figs 219 & 223 (figs 5 & 93).

The exact provenance of this red granite lintel within Abydos is unknown. It is decorated in sunk relief with parallel vignettes of Seti I offering to Osiris. In their details, the two scenes are identical, with only slight variations in the text. Seti kneels fully upright holding a pair of *mnw*-vases up to the god (fig. 93). He wears a kilt, a *nemes* headdress and an artificial beard, while the vulture goddess Nekhbet hovers above him. Osiris sits on a throne with hands projecting from the front of his cloak, holding a was scepter, a crook and flail, and wearing the *djed*-crown. Between the figures are two offering stands bearing a pair of lotus blossoms. A winged sun disk with pendant uraei labeled as the Behdetite hovers above the center of the lintel.

Mysliwiec contends that this piece dates to late in the reign, during Seti's alleged coregency with Ramesses II. He likens the style of the facial features to examples of Ramesses II from Tanis which, in fact, date to more than two decades after Seti's death, including the lunette panel on the 400-Year Stela (fig. 15).⁷⁷ Thus there can be no stylistic link between this lintel and reliefs of Ramesses II such as the 400-Year Stela.⁷⁸ The workmanship of the lintel is far superior to that of the stela and other reliefs from the later years of Ramesses II. Stylistically, the reliefs are treated in a manner consistent with the mature Ramesside style of Seti's later years.

⁷⁶ David O'Connor by personal communication.

⁷⁷ Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 103. Cf. figs 219-223 of Seti with figs 224-232.

⁷⁸ Stylistically, the facial features of Ramesses II on the 400-Year Stela resemble those of reliefs that can be dated to the later half of his reign. In these reliefs, the *khepresh*-crown is taller than in earlier examples, while the bridge of the formerly aquiline nose is now depicted with a straight line that is uninterrupted between the brow and the tip of the nose, thus giving the face a chisel-like sharpness. Cf. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, figs 226-228, 250, & 253-254 (= the first twenty years of the reign) with figs 224, 229-232 & 233 (= later half of the reign). A wholesale stylistic reappraisal of this king's reliefs is in order.

3.62 Abydos, Sphinx Fragment of Seti I (Pennsylvania E. 12469)
PM V, 47, unpublished; (fig. 89).

This limestone fragment stems from a small statue of the king as a sphinx with human arms proffering a vessel to the god. Only a portion of the vessel remains, in the shape of an ointment jar with a stopper probably in the shape of a ram's head. Traces of the animal's wig are preserved,¹⁷⁹ but of the ruler there are only the tips of the fingers and thumb of one hand. The extant side of the vessel is inscribed with a text: *nsw-bw Mn-m'rt-R' (nrt) Wsir*, 'The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre [beloved of] Osiris.' Sphinxes of this type are well known from the New Kingdom. Larger ones, of perhaps a meter or so in length, were placed near the entrances of pylon gateways,¹⁸⁰ such as a calcite example of post-Amarna date in the First Court at Karnak¹⁸¹ and another of Ramesses II now in Cairo (Cairo CG 36811). Smaller examples which perhaps served as votive pieces, are known,¹⁸² and reliefs in Seti's Abydos temple suggest they could also have been made in gold.¹⁸³ Presumably, jars of the latter type actually held unguents.

3.63 Abydos, Relief Fragment of Seti I (British Museum EA 609)
British Museum, Sculpture Catalogue (London, 1909), 159 no. 571 M I Bierbrner *BAM* 11
 10, 11 & pl. 33

A limestone fragment preserves the upper portion of a scene depicting Seti facing Horus protector-of-his-father. At the extreme right, a Wepwawet standard is preserved. This tableau is much like one originally carved for Ramesses I in the eastern passage of the Second Pylon at Karnak, portraying the king led by Montu, who touches an 'nh to Ramesses' nose. In both scenes, pharaoh wears the *3jt*-crown, and the


¹⁷⁹ Only part of the wig remains, but similar ram-headed stoppers are well attested.

¹⁸⁰ E.g., a relief depicting the Second Pylon Epigraphic Survey, *Akhmim* 1, pl. 52.

¹⁸¹ Legrain, *Karnak*, 67, fig. 49; Russmann (1989), cat. 64, 139-142. Legrain attributes it to Tutankhamen, but Russmann suggests it could as easily belong to Tutankhamen, Ay or more likely Horemheb.

¹⁸² E.g., a sandstone statuette of Ramesses II (Cairo CG 42146 (Freed 1987), cat. 6), a small calcite example of Tutankhamen recently found in the Luxor Cachette (El-Saghir [1991], 42-43).

¹⁸³ A similar example, this time holding up a bowl of food, is depicted in the chapel of Re-Horakhty at Abydos (*Abydos II*, pl. 18).

two figures are preceded by a Wepwawet standard.¹⁴¹ A second standard, bearing the so-called royal placenta, once preceded the Wepwawet standard, as in the Karnak relief. Above the picture, extensive traces of a  sign with ribbon bandeau and *hkr*-frieze can be seen.

The bas relief is carefully rendered, but lacks the extensive detailing found in Seti's work from his Abydos temple. This more simplified style is in keeping with the Ramesses I chapel, although the scale of reliefs on that monument seems to be larger. EA 609 may come instead from the "metropolitan" temple of Osiris, or from some other construction of Seti at Abydos, and perhaps dates to the earlier half of the king's reign before decoration of his main Abydos temple had begun.

3.64 Abydos, Stela of Miya

PAV 99, I. *Speleers*, *RT* 39 (1971), 13-14 & pl. 3, *AR* 1 342-344, §142, I. *RI* 1 1, 279-281, §142, I, *RI FANC* 1, 238-239, §142, I, (figs. 138 & 143)

A stela made for the scribe of offerings in Seti's Abydos temple Miya depicts the king offering to Osiris. He is accompanied by his son and successor Ramesses II, who is entitled "the King's first bodily son Ramesses." He wears the side-lock and carries the *hw*-fan, iconography consistent with the role of a prince.¹⁴²

3.65 Abydos, Relief of Seti I (Ny Carlsberg AEIN 42 A 730)

M. Mogensen, *La galleri, tothèque Ny Carlsberg. La civilisation égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), 100, A 730 & pl. 98. O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiennes* (Copenhagen, 1956), 37-38, no. 40. K. Mysiewicz, *Le portrait royal* 98-99, & fig. 205, (fig. 90)

This elegant relief fragment shows the head of Seti I wearing a round-bottomed wig with a diadem (fig. 90).¹⁴³ A sun disk with pendant uraei floats above his head, while his prenomen cartouche, preceded by the title "good god," identifies him. Behind his head, traces of the formula "[given] all life" are preserved.

¹⁴¹ *PA* 112, 42 (.48G)

¹⁴² On the significance of this scene: *infra* 4.6.3.2

¹⁴³ Mogensen (1930), 100, A 730 & pl. 98. Koefoed-Petersen (1956), 37-38, no.

Cut from limestone, its quality is on par with the fine bas relief found in reliefs from Seti's Abydos temple and the chapel erected to his father's memory. Mysliwiec attributes the fragment to the latter.²⁶⁷ Facial details such as the modeled brow with a crease between the eye and the brow, and the lips, which are rounded at the tips with a down-curving crease at the corner of the mouth, all recall those post-Amarna features of reliefs from the Ramesses I chapel, from which the fragment probably originates.²⁶⁸ The lack of extensive detailing of features such as the hieroglyphs, the hoods of the uraei and of the wig and diadem is also consistent with reliefs from the Ramesses I chapel, and contrasts sharply with the ornate detailing of reliefs in the Seti temple.²⁶⁹

3.66 Coptos, Base of a Sphinx of Seti I

PM V, 131, W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), 15

This small piece has been lost since Petrie discovered it. Unfortunately, he did not publish any photographs or drawings of it.²⁷⁰ It remains the only known monument of Seti I from Coptos. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

3.67 Nagada, Offering Table for Seth (New York MMA 22.2.22)

A. Badawy & F. Rickstahl, *Museo Egizio II thouriana I* (1972), 10, fig. 14: KR I, 234-235, §103, RITA I, 201-202, §103, RITANC I, 153, §103, (figs. 91-92,

This well-preserved offering table of black granodiorite resembles two others produced for Horus and Atum-Khepri by Seti (cf. figs. 20, 70-71, 73, cf. *supra* 3.20 & 3.21). It lacks a spout, although whether it ever had one is not entirely clear. Where the spout would normally be there is a concave depression with a smooth finish identical to that of the rest of the table. It may have been broken off subsequent to the table's completion. The careful finishing of the concave depression is hard to explain if the piece was reused as a building block. Perhaps the depression resulted from an ancient repair after the spout had been broken off during the table's ancient use.

²⁶⁷ Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 98-99.


²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 94-95.

²⁶⁹ Cf. *Abydos I-IV, passim*.

²⁷⁰ Petrie (1896), 15.

The layout of the decoration is identical to that of the Ny-Carlsberg table dedicated to Horus, the table top being decorated with two pairs each of conical and round bread loaves and a pair of jars. On the front side two miniature offering scenes flank the concave depression. On the right, Seti kneels with his legs splayed out and his arms upraised in adoration of Seth, who sits enthroned on a plinth. The act of the king is labeled "adoring the god four times." Seth's figure has been hacked out in antiquity, but its outline, as well as many internal details, can easily be made out.

On the left-hand panel, pharaoh kneels in the same position before Nephthys, with his arms holding aloft a *umat* jar and a pot of incense. The scene is entitled "giving libation." Nephthys also sits enthroned on a plinth, wearing a tripartite wig, but no other distinguishing headgear. Both deities hold *w*-scepters and *nt*-signs, and in both episodes, the king wears a *shenhyt*-kilt and a *khut* headdress and bows his head down somewhat. No other detailing of his costume is apparent.

The extreme ends of the front side and the other three sides are occupied by a pair of bandeau texts giving Seti's titulary. The incised texts are of high quality. The left-hand text is conventional, but the right-hand bandeau gives a variant of Seti's titulary: "Live the Horus, Mighty bull of Re, Contented with Maat, Two Ladies, Great of splendor in the minds of the patricians, Golden Horus, Contented with victory, beloved of Re, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, Son of Re, Seti-Merenptah, beloved of Seth, son of Nut, may he live forever." The Seth *anima* was hacked out of the epithet following the nomen on the right bandeau text, but was left intact in all four occurrences of Seti's nomen in the bandeau texts and in the tableaux. In both instances in which the prenomen occurs in the bandeau, the orthography is such that the -glyph is placed high in the cartouche. In the left-hand example, an *nmw* was added below it, while on the right, the lower space at the end of the cartouche was left blank. From other offering tables of Seti I, we would normally expect an additional epithet such as *rt* *R* or *lw* *R* to occupy this space.¹⁹


Although the table has no provenance, the epithet of Seth, "the Ombite Lord of the Southland," points to the site of Ombos. Hayes


¹⁹ Cf. the two offering tables from Heliopolis, and another from the Ramesses I chapel in Abydos: *supra* 3.20, 3.21 & 3.55.

identifies this with Nubt, which he believed was located at modern Tukh on the west bank of the Nile, 32 km north of Luxor.³⁹² Nubt, however, was probably located at the site of Nagada 26 km north of Luxor.³⁹³

3.68 Medamud, Statue Base, Ramesses I & Seti I (IFAO CAVES 42)

M. F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Medamoud 1925* (Cairo 1926, 46 inv. M, 20; A. P. Zivie, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 99-114, figs. 1-2, pl. 28, *ARI* 1, 200, §81, *RITA* 1, 171, §81, *RITANC* 1, 131-132, §81.

This miniature statue base has been cited as evidence for the hypothetical coregency between Ramesses I and Seti I.³⁹⁴ It is made of sandstone and is of rather crude workmanship, and bears two parallel inscriptions on its sides naming Ramesses I and Seti I. The former is described as "the good god, the likeness of Re who illuminates the Two Lands like Horakhty." Seti is termed "the good god, star of the land, he arises and everyone lives." The upper surface of the object is inscribed with the prenomen cartouche of Seti I, but the *ms't*-figure seems to have been altered. Zivie contends that the glyph was initially , thus naming Ramesses I.³⁹⁵

As Kichen notes, it is most likely that Seti dedicated the statue shortly after Ramesses' death (*RITANC* 1, 131, §251). Every other monument that associates the name of these two monarchs can be shown to date to the sole reign of Seti. The orthography of their prenomens, giving the -sign in the central position, conforms to the standard orthography of the prenomen during Ramesses' brief tenure and in the earliest portion of Seti's reign, especially in monuments dedicated to his father.³⁹⁶ Given the large number of monuments dedicated by New Kingdom pharaohs such as Tutankhamen, Ay, Seti I and Ramesses II in memory of their immediate or recent predecessors, this small piece is feeble evidence of a coregency.

³⁹² Hayes, *Scepter* 2, 332, *RITANC* 1, 153, §305(b).

³⁹³ Kemp (1989), 35-37.

³⁹⁴ A. P. Zivie (1972), 99-114, especially 109-114. Murnane, *Coregencies*, 183, 85.

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³⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 108-109.

³⁹⁶ Cf. the pedestal he dedicated to Horus of Mesen in memory of Ramesses, *supra* 39.

3.69 Medamud, Rensed Blocks of Seti I

M. F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Medamoud* (1925), 3, fig. 4, *idem.*, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Medamoud* (1926) (Cairo, 1927), 27, fig. 75; LDT II, 260

At least two dozen or more sandstone blocks with raised relief decoration of Seti I lie in the blockyard at Medamud, while others are built into the gateway of Tiberius. All of these are decorated with fine bas relief which on stylistic grounds date to the later part of Seti's reign. They all seem to derive from his memorial temple in Gurnah, and at least two have texts referring to this building. One stems from a vignette with the sovereign and Thoth, and refers to a deity (name lost) "residing in the Mansion 'Beneficial-is-[Seti]-Merenptah-[in]-the-Domain-of-Amen-on-the-West-of-Thebes.'" Still another block, with an image of the monarch leaning close to an enthroned male deity, has a fragmentary text with part of this name "[A]men Re on the west of Thebes."

A handful of these blocks also make reference to the god Osiris or to Abydos. One, now built into the top of the Tiberius gateway, probably comes from part of a doorway. The fragmentary text includes traces of his cartouches with the epithets "[Beloved of] Osiris Lord of Abydos the [great (?)] god" and "Heir of Wennefer lord of the Holy Land," while a loose block from the blockyard also makes reference to Osiris.

Most, if not all, of these fragments would have come from the rear (west) portions of the Gurnah Temple. The four rooms giving off the pillared chamber behind the barque sanctuary of Amen are only partly preserved, their outer walls having been denuded almost to the foundations,²⁹⁷ yet they all seem to have been inscribed by Seti. (*infra* 3.84.3.1.) The two large sanctuaries to either side of the three chapels of the Theban Triad are also much reduced, along with the outer walls of the chapels of Mut and Khonsu and those of the two side chambers of the Amen chapel.²⁹⁸ Room 19 moreover, was dedicated to the Osirian funerary mysteries.²⁹⁹ Thus the blocks referring to Osiris need not come from some other site. Clearly then, the Gurnah Temple was used as a quarry in late antiquity to supply stone for the Greco-Roman temple at Medamud.

²⁹⁷ *Key Plans*, pl. 37, fig. 1, rooms 17-20

²⁹⁸ *Key Plans*, rooms 9-12, 14-15

²⁹⁹ *PAI* II², 416 (83)

See (plans 1-3) & (figs. 8, 10-11, 13, 19, 22, 27, 95, 103, 105, 106, 110, 111, 141 & 147)

3.70.1 Extent of the Decoration of the Hall under Seti I

3.70.1.1 Interior Wall Surfaces

Seti I decorated the entire northern half of the Hypostyle Hall,¹⁰⁰ i.e., the north wall,¹⁰¹ the northern half of the east wall¹⁰² including the northern half of the vestibule of the Third Pylon,¹⁰³ and the north half of the western wall (plan I).¹⁰⁴ By the end of the reign, his decoration had also spilled into the southern half on the west wall¹⁰⁵ and spread as far as the west corner of the southern half of the vestibule of the Third Pylon.¹⁰⁶ All Seti's interior work was in raised relief.

3.70.1.2 North Exterior Wall

The northern exterior walls were inscribed with a series of battle reliefs commemorating his Asiatic and Libyan campaigns.¹⁰⁷ These have received a great deal of attention from historians and art historians seeking to elucidate the events they record,¹⁰⁸ but they raise issues that lie beyond the scope of the present work.

3.70.1.3 Columns

Seti also decorated all the smaller columns in the northern part of the Hall (plan I),¹⁰⁹ inscribing most of them with a single *ritua* scene oriented towards the north-south axis. Those to the west of the north-

¹⁰⁰ The locations of these scenes can be found in *Key Plans* pl. 4 (KH = location number). The actual scenes are published in *GHHK* I I which uses a different numbering system from *Key Plans*. A concordance of these can be found in *GHHK* I xv-xvii.

¹⁰¹ *Key Plans* KB 266-297; *GHHK* I I, pl. 263.

¹⁰² *Key Plans* KB 301-344; *GHHK* I I, pl. 264.

¹⁰³ *Key Plans* KB 352-390; *GHHK* I I, pl. 265.

¹⁰⁴ *Key Plans* KB 201-209, 217-256; *GHHK* I I, pl. 262.

¹⁰⁵ *Key Plans* KB 32-38, 65-67; *GHHK* I I, pl. 258 = pls. 1-7, 31-33 & 41.

¹⁰⁶ *Key Plans* KB 170-171, 174-176, 178-180, 183-86, 90-93, 197-199; *GHHK* I I, pl. 261 d-f = pls. 117, 121-129.

¹⁰⁷ *PAIH* 53-57; *Key Plans* pl. 10 fig. 5; *Epigraphic Survey: Battle Reliefs*.

¹⁰⁸ Faulkner (1917), 74-79; Gaballa (1976), 29-47; Broadhurst (1989), 229-234; *Murane: Road to Adesh*; E. Saady (1992), 285-294. For further references, see *ibid.* Murane, 40, n. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Christophe, *colonnes*, 89, and pl. 26.

south axis had vignettes on their east face, while ones to the east of the axis had some on the west side (fig. 10). The vignettes on columns 74-80 were visible from the main east-west axis, and columns 77 and 78 at the crossing of the two axes, had two panels each, one facing each axis. In addition to these, each column was inscribed with a papyrus bundle pattern, bands of cartouches and other stereotyped designs, such as uraei between the cartouches near the tops and *rekhyet*-birds adorning the royal cartouches at the bases.

Ramesses II later usurped his father's tableaux on columns 74-80.³¹⁰ Subsequently, Ramesses IV covered the bundle patterns on all the small columns in the northern part of the building with ritual episodes and cartouche friezes, and as a result they now bear three ritual scenes spanning their entire circumferences.

There is no evidence that Seti ever inscribed the shafts of the two rows of great columns in relief.³¹¹ They were first carved for Ramesses II during the earliest part of his reign in style R.³¹² Seti did, however, inscribe the abaci of both rows of great columns.³¹³ Each of the larger columns originally had a vignette facing the east-west axis, with the four columns at the intersection of the two axes having two, one facing each axis. Both Ramesses II's final alterations and Ramesses IV's additions to the columns are in sunk relief. Finally, both Ramesses IV and Horiher added texts to the column bases.³¹⁴

3.70.1.4 Architraves

Seti I engraved the architraves above the central row of great columns and the inner faces of those surmounting the first row of smaller columns on either side (67-73 and 74-80) (plan 3).³¹⁵ He also decorated those lying on the north-south axis in the northern half of the Hall, most of which are no longer *in situ*.³¹⁶ His work included the soffits of all these architraves that bear elements of his titulary,

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 26.

³¹¹ He may, however, have laid the decoration out in paint. *infra* 3.70.3.6.

³¹² See Murnane (1975), 172, n. 63.

³¹³ See Rondot & Golvin (1989), 250 & pl. 31.




³¹⁴ Roth (1983), 43-51.

³¹⁵ Christophe (1960), 69-82; Rondot, *Architraves*, 2-3 & pls. 2-19; *Key Plans*, pl. 7, faces 430-436, 476-480.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.* Rondot, 4-8.

including numerous variants of his Horus name¹¹⁷ Ramesses II usurped the south faces of the architraves over columns 74 and 80, both faces of those over the two rows of great columns, the north faces of those over columns 67-73¹¹⁸ and their soffits (fig. 111)¹¹⁹

3.70 15 Clerestory and Roof

All the interior and exterior surfaces of the clerestory were originally inscribed by Seti I (plan 2-3).¹²⁰ The piers and lintels on the exterior, which framed the window grilles, were decorated in sunk relief (fig. 98-99).¹²¹ the lintels having a frieze of alternating falcons and vultures facing south and perched on the  sign (fig. 99). Above this was a continuous  bandeau running the length of the clerestory, surmounted by a full version of Seti I's titulary, which was in turn surmounted by another  sign.¹²² Each falcon protects a cartouche with its outstretched wings. The piers are inscribed with two vertical columns of hieroglyphs. The one on the left begins with the king's Horus name followed at its base with either his nomen or prenominal, alternating from pier to pier, followed by various epithets. The right column contains a speech of Amen Re addressed to pharaoh.¹²³

On the interior of the clerestory Seti decorated the cavetto cornices and all the surfaces above them. The cornices were engraved with alternating nomen and prenominal cartouches arranged at intervals. The interior faces of the piers between the window grilles bear scenes of the king standing face to face with Amen Re (fig. 95-97). All of these were originally executed in raised relief by Seti I, but were subsequently usurped by Ramesses II. On the north side Ramesses merely substituted his cartouche in sunk relief, while on the south side each tableau was

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 115-119.

¹¹⁸ Murman (1975), 80. *Key Plans* pl. 3 nos. 430, 432, 433, 435, 436. Christophe (1960), 69-82, Rondot, *Architraves*, 2, 151 & pls. 2-5 & 7.

¹¹⁹ This applies to the soffits of the architraves over the two rows of great columns and over the first row of small columns on the north. Ibid. Rondot, pls. 20-22. Seti never decorated the soffits of the architraves over the first row of smaller columns south of the central axis, although he did inscribe their north faces. Ibid., pl. 41.

¹²⁰ *Key Plans*, pl. 4, figs. 1-4.


¹²¹ Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pl. 71.


¹²² Ibid., pl. 71, George & Peterson (1979), no. 7.

¹²³ Ibid., no. 17, Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pl. 71.

entirely recut in sunk relief.¹²⁴ He usurped every other interior surface of the clerestory as well, including the cornice¹²⁵ and the interior faces of the lintels above the window grilles.¹²⁶

Little evidence remains of the roofing slabs, and none are still *in situ*. There had been a partial collapse of the roof at the western end of the clerestory in the Late Period that was repaired in the Ptolemaic era.¹²⁷ but substantial portions of the roof over the central aisle were still intact in the late sixteenth century of the present era.¹²⁸ In 1954 a sandstone block was discovered in the foundation of a statue of Pnodjem.¹²⁹ It was inscribed in raised relief with part of a royal titulary and the lower tips of the outstretched wings of a vulture or falcon. The cartouche has the nomen of Ramesses II, but was obviously usurped in sunk relief, with clear traces of *Sty* underlying the sunk relief *R' ms sw*. The nomen is compounded with the epithet "beloved of Amen." Seti I generally used the standard form of his nomen compounded with "beloved of Ptah" at Karnak except in the Great Hypostyle Hall where *Sty-mr n-Tmn* is generally found.¹³⁰ From this, we may conclude that the block derives from the roof of the Hypostyle Hall, probably from the roof of the clerestory which was inscribed for Seti and usurped by Ramesses II.

¹²⁴ For an example of only the cartouche being usurped see Laufray *et al.* (1980), pl. 3a. For a completely sunk relief example, cf. Schwaller de Lubitz *Karnak* 1: 7 (fig. 38). In the scenes that have been recut in sunk relief the original raised version is betrayed by the presence of register lines, a  sign left in bas relief and by the fact that the figures protrude from the background surface. Elsewhere in the building, the latter is a hallmark of the conversion of raised relief into sunk relief. Seele, *Coregency* 53-56, 583.

¹²⁵ Ibid. Laufray *et al.* (1980) 9. In 1995 this was checked in the field by the author and confirmed by William Murnane and Lorelei Corcoran. The presence of crased  signs was visible on some prenomen cartouches in taking light.

¹²⁶ A/R/I: 201-13-5, 203-11-13. Schwaller de Lubitz *Karnak* 1: pl. 60. Ramesses usurped the titulary and cartouches in sunk relief, leaving the original dedicatory inscription in raised relief. See *ibid.*, Laufray *et al.*, pl. 3a.

¹²⁷ Rondot & Golvin (1989), 249-259.

¹²⁸ Burn *et al.* (1971), 101-103.

¹²⁹ Hamud (1958), 199-203.

¹³⁰ Loeben (1987c), 225-228.

3.70.2 Previous Theories on the Date of the Hall

It has been argued by various scholars that the central row of great columns in the Hypostyle Hall bears a striking resemblance to the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple and that perhaps the twelve great columns at Karnak originally formed a similar colonnade built as early as the reign of Amenhotep III.¹² There are reasons for doubting this assessment.

A painting from the Theban tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49) reputedly shows the temple of Karnak as it appeared during the reign of Ay. Immediately to the west of the outer pylon is a T-shaped canal.¹³ Chevrier indeed found evidence of such a canal beneath the foundations of the Second Pylon.¹⁴ Much of the decoration of the pylon seems to have been accomplished under Ramesses I and later usurped by Ramesses II.¹⁵ Seele proved, however, that the earliest decoration was done by Horemheb, who was therefore responsible for constructing it.¹⁶

Furthermore, the Pylon cannot have been initiated by Ay, since many of the blocks reused in its foundations and interior stem from the 'Mansion of Nebkheperure'—a structure built and partially decorated by Tutankhamen and only completed by Ay.¹⁷

If the outer pylon in the Neferhotep mural is the Third Pylon, then both the Second Pylon and the Hypostyle Hall must date to some point later than the reign of Ay. Haeny contends that the scene from Neferhotep's tomb is not reliable evidence for the appearance of Karnak during Ay's reign, pointing out that although the vestibule of the Third Pylon certainly existed by the earliest period of Akhenaten's reign, it is not portrayed in the Neferhotep mural.¹⁸ To this one might respond that other elements of the temple are not illustrated in detail: only one

¹² This idea was first put forward by Mariette and was then taken up by a number of scholars: Engelbach (1925), 65–6; Chevrier (1957), 35–38; Trautwieser (1986), 44–45; De Jansz-Davies (1931), pls 41–42. Discussed by Seele (*op. cit.*), 5–8, 10.

¹³ Chevrier (1957), pl. 1; idem (1933), 175; idem (1938), 605. *Basilikale Anlagen* 40.

¹⁴ Legrain, *Karnak*, 136–57, *PM II*², 38–39.

¹⁵ Seele, *Coregency*, 7–8 and figs. 1 & 2.

¹⁶ *PM II* 40–4; Schaden (1984b), 50 & 52, n. 8; Eaton-Krauss (1988), 1–11; Gabolde & Gabolde (1989), 127–178; M. Gabolde (1987b).

¹⁷ *Basilikale Anlagen*, 46.

obelisk, or pair of obelisks, is shown in front of the Fourth Pylon,¹³⁸ while in reality two pairs stood there, the work of Thutmose I and III. The object of the representation from TT 49 seems to have been to give an overview of the whole temple and its gardens, with some details left out. Recently Loeben has claimed that the outer pylon in the scene from TT 49 could represent the north-south axis of the temple, and there is some evidence that a canal was located here as well.¹³⁹ But, again, if the southern axis is being represented, then one of the three pylons which existed along this route before Horemheb's accession is missing.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, connected to the second pylon in the scene is a structure resembling the porch added by Thutmose IV to the Fourth Pylon, the only such structure in Karnak.¹⁴¹ Although the testimony of the Nefertitetp mural is not unequivocal, it is reasonable to conclude that it does indicate that the ground immediately to the West of the Third Pylon was still occupied by a canal during Ay's reign. If a colonnade of the Luxor type in fact existed before the rest of the Hall was constructed, it could not have been installed earlier than the reign of Horemheb.

Regardless of who is given credit for this phantom colonnade, Amenhotep III or Horemheb, there is little archaeological evidence and no epigraphic data to support this notion. Chevrier, Nims and Seele supposed that traces of the foundations of a wall in the north-eastern sector of the Hall corresponded to ones they believed flanked a central row of columns in a construction similar to the Luxor Colonnade Hall.¹⁴² but Haeny demonstrated that these belonged to some earlier structure that had already been removed by the time the Third Pylon was erected.¹⁴³ It has now been determined that they belonged to a court fronted by a small pylon that was erected by Thutmose II in front of the Fourth Pylon and later removed by Amenhotep III to make way for the Third Pylon.¹⁴⁴ Nims also seems to have mistaken modern renovations

¹³⁸ There is no doubt that the gate behind the obelisk in this scene is the Fourth Pylon. It is depicted with a kind of awning supported by Papyrus columns erected by Thutmose IV. *PAU* 11, 72, 79; Yoyotte (1953), 30-38; Bryan (1991), 170-171.

¹³⁹ Loeben (1992), 393-401.

¹⁴⁰ The Seven, Eighth and Tenth Pylons. The latter was begun under Amenhotep III.

¹⁴¹ Yoyotte (1953).

¹⁴² Seele, *Coregency*, 18, §31 & n. 11; Chevrier (1957), 35-36.

¹⁴³ *Basilikale Anlagen*, 46.

¹⁴⁴ Golvin (1987), 190 and pl. 1; Gabolde (1993), 1-100.

of the foundations of the Hall for evidence of ancient ones supposedly belonging to this phantom colonnade.¹⁴³ Poorly documented repairs to the ancient foundations carried out in the earlier part of this century have led to great confusion regarding the nature of the originals, leading some to contend that fired bricks were used to make foundations in the Eighteenth Dynasty!¹⁴⁴

Murnane, objecting to the colonnade theory, notes that structures of this type that Amenhotep actually built at Luxor Temple, his memorial temple in Western Thebes and at Soleb, all front on open courts, which is not the case at Karnak where the Hypostyle Hall was built in front of the Third Pylon, the main facade of the temple.¹⁴⁵ Haeny has outlined further reasons why no Luxor style Colonnade Hall could ever have been built.¹⁴⁶ In the end, he accepts the painting from Neferhotep's tomb as evidence that no part of the Hypostyle Hall was built before the reign of Horemheb. Finally, he rejects the notion that Horemheb first built a colonnade, basing his judgement on the lack of credible evidence for side walls of such a structure.¹⁴⁷ He concludes that the Hypostyle Hall was conceived and built as a single unit. Nevertheless, a variant of this older theory has survived to this day, promoted by none other than the *Centre franco-egyptienne pour l'étude des temples de Karnak*, which claims that Horemheb was responsible for erecting a colonnade.¹⁴⁸ This hypothesis ignores the matter of the side walls that

¹⁴³ *Basistkale Antagen*, 46.

¹⁴⁴ Chevrier (1957), 35, idem (1927), 149-150 & pl. 5, Gilbert (1943), 38. These brick foundations under the great columns probably represent modern replacements of the original material which had crumbled. It is quite possible that these repairs were effected by Legrain at the turn of the century. See Chevrier (1927) pl. 5 where the installation of similar brick foundations in the southern part of the building is documented. Alternatively they could stem from restorations in Ptolemaic or Roman times when extensive refurbishments to the building were undertaken. Crovin (1987), 189-205. Rondot & Golvin (1989), 249-259. Repairs to the foundations and lowest courses of the side walls in this period are attested along the exterior of the north wall and interior of the south wall.

¹⁴⁵ Murnane (1993), 34.

¹⁴⁶ *Basistkale Antagen*, 48 & n. 156.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 156.

¹⁴⁸ A. Bouy (1989), 103-109 & 114-118; Traunecker (1986), 44-45.

we would expect to find if a Colonnade Hall had been built.³³ There is, moreover, absolutely no epigraphic data to support the colonnade theory. The earliest preserved decoration on the great columns and the clerestory dates to Seti I's reign (*infra* 3.70.3.1). These reliefs are pristine and show no signs of reworking. One final objection: the presence of two "throne shrines" of Ramesses I that were blocked by the first pair of great columns. Their placement makes little sense if one assumes that a colonnade existed when they were installed, since the great columns of the central axis of the Hall block the approach to them (plan 3).³²

Construction of the Hall, including the central columns, could have occurred only after the Second Pylon had been built and decorated, considering that earlier sunk reliefs on its eastern face depicting a voyage of the great river barque of Amen-Re, the *Usrhat Amen*, had first to be erased when this surface became the west interior wall of the Hypostyle Hall.³³ (fig. 100) and that the method used for joining the Hall's architraves and roofing slabs to the Second Pylon was obviously an afterthought.³⁴ Haeny places the construction during the reign of Horemheb, noting that reliefs on the western wall include several episodes featuring Ramesses I.³⁵ Since he reigned for less than two years, Haeny argues that construction of this huge structure could not

³² The missing side walls would have presented a serious challenge to Seti had he intended to add smaller columns to an extant colonnade hall. The existing building would have had to be buried in embankments and then its roof and side walls removed and inscriptions on the columns erased. Only then could the process be started over again in order to build the rest of the Hypostyle Hall including the new clerestory roof.

³³ *PM III* 43 (149); Legrain, *Karnak*, 149-152.

³⁴ *GTHK I*, pls. 266-267; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak I*, 04-106 & figs. 24-26, II, pl. 42.

³⁵ *Basilikale Anlagen*, 49-50 and n. 156. Haeny asserts that if the Hall and the Second Pylon had been built at the same time, the incorporation of the architraves into the pylon would have been better designed. Other features betray the fact that the pylon was built and decorated before the Hall existed. A ledge was cut into the pylon to support the roofing slabs, as were the large slots cut into the pylon's face to receive the architraves (*ibid.* n. 156). A frieze of uraei that was once part of the original sunk relief decoration on the east face of the pylon wall remains on the north tower. Since this decoration was covered by the architraves and roofing blocks at this juncture (now missing) it was never erased. *GTHK I*, pl. 137 above the architrave slot. *Key Plans*, KB 21b.

Basilikale Anlagen, 50-51.

have been completed during Ramesses I's brief tenure, and therefore must have been first undertaken by Horemheb.¹⁵⁶ Although he admits that Seti I could have executed the reliefs on behalf of his deceased father, he thinks it unlikely.¹⁵⁷ Seele likewise believed that Ramesses I was responsible for the reliefs in question and avers that perhaps Horemheb, though more likely Ramesses I, was responsible for the conception and building of the Hall.¹⁵⁸

This view has been challenged by others who have argued that Seti I was responsible for building the structure in its entirety.¹⁵⁹ Murnane doubts that the reliefs in question portraying Ramesses I were carved while he was alive, arguing that they were a posthumous memorial made by Seti (figs. 14 & 102).¹⁶⁰ It now seems likely that the episodes with Ramesses I on the east face of the north tower of the Second Pylon—as well as some newly discovered tableaux of Ramesses I alternating with others of Seti I framing the eastern face of the passage through the Second Pylon—were originally carved by Seti after Ramesses I had died (*infra* 3.70.3.2).¹⁶¹ A comprehensive epigraphic analysis of the decorative program of this huge monument greatly elucidates the problem of its date.

3.70.3 Chronology of the Decoration and Epigraphic Evidence for the Date of the Hall

3.70.3.1 The Earliest Relief Work in the Hall and the Recutting of Figures of Seti I on the North Gateway

On the northern side of the clerestory some original raised reliefs of Seti I have been preserved on the piers between the window grilles,¹⁶² although the cartouches have been usurped in sunk relief by Ramesses II (figs. 95-96). These vignettes depict Seti I standing before either Amen or Mut, and they are virtually the only ritual pictures in the Hall.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 43-44, 50-51.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 43.

¹⁵⁸ Seele, *Coregency*, 19-22, §§ 33-37.

¹⁵⁹ Legrain, *Karnak*, 80-8; Bagnat, *Temple 59-63* Gilbert (1942), 169-176.

¹⁶⁰ Murnane (1975), 170-171, *idem* (199c), 163-168.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 165-168.

¹⁶² *Key Plans*, KB 400-405. These remain largely unpublished. For a view of two of these piers, see J. Lauffray *et al.* (1980), pl. 3a.

carved for Seti in which he is not shown bowing in the presence of the god. On the south side of the clerestory, vignettes on the piers were originally finished in raised relief by Seti, but they too were usurped and entirely converted into sunk relief by Ramesses II (fig. 97) ¹⁶¹ Here the monarch is shown bowing slightly.

Seale maintained that the reliefs in the Hall were sculpted top to bottom as the earth fill used in construction was removed. As we shall see, there is now strong evidence that portable wooden scaffolding was used to decorate most of the surfaces (*infra* 3.70.3.3). His theory does, however, hold true for the clerestory, since Seti was responsible for its decoration but not for the great columns and the southern range of smaller columns which support it. Inscribing the clerestory before the removal of the earth fill would have made sense for a couple of reasons: first among these was the daunting prospect of raising 25 meter high scaffolding. Secondly, these would have had to be maneuvered around the great umbels of the papyrus columns. It is telling, then, that Ramesses I does not appear in any reliefs on the clerestory.

There is a peculiar abnormality among the reliefs on the northern gateway: many royal figures on the interior and exterior jambs and the thickness of this portal have been extensively reworked (figs. 101-102). The outer jambs and most of the thicknesses were studied and published by the Epigraphic Survey in connection with Seti's battle reliefs on the north exterior wall. ¹⁶² In an excursus, the Survey noted that in many cases the royal figure had been recut so that an erect stance was replaced by a stooped one *vis à vis* the deity ¹⁶³

The episodes on the gateway's exterior jambs were originally carved for Seti in raised relief and subsequently usurped by Ramesses II, who converted them to sunk relief, leaving scenes on the thickness as they were and expropriating only the cartouches. Changes to the raised relief on the thickness and interior jambs of the gateway, however, indicated

¹⁶¹ This dichotomy arose because the northern half of the Hall remained in raised relief. In the south wing, most of Ramesses' work was in sunk relief, and he later converted all his earlier reliefs here, along with those of his father, into sunk. See Murnane (1975), 179-180.

¹⁶² Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pls. 19-21. Two damaged scenes on the eastern thickness were not included in the Survey's publication and are to be published by the Hypostyle Hall Project of the University of Memphis = *Aex. Plans*, pl. 10, fig. 5, no. 13.

¹⁶³ Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, 77.

that it was Seti himself, and not Ramesses II, who was responsible for the alterations to the royal figures here.¹⁶⁶ The Epigraphic Survey also noted that the decoration of exterior doorjambes in raised relief was a routine exception to the rule that exterior tableaux were carved in sunk relief.¹⁶⁷

It seems likely that every surface of the north gateway was originally sculpted at one time but multiple instances of recutting and of adjustments to the royal figures can be observed on its interior and exterior jambs as well as on the thickness. In some scenes there are no alterations¹⁶⁸ or much less drastic ones,¹⁶⁹ but in at least one episode on the exterior jamb, no less than three separate adjustments to Seti's figure were made before it was recut in sunk relief by Ramesses.¹⁷⁰ Likewise, two vignettes on the interior jambs of the gateway were recut at least three times.¹⁷¹ Seti is also shown bowing in two episodes from the battle reliefs as he presents booty and captives to the Theban Triad (fig. 13).¹⁷² Here his likenesses have not been altered in the same manner as those on the gateway, which suggests that the reliefs on the exterior doorjambes are contemporary with those on the thickness and interior jambs but not with the battle reliefs.¹⁷³

Neither the alterations to nor the final versions of the royal figures on the north gateway are by any means uniform. As noted by the Epigraphic Survey, in the final version on the thickness Seti's figures are not so rigid or upright as before.¹⁷⁴ The forward inclination of some is much less dramatic than of others in the Hall.¹⁷⁵ Scenes on the exterior jambs

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 47 and n. 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Key Plans*, KB 280 b-d, *GTHA* 1.1, pl. 184.

¹⁶⁹ Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 20E.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 69 and pl. 19F.

¹⁷¹ *Key Plans*, KB 280c-d, *GTHA* 1.1, pls. 186-187; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pl. 47.

¹⁷² Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pls. 14 & 36.

¹⁷³ The Epigraphic Survey noted that the foreign name-rings on the large smiting scenes flanking the gateway were 'updated' to reflect Seti's wars, possibly indicating that these scenes were first carved before the battle reliefs. *Ibid.*, 47. The figures of the king in these reliefs do in fact show several cosmetic adjustments to his face.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 20A, D & E; Cf. pl. 20B where the forward inclination is similar to other tableaux inside the Hall.

also show a considerable variation in the degree of stoop.³⁷⁶ Of those on the interior jamb of the gateway, only one is substantially preserved.³⁷⁷ It is on the bottom register of the east jamb and is key to elucidating the sequence of these successive modifications to his figure on the north gateway (fig. 101).³⁷⁸ Seti dedicates a temple to Amen-Re and Mut in this episode. The two deities have had only cosmetic alterations, but the royal figure displays evidence of two major changes with subsequent cosmetic adjustments. The first was the most significant.

Originally, the king stood erect with his head cocked so that he looked up slightly.³⁷⁹ His left arm was straighter and raised higher than in the later version. In the second edition, the figure is stooped with its legs shifted forward. The head was completely recut with a long military wig replacing the *nemes* headdress, and the false beard was deleted. Subsequent alterations were largely cosmetic, focusing on adjustments of Seti's back, rump, left shoulder and the backs of his legs and feet. These went through three versions, as did the streamers dangling from his wig. The apron and belt show two versions, as does the right arm. The final version of the head was further refined a number of times, especially the mouth and chin. In the scene above, only the king's feet are preserved,³⁸⁰ but they bear traces of three distinct versions, indicating that this image must have been subject to the same drastic alterations as the one below.

Taken as a group, the representations of the king on the surfaces of the northern gateway display a large amount of reworking that is not seen in other standing figures of Seti within the Hall. This suggests that the gateway was the first part of the structure he decorated after the earth embankments had been removed and the walls dressed. Presumably some of the tableaux on the north gateway had already been carved with the ruler standing erect before it was decided to portray him stooped in all the reliefs and to rework those already carved. It is

³⁷⁶ Ibid., pl. 20A-F.

³⁷⁷ GHIA 1.1, pls. 182-187.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., pl. 187; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak II*, pl. 47.

³⁷⁹ This gesture of the king's head can be found many times in Seti's Abydos temple, both when he bows and more commonly when he does not. Cf. *Abydos I*, pl. 38 top, second scene from the right; 23 top, second from the right & vol. III, pl. 6, middle top register and bottom left.

³⁸⁰ GHIA 1.1, pl. 186.

possible that the original plan was to depict only some with inclined torsos, but once the decision to have him bow in every scene was taken, the sculptors had to make several alterations to at least three of the royal figures on the north gateway, along with other cosmetic changes, before their superiors were satisfied.¹⁸¹ A few other panels that had originally showed the king bowing required no alteration.¹⁸²

One other curious fact about the recut figures of Seti on the north gateway remains to be considered. The Epigraphic Survey noted that his original posture in panels on the thickness of the north gateway was not merely upright, the conventional stance in Egyptian art for thousands of years, instead he stood overly erect and seemed to be leaning backwards slightly with his head cocked as though looking up to the god before him.¹⁸³ The same rigid stance with an upturned head can be seen in the original version on the bottom of the east interior jamb.¹⁸⁴ It would seem that this overly stiff posture was deemed inappropriate or unsuccessful as a means of portraying the royal image. Nonetheless, it was probably meant to serve the same iconographic purpose as the bowing stance that succeeded it.

Elsewhere in the Hall, standing figures of Seti I have not been altered in such a drastic manner. It is true that some on the eastern half of the north wall have been revised more than others, but these are cosmetic modifications (Fig. 22),¹⁸⁵ mostly of episodes in which he kneels.¹⁸⁶ A panel immediately to the east of the north gateway where he offers incense to the barque of Amen-Re in procession is an exception. The reworking was largely confined to the position of the king's arm and the size of his cap crown and is purely cosmetic.¹⁸⁷ Other adjustments to Seti's figure within the Hall are both scattered and minor, the vast

¹⁸¹ *GJHA* I, pls. 186-187. Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 19f. A similar situation obtained on the east wall of the sanctuary at Luxor Temple, where two bowing figures of Amenhotep II. were adjusted a number of times to refine the angle at which he leaned forward. Abd El-Raziq (1986), east wall: 85-10; west wall: 53.

¹⁸² *GJHA* I, pls. 183-184. Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 19f.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, Epigraphic Survey, 73-75 & pl. 20A-F.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. *GJHA* I, pl. 187 & Schwabacher de Lubiez, *Karnak* I, 107-108 & fig. 28.

¹⁸⁵ As noted by the Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, 77, n. 1.

¹⁸⁶ *GJHA* I, pls. 189-195.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 197.

majority were never altered.¹⁸⁸ It is most telling that no other standing figures of Seti carved during his reign in the Hall show the sort of drastic adjustment of his posture that we see on the north gateway (figs 10-11). It seems likely, then, that these were the first to be carved once the embankments had been removed.¹⁸⁹

3.70.3.2 Reliefs Portraying Ramesses I inside the Hall

Ramesses I is portrayed in several tableaux on the upper register of the north half of the east wall¹⁹⁰ (figs 14 & 102), and in four "new" scenes on the jambs of the west gateway (fig. 105).¹⁹¹ His presence in the latter reliefs had escaped notice until recently, but those on the upper register of the north tower have been a source of much speculation for what they might reveal about the Hall's architectural history and for testimony they give to the hypothetical coregency between Ramesses I and Seti I. Legrain believed they were carved after Ramesses' death as a memorial¹⁹² while Seele maintained that Ramesses I must have commenced decorating the Hall on the top of the west wall and that these were the first reliefs carved. Given his brief reign, probably less than two years, the structure, Seele believed, must have already been under way during Horemheb's final years.¹⁹³ Haeny concurred, finding it unlikely that Seti I would have executed these reliefs after his father's death.¹⁹⁴ Murnane took issue with Seele's contention that several of these tableaux naming Ramesses I, which do not describe him as *msr*-

¹⁸⁸ Fig. the large scene on the north tower of the Second Pylon in which the king's profile shows three versions. *Key Plans*, KB 216; *GTHA* I, I, p. 132. See Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak* I, 105, fig. 23. Other scenes show cosmetic adjustments to Seti's figure, mostly in cases where he kneels. cf. *GTHA* I, pls. 143, 164, 176 & 210.

¹⁸⁹ The clerestory had already been decorated: *infra* 3.70.3.3.

¹⁹⁰ *Key Plans*, KB 217, 219-222; *GTHA* I, I, pls. 138, 140-142.

¹⁹¹ *Key Plans*, KB 32, 34, 202 & 204; *GTHA* I, I, pls. 131, 31 & 133. The scenes of Ramesses I on the gateway alternate with ones naming Seti I. All were subsequently usurped by Ramesses II. The cartouches were examined in raking light by William Murnane, Jennifer Palmer and the author during the 1994 season of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project. See Murnane (1995c), 165-168.

¹⁹² Legrain, *Karnak*, 156-157.

¹⁹³ Seele, *Coregency*, §§34-36.

¹⁹⁴ *Basilikale Anlagen*, 43-44, 50-51.

hrr, must date to his lifetime.⁴⁹⁵ In fact, a frieze of nomen cartouches and prenomen rebuses above these vignettes contains elements of Seti's titulary only (fig. 102).⁴⁹⁶ If these were the first to be carved in the Hall using a method proceeding from top to bottom, as Seele believed, one would expect this frieze to have Ramesses I's cartouche alone, or at least an alternating frieze of his and Seti's.⁴⁹⁷

Ramesses I need not have had anything to do with their execution. For despite Haeny's objections, there is no reason to doubt that they could have been carved after Ramesses' death, since Seti is known to have erected several posthumous monuments to his father, including a chapel within his own Gurnah Temple and a cult chapel at Abydos.⁴⁹⁸ Moreover, reliefs from the Abydos chapel show both rulers officiating in ritual scenes, although that monument was clearly built after Ramesses' death.⁴⁹⁹ A similar instance of such posthumous representations occurs at Luxor, where Tutankhamen and Ay juxtaposed vignettes of Amenhotep III with ones naming themselves on the interior walls and facade of the Colonnade Hall.⁵⁰⁰ Thus while it is possible that the scenes on the walls and gateway of the east face of the Second Pylon could be taken as evidence of a coregency between Ramesses I and Seti I, the mere presence of the names, or even the figures of two kings on a single monument, is no proof given other clearly posthumous representations of deceased kings in association with their successors: viz

⁴⁹⁵ *Key Plans*, KB 217.22; *GTHA* 1.1, pls. 138-141, Murnane (1975), 170-17; idem (1995), 163.

⁴⁹⁶ *GTHA* 1.1, pls. 136, 138-143.

⁴⁹⁷ See now Ling (1992), 59-60; Murnane (1995c), 164-165. Ling also believed that the decoration was carved from top to bottom, but it is now clear that scaffolding was used; *infra* 3.70.3.3.

⁴⁹⁸ Monument to Horus of Misen on behalf of Ramesses I (*supra* 3.9); Abydos chapel of Ramesses I (*supra* 3.54); Ramesses I suite in Seti's memorial temple at Gurnah (*infra* 3.84.3.3).

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. W. M. Black, *Bas Reliefs*, pls. 4-6. The deceased Ramesses I is depicted throughout these reliefs without the epithet *m^h hrr* or any other indication that he is dead.

⁵⁰⁰ Discussed by Johnson (1994), 133-144. He notes that neither epithet *m^h hrr* nor any other iconographical or textual mark is ever used to indicate that Amenhotep III was dead when these reliefs were carved, despite the fact that only a portion of the facade was laid out in paint during Amenhotep's lifetime.

scenes of Amenhotep III with both Tutankhamen and Ay at Luxor and Ramesses I with Seti I at Abydos.⁴⁰¹

Further evidence that the reliefs depicting Ramesses I on the top of the west wall and west gateway are posthumous comes from comparing them with others known to date to his lifetime, such as those on the interior surfaces of the Second Pylon's vestibule, which are clearly post-Amarna in manner (figs 3-4, *supra* 121). A similar post-Amarna style can be seen on his figure on the north side of a 'throne shrine' he had set up against the northeast end of the south tower of the Second Pylon.⁴⁰² By contrast, the reliefs from the west wall belong to the mature Ramesside style found in the rest of Seti's work in the Hall, at Abydos and Gurnah.⁴⁰³ They lack any features of the late post-Amarna style employed by Ramesses I or by Seti himself in the earliest years of his reign. The iconography of the west wall tableaux also differs from any contemporary with Ramesses' brief reign, for they show him stooped – a posture not observed in reliefs carved during his lifetime (figs 14 & 105). Finally, all the reliefs on the west wall were cut after those on the clerestory and north gateway, and none of them name Ramesses I. They must, therefore, date to several years after his death.

3.70.3.3 The Procedure Used to Decorate the Hall

In the past, the chronology of the decoration and construction of the Hall was considered complex and problematical because the assumption was made that the reliefs were carved from top to bottom simultaneously with the dressing of the walls and columns as the earthen embankments were removed.⁴⁰⁴ This was Seele's assumption, and he used it to bolster claims that Ramesses I commenced the decoration of the Hall during his brief reign and that Seti I took Ramesses II as coregent.⁴⁰⁵ This theory

⁴⁰¹ Cf. posthumous reliefs of Tutankhamen in decoration of Ay: Schaden (1984b), 44-64; Gabolde & Gabolde (1989), 127-178.

⁴⁰² *PIV*, 43 (149), Legrain, *Karnak*, 149-152.

⁴⁰³ Myslewicz, *Le portrait royal*, 96-104.

⁴⁰⁴ Seele, *Coregency* §17.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.* §§33-37 on reliefs portraying Ramesses I. Doubted by Murnane (1975, 70-71) and Ling (1992), 60, and now disproved by Murnane (1995c). On the notion that a scene from the bottom register of the north wall showing Seti and 'the king's son' of the starboard side is indicative of a coregency between Seti and Ramesses II, see Legrain, *Karnak*, 200-209, and *ibid.* Seele §40 & fig. 8. Murnane has disproved this

has produced chronological problems, and Seele was perplexed when he realized that if this method was in fact used, then tableaux on the south half of the west wall were being carved when it should have still been buried. His elaborate theory, that a system of earthen ramps was later erected to serve as scaffolding for the sculptors, is unconvincing.⁴⁰⁶ He also admits that the "stratification" of the reliefs on the south wall changes not from top to bottom, as he supposed it did in the north part of the Hall, but laterally, moving from west to east along the south wall.⁴⁰⁷

All these problems are illusory. A number of independent epigraphic features of the decoration indicate that the scenes on most of the interior surfaces of the Hall were laid out and carved only after the walls and columns were dressed, and that the earliest decoration was Seti's alone. Several aspects of the decoration seem consistent with the use of portable wooden scaffolding set up along one section of wall with each level of a section being carved and the scaffold then moved along to the next.

On the north gateway, the alteration of royal figures on two separate registers indicates that the sculptors had access to them at roughly the same time (fig. 101). Elsewhere in the Hall incised figures of Seti have not been reworked and hence must have been carved after the north gate, along with those featuring Ramesses I on the top of the west wall. The same is true of panels depicting Ramesses alternating with those of Seti on the jambs of the west gate, which likewise must date later than those on the north gateway. If the Hall was still largely buried and Ramesses I was only just beginning to decorate the upper register of the west wall at his death, as Seele argued, the pattern of decoration observable on the west gateway would be difficult to explain.⁴⁰⁸

It seems hard to deny that scaffolding was used on at least a few occasions during the Hall's history. Both Ramesses II and Ramesses IV usurped or made additions to many of the columns, and unless one believes the Egyptians flooded the building with earth each time a king

dea beyond all reasonable doubt. Murrane (1975), 156-158.

⁴⁰⁶ He had to admit that a different method for carving the reliefs must have been used in the south part of the Hall. Seele, *Cocregency*, §537, 119-125.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.* §120. An identical situation obtains on the south half of the east wall.

⁴⁰⁸ Unless one accepts Seele's highly implausible theory that turnets and shafts were sunk into the embankment to decorate individual portions of the walls.

decided to add or alter reliefs, one is forced to conclude that portable scaffolding was used.⁴⁰⁹

There is evidence that sculptors also used scaffolding in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor, a building similar in size and height to the Karnak Hypostyle. The Epigraphic Survey has shown that the decorative program was laid out in cartoon at one time under Tutankhamen, but that the sculptors proceeded from north to south and top to bottom as they carved the reliefs during the reigns of Tutankhamen and Seti I, with a hiatus under Ay and Horemheb.⁴¹⁰

Finally, definitive proof that scaffolding was used to decorate New Kingdom temples is forthcoming from Seti I's own Abydos temple. Baines has shown that several hands were simultaneously at work on different levels of one section of wall space in the Hall of Barques at Abydos before the project was abandoned.⁴¹¹ To this one might respond that the walls of the Hypostyle Hall were too high for wooden scaffolding. But at Abydos, Baines observed that border elements and friezes along the top of the wall were carved first, while scenes along the bottom, which did not require them, were completed before others that did,⁴¹² and some epigraphic features of the reliefs on the south half of the west wall of the Karnak Hypostyle suggest that a similar procedure was used there. Here Seti completed a frieze above the large presentation scene on the south tower and three of the five vignettes below it.⁴¹³

It is clear from the three periods of Ramesses II's decoration in the south half of the building (R-R') that the sculptors were working laterally along the walls and not top to bottom (*supra* 1.4.7). Seale admitted as much but tried to solve the problem by advancing a cumbersome theory, involving ramps and even tunnels that he himself found deficient.⁴¹⁴

The clerestory in the great Hall seems to have been the one area decorated while the edifice was still under the construction embank-

⁴⁰⁹ Legrain, *Karnak*, 181-82, was an early proponent of the notion that wooden scaffolding was used to decorate the Hall after the construction embankments were removed and the walls dressed.

⁴¹⁰ Epigraphic Survey, *Opet*, xvii, xix.

⁴¹¹ Baines *et al.* (1989), 24-28.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴¹³ *GHK* 1.1, pls. 7 (top), 31-33.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. Seale, *Coregency*, §120-125 & figs. 17A, B; Murnane (1975), 169; figs. 11-12.

ments (plans 2-3). Its reliefs were completed before any of those on the walls and columns below, as the conventional erect stance of the figures of Seti on the north aisle indicate (figs. 95-96). Clearly, the recut figures of Seti we see on the north gateway would have had to have been done subsequently before any other part of the Hall had been sculpted (*supra* 3.70.3.1). But what of the bowing figures on the southern piers of the clerestory (fig. 97)? Field observations conducted by members of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project with the aid of binoculars have failed to reveal any evidence that these had ever been recut before Ramesses II transformed them into sunk relief. Seti never altered them as he had those on the north gateway, so they must have been shown bowing when they were first carved. Perhaps when the decoration was planned, the intention was to show a mix of erect and bowing royal figures.⁴⁵

If such was the original intent on the north gateway, it could explain why only some figures on this portal exhibit drastic recutting. On the west interior jamb of the north gate, the king leans forward, but there is no evidence of recutting, so it must have been sculpted in this way initially.⁴⁶ Apparently then, the original decorative program featured bowing figures on the west jamb and erect ones on the east. When the scheme was abandoned, the panels on the east jamb were reworked.

3.70.3.4 Epigraphic Evidence for the Date of the Architecture

Various scholars have put forth evidence for dating the Hypostyle Hall to the reigns of Horemheb and/or Ramesses I based on the latter's presence in a handful of scenes on the west wall (*supra* 3.70.3.2).⁴⁷ As we have seen, however, there is strong evidence that these vignettes are posthumous. It has also been claimed that the north half of the structure

⁴⁵ Such a plan seems to have remained in effect at Abydos, where scenes with the king bowing were interspersed with some erect ones. Cf. *Thutmosis IV: Pa.sen*.

⁴⁶ Observation in the field has yielded no evidence of recutting on the preserved portions of Seti's figure in these tableaux. See *Plans* KB 280a-d, *CHIA* I, pls. 83-84. While only his head is preserved at KB 280b-d and merely the lower part of his forward leg and foot at KB 280a, both of these would exhibit traces of recutting if their poses had ever been reworked. Likewise the deities in these scenes show no cosmetic adjustments. Cf. the reworked scenes on the east jamb and thickness of the north gate *CHIA* I, pl. 87 & Epigraphic Survey *Batue Reliefs* 73-75 & pls. 20-21.

⁴⁷ See, e.g., Coregency § 37, *Basilikale Anlagen*, 43-44, 50-51.

was built by Seti and the south half by Ramesses II.⁴⁸ In fact, Seti originally decorated the entire clerestory, the abaci and the architraves surmounting the great columns (plans 2-3). Therefore, he must have also been responsible for their erection. Furthermore, since his decoration extends to the architraves of the first two rows of columns in the southern half of the building, the southern row of which support the crucial juncture of two perpendicularly arranged series of architraves resting on their abaci,⁴⁹ it would seem most logical to conclude that the entire Hall was erected at one time, and at the very least completed under Seti I if not initiated by him.

3.70.3.5 Chronology of the Relief Decoration under Seti I

From the evidence, the probable chronology of the decoration of the Hall can be reconstructed as follows. The architects intended to dress the walls and columns in a separate operation before inscribing them. When all the blocks had been set in place and the elements of the roof and clerestory were being dressed, they decided to decorate the interior and exterior surfaces of the clerestory as well as the architraves and abaci surmounting the twelve great columns before further removing the construction embankments (plans 2-3). This would have made sense for two reasons. Beyond the obvious factor that the height involved was particularly great, some 25 meters, the builders also recognized that maneuvering wooden scaffolding around the wide umbels of the twelve great columns would have been tricky at best. Far better to sculpt the flat surfaces of the clerestory and the abaci of the great columns as they were dressed while the Hall was still conveniently buried under the earthen embankments used to construct it. This would explain the vertical demarcation between Seti's decoration of the clerestory and the abaci of the great columns and that of Ramesses I, on the capitals and shafts of the great columns (plan 2-3). Presumably the sculptors never got around to decorating them in relief before Seti's activity in the Hall ceased. The architraves surmounting them, as well as those over the first

⁴⁸ Lauffray *et al.* (1980). 9 argues that a slight difference in height (36 cm) between the northern and southern halves of the clerestory occurred because the two halves of the Hall were built separately. Neither the epigraphic nor the archaeological evidence supports this notion.

⁴⁹ Clarke & Engelbach (1990). 152. Arnold (1991). 27 & fig. 4.33.

two rows of small columns to the south, were decorated by Seti I. In fact, these six north-south architraves in the center of the Hall, which run east-west along its main axis, are inscribed with a series of dedication texts apparently composed as a set.⁴⁰ Perhaps Seti wished to have these texts executed as soon as possible, certainly the task of inscribing them was given a high priority.⁴¹ Thus the architraves over the four central rows of small columns were perhaps among the earliest parts of the Hall to be sculpted once the walls had been dressed, if indeed their decoration was not concurrent with the clerestory's.

By the time Seti's active participation in the decoration of the Hypostyle Hall had ceased, his reliefs encompassed the entire north wall, as well as the north halves of both the east and west walls, and had begun to spill over into the south half of the west wall and the south half of the vestibule of the Third Pylon (plan 1). He had also inscribed all of the smaller columns in the northern half, but none farther south. The earliest reliefs detectable on the shafts and capitals of the great central columns are in raised relief and bear the earlier form of Ramesses II's prenomen (R'). It seems clear that the wall scenes of Seti in the south half of the building were laid out by the draftsmen immediately before they were sculpted. Thus, on the west face of the south corner of the vestibule of the Third Pylon, all the scenes show the king bowing. Some of these had been first carved by Seti and usurped by Ramesses II, while others were first sculpted by Ramesses.⁴² On the adjacent, south face of the corner, three of the four scenes show the king bowing, while a fourth does not.⁴³ All these were first carved under Ramesses. Other reliefs of Ramesses II on the south wing of the Third Pylon show him upright in every case.⁴⁴ All this suggests that in the process of decorating the wall surfaces, the draftsmen were working one step ahead of the sculptors.

⁴⁰ Rondot, *Architraves*, 149-151.

⁴¹ This impression is also shared by Vincent Rondot. Personal communication.

⁴² *GHHK* I 1, pls. 117-121.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pls. 112-116.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pls. 88-112.

3.70.3.6 Painted Cartoons of Seti I Carved by Ramesses II

We have seen that the method for decorating buildings like the Karnak Hypostyle involved laying the tableaux out as painted cartoons first, then sculpting them in relief. Evidence from the Hall of Barques in Seti's Abydos temple indicates that such designs were sometimes finished in polychrome (fig. 88). Most extant cartoons are in black and red paint. In the tombs of Horemheb and Seti I, red paint indicates the basic layout and proportions of a scene, which was subsequently refined and corrected with black paint. The corrected version then served directly as a guide for the sculptors.⁴⁵

Why, then, were polychrome cartoons sometimes employed? Creating bas-reliefs was time-consuming. The Abydos temple and the Hypostyle Hall were only decorated after the walls had been fully dressed and the edifice disencumbered of its construction embankments. Once this was done, the building would have been functional, structurally. One gets the impression that pharaohs were often impatient to finish their large ceremonial monuments, but without their decoration, they remained incomplete. It has often been suggested that sunk relief was used by Akhenaten and Ramesses II in order to complete projects as quickly as possible.⁴⁶ The painstaking care Seti lavished on his exquisite raised relief has often been contrasted with his son's typically crude and quickly-executed sunk relief. Perhaps Ramesses' motivation in changing styles was to avoid the same misfortune that befell his father, who left large portions of his buildings undecorated.

In his study of the Hall of Barques at Seti's Abydos temple, Baines contrasts the careful laying out of the polychrome cartoons under Seti with the rapidity with which Ramesses converted them into sunk relief.⁴⁷ Given the amount of time it took to complete raised reliefs,

⁴⁵ Hornung (1990b), 72, cf. 80-81, figs. 50-52 & 55.

⁴⁶ Seele believed that Ramesses was influenced by a school of sculpture that preferred sunk relief to raised relief (*Conquest*, § 29). This seems unlikely: it is more plausible that speed was the motivating factor. In a similar way, Akhenaten's use of talatat was surely prompted by the ease with which these small blocks could be carried by a single man, thus speeding up construction. Witness the large buildings that Akhenaten threw up in his first years at Karnak, and the entire city of Akhetaten constructed in only a few years. So too the hastily executed sunk reliefs on his Karnak temples. Donald Redford, by personal communication.

⁴⁷ Baines (1984), 28.

polychrome murals could have been used to make these rooms fully functional if not wholly complete. Could not the same situation have obtained at Karnak?

As noted earlier, Ramesses II discontinued the practice of having his figure portrayed bowing in ritual episodes very early in his reign, and in many of the vignettes in the south half of the Hall where he bends forward, he does so for practical reasons or because there was an ancient precedent for doing so out of reverence in a particular ritual (*supra* 124). There is also an anomalous cluster of tableaux featuring him bowing for such purely honorific reasons on the south gateway. These were probably laid out under Seti I (figs. 18 & 106).⁴²⁸

Nearly all of the scenes on the large columns on the east-west axis and many of the smaller ones throughout much of the southern half of the Hall again show Ramesses bowing for purely honorific reasons. What is even more revealing is that when one plots the locations of the column scenes in which Ramesses does not bow, it becomes apparent that two of the four areas are adjacent to wall surfaces that were in the process of being sculpted at the end of Seti's reign, namely the columns near the south corner of the vestibule of the Third Pylon and those adjacent to the large panel on the south half of the west wall. The only other group of columns that do not show the king bowing are found in the two southernmost rows of smaller columns in the Hall, exclusive of the two columns lying along the north-south axis. As for the Ramesses II reliefs on these columns, one finds that they date to all three phases of his retool work in the Hall. Furthermore, as Seele first pointed out, work in R is concentrated on the two rows of great columns, on the first row of smaller columns to the south of these and on the columns adjoining the north-south axis of the Hall. From this it is apparent that completion of the decoration of the north-south axis was a priority early in Ramesses' reign. It is also the case that all the columns decorated

⁴²⁸ In support of this it should be noted that during the 1995 season, members of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project discovered that Seti I was originally featured in two of the six scenes, the middle register of both jambs, on the exterior jambs of the south gateway. These reliefs were first carved during Ramesses II's R phase of decoration. Presumably these had been laid out in paint by Seti but never carved before his death. In having them carved, Ramesses posthumously honored Seti on the middle registers. Cf. Seti's memorials to Ramesses I on the west wall (*supra* 320-32). Later, he converted them to sunk relief, R¹ replacing his father's cartouches with his own.

with vignettes in which the pharaoh stands erect were first executed in R³

From this evidence, we may conclude that many of the columns in the southern portion of the Hall had been laid out in paint before Ramesses II abandoned the use of bowing figures early in his reign. Furthermore, since Seti managed to carve the decoration of the abaci of the two rows of great columns, as well as all the architraves in the Hall as far south as the north face of the architraves surmounting the first row of small columns to the south of the great ones, he obviously had a claim on the decoration in this portion of the Hall. It is likely that before he died Seti's draftsmen had managed to complete the layout of the two rows of great columns, the columns adjoining the north-south axis in the southern half of the Hall, the interior and exterior surfaces of the south gateway, and most of the other small columns in the southern portion of the Hall except for those in the two southernmost rows and a handful of others that lay adjacent to wall surfaces that were being sculpted at the very end of the king's reign. It is also possible that at least some of these areas were completed in polychrome paint, especially along the two main processional axes through the building that were central to its function as a venue for religious festivals and ceremonies.

3.70.4 Summary and Conclusions: Chronology of the Decoration of the Hall under Seti I

It has been established that the reliefs on the walls and columns were not carved until they had been dressed and that some kind of portable scaffolding was used to give access to the upper reaches of the walls. Further, the earliest decoration has been shown to date to the latter half of Seti I's reign, the scenes of Ramesses I being posthumous memorials executed by Seti.

3.70.4.1 Summary of the Chronology of the Decorative Process

- The construction of the building was completed with all architectural elements in place. With the Hall entirely filled with earth, the walls and columns were dressed as the embankments were gradually removed.
- When the base of the clerestory was reached, it was decided to lay out and sculpt the decoration on its interior surfaces, on the abaci of the twelve great columns, and on the architraves surmounting the great

columns, along with the cornice and perhaps the architraves surmounting the first two rows of smaller columns on either side that support the clerestory. This operation would have saved the trouble of having to maneuver scaffolding around the giant capitals of the great columns.

All the original decoration of the clerestory was done for Seti. The presence of royal figures with inclined torsos on the piers between the window grilles on the south aisle of the clerestory and of erect ones on the north side suggests that this was the earliest decoration to be carved. Although the figures on the south side were usurped by Ramesses in sunk relief, there is no evidence he ever altered their poses. Unlike figures on the north gateway, the erect ones on the north aisle of the clerestory were never converted into bowing ones, presumably because it was considered too much trouble to put scaffolding up for this operation while so many undecorated surfaces yet remained.

- After the walls and columns had been dressed, layout of the decorative program in cartoon began. A system of portable wooden scaffolding was devised to allow the draftsmen to lay out the first tableaux in paint and for the sculptors to carve them.

- The first area of the building to be inscribed after the clerestory was the north gateway. The decorative scheme on its interior and exterior surfaces was laid out and sculpted. At this point, the program included a mix of scenes juxtaposing bowing and erect figures of the ruler.

- Before work had proceeded to the adjacent walls, however, it was decided to portray all his figures with inclined torsos. The sculptors were called back to the north gateway to modify the panels in which he did not already bow. Most of these went through two or more revisions before his pose was deemed satisfactory. Minor cosmetic adjustments to the divine figures were also made in many instances. This retouching was presumably contemporary with the first alterations.

- Cosmetic adjustments of both royal and divine figures are found in many of the reliefs on the north wall. Although none of these modifications were on a scale equivalent to the drastic reworking of royal images on the north gateway, they may reflect the "growing pains" of the sculptors as they undertook this huge new project. Most of these alterations are found on both the east and west half of the north wall, but they are most common on the scenes directly east of the north gateway.

- By contrast to the north wall, the east and west walls are relatively free of recutting. Presumably when the sculptors reached these areas,

they had refined their techniques and hence made fewer mistakes. Similarly, the decoration of the columns shows few signs of revision, suggesting that sculpting of these episodes only began in earnest after much of the north wall had been completed.

- Towards the end of Seti's reign, work had begun to spill into the southern portion of the Hall. His workmen had completed much of the south vestibule of the Third Pylon and reached the west face of the corner when he died. The draftsmen had managed to lay out all the scenes on the west face of the corner and the three lower registers on the south face before the work was interrupted by his death. On the south half of the west wall, several tableaux had been completed by then.

- Seti's artisans had completed work on all the small columns in the north part of the Hall, but they never laid a chisel to the great columns or any others in the south half during his lifetime. Yet the draftsmen had laid out the cartoons on these columns and probably on most of the smaller columns in the south part of the edifice as well, particularly those facing the north-south axis. The south gateway also seems to have been laid out before he died. The work along these axes, at least, may have been laid out in polychrome. In this state, they were functionally complete and the time-consuming process of converting them into relief could await completion of the wall reliefs. After the smaller columns in the north wing had been carved, priority was apparently given to sculpting the wall surfaces in the south portion.

3.70.4.2

Conclusions

It is apparent that Seti I built the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak Temple as a single unit between the Third Pylon of Amenhotep III and the Second Pylon of Horemheb. There is no evidence for the outmoded theory that the central row of great columns once constituted part of a colonnade built prior to Seti's reign on the model of Luxor Temple. In fact, Chevrier found that a canal existed immediately west of the Third Pylon on the future site of the Hall. This canal may be the one portrayed in a mural from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49) dating to Ay's reign. Excavations of the foundations have failed to show credible evidence for such a colonnade, and foundations of fired brick under the great columns on the main axis belong to modern repairs conducted early in the twentieth century or in the Greco-Roman era.

The earliest decoration of the Hall dates not to the reign of Ramesses I, as Seele and others believed, but to Seti I's. Reliefs portraying Ramesses I on the west wall and gateway are certainly posthumous, leaving no evidence for his participation in the construction or decoration of the Hall. In fact, his two throne shrines, set at the innermost edges of the Second Pylon's east face, make best sense if we conclude they were erected before the Hypostyle Hall had been conceived. Although construction could have begun as early as the latest part of Horemheb's reign, it was probably Seti I who inaugurated this, one of the most ambitious of building projects Egypt had seen since the pyramid age. His decoration of the entire clerestory, and of the abaci and architraves of the six central rows of columns, shows that construction of the entire structure must have been completed during his reign.

Seti's influence on the decorative program likely extended much farther into the southern portion in the Hall than was previously thought. He seems to have laid out cartoons on many of the columns in the south wing and on the south gateway. The application of extensive decoration in polychrome paint as a temporary substitute for relief would explain two curious anomalies: his reliefs break off neatly with the southernmost row of small columns in the north half of the Hall, and he never carved the twelve great columns lying along the important east-west axis in relief. After his accession, Ramesses II both completed the decoration and usurped many of his father's reliefs in it. Consequently, he has often been given credit for what was fundamentally the achievement of his father Seti I.

Karnak Stelae of Seti I


3.71 Karnak, Alabaster Stela, Year One (Cairo CG 34501)

PM II 135; AR 1, 38-39, §19; RI 1 1-31, 32, §19; RI 135 1-43, 45, §19 (fig. 108)

This once magnificent stela is made of a single block of white calcium carbonate. Found in the *Cour de la Cachette*, it is dated to II *Shr* I in Seti's first regnal year, and comes some two months or so after his accession. (It is set on III *smw* 24 (*infra* 4.2.2).) The text states that it was erected "opposite the Mansion of the Prince" at the Place of Appearances of the Incarnation of Re.⁴²⁰ According to Barguet, this location was a rooftop

⁴²⁰ For a new translation and commentary see Davies (1997), 257-262.

shrine that served as the principal sanctuary of Re in Karnak, where the morning form of the sun god appeared,⁴⁰ and was accessed by a stairway near the north-east corner of the main temple. Kitchen posits that the stela may have been decreed while Seti was in Thebes overseeing his father's burial.

The scene on the Lunette has the king standing face to face with Amen-Re, who grasps one of his hands. Behind the god stands his consort Mut, who holds a *wls*-scepter extended behind Amen to the king. From this dangles a *hb-sd* group that the king cups in his free hand. Behind him, Khonsu stands on a -penth. The upper part of the lunette is missing, taking with it the titularies of the figures and their headdresses. The king is garbed in a long pleated ceremonial robe and coiffed with a long military wig surmounted by a pair of long ram's horns, which are only partially preserved.

The spaces for the figures were uniformly-cut depressions in outline form designed to receive inlays of colored paste. This would have consisted of colored glass and perhaps semiprecious stones. Fine semiprecious inlay of a similar type is known from Seti's reign.⁴¹ Traces of cement which held the inlay in place may be found on parts of the four male figures, most extensively on the head and upper torso of Khonsu. Four small holes along the bottom of the lunette probably held gold sheeting in place over the scene as a background for the inlaid figures.

In contrast to the presumed fineness of the inlays on the lunette, the text was rendered in shallow etching on the carefully finished alabaster surface. This etching would have received blue colored paste that was used on similar stelae.⁴² With its gilding, polychrome inlay of semiprecious stone and glass and colored paste set against the milky white background of fine calcite, the stela must once have been magnificent.

⁴⁰ Barguet, *temple*, 276, n.5.

⁴¹ An exquisite red jasper inlay of the king's face in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston has been dated to Seti's reign on stylistic grounds. The shape of the hair line, which suggests the king was wearing the long military wig first adopted in the Nineteenth Dynasty, would tend to confirm this. W. S. Smith (1960), 44 & fig. 93.

⁴² A granite stela of Psamtek II at Karnak has a substantial amount of paste still adhering to the carved glyphs.

3.72 Karnak, Ptah Temple Stela of Seti I, Year One

PM III² 198 (8), *KRI* I, 40-41, §20, *RIFT* I, 32-33, §20, *RITAC* I, 45, §20: (figs. 107 & 109)

Only the upper half or so of this sandstone stela is preserved. The round-topped lunette has a double scene. On the right, Seti, followed by the goddess Hathor, offers *ms'* to Ptah who stands in a shrine (fig. 107), while on the left, the sovereign offers two *mw*-jars to Amen-Re and Mut (fig. 109). A winged sun disk hovers above the vignettes. The composition of the two panels is not symmetrical and the quality of the bas relief is rather mediocre. The figures of both Amen and pharaoh have the narrow shoulders that are often characteristic of proportions for male figures in the post-Amarna era, which tends to confirm Legrain's reading of a now missing fragment as from year one.⁴¹¹ Otherwise, the reliefs are virtually astylistic.

3.73 Karnak, Fragmentary Stela of Seti I (?)

D. B. Redford, *Orientalia* 55 (1986), 2-3, fig. 1, *ARI* VII, 8, §182

This once large stela has been reduced to only a handful of small fragments.⁴¹² It was unearthed in chapel J in the north-east quadrant of the precinct of Amen at Karnak.⁴¹³ Although none of Seti's names and titles occur in the preserved inscription according to Redford the phraseology of the rhetorical text is typical of Seti I's. It seems to have been a rhetorical treatment of his military exploits in Asia.⁴¹⁴

3.74 Karnak, Blocks Reused in the Temple of Khonsu

These sandstone blocks were reused in the lowest course of stone in the pylon of the Khonsu temple. The decoration is cut in sunk relief. The first block has two *Tw-n-nwt* f-priests standing to either side of a heraldic device giving the royal titulary. In the middle are two *serekhs* with variants of Seti's Horus name *K3 nht s'nh T3w* on the left and *K3 nht*


⁴¹¹ Robins (1994), 52 & figs. 6.41 & 6.47. See Davies (1997), 41-46 for a new translation and commentary.

⁴¹² Redford (1986a), 2-3, fig. 1.

⁴¹³ PM III² 203-204.

⁴¹⁴ The places referred to are very generalized. Redford (1986a), 2-3.

h' m Wist on the right. Flanking these are two lines of text, on the left it reads "words spoken by the *Twn-mwt f*-priest twice purifying king Menmaatre given life," on the right "words spoken by the *Twn-mwt f*-priest twice purifying the son of Re, lord of crowns, Seti-Merenptah given life."

Possibly related to this block are two others to either side of it bearing a frieze of *'nh* and *w ss*-signs surmounting -baskets. Above the frieze on one are two lines of text giving the names and titles of Amen-Re, Mut and Khonsu as part of a stereotyped text that once included a royal titulary.⁴³⁷ The fine cutting of the relief on these last two blocks and their paleography are consistent with the reign of Seti I, although another Ramesside date cannot be ruled out: it is not clear from which building these blocks came. Kitchen published the text of yet another block built into the pylon of Khonsu temple bearing his cartouches. He suggests that it may have derived from a statue base, but this is by no means certain.⁴³⁸

Karnak Statuary of Seti I

3.75 Karnak, Alabaster Statue of Seti I (Cairo CG 42139)

PALL. 40, c; G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes II* 1-4, pl. 1; J. Vandier, *Mémoires* 3, 190, pl. 125/4; M. Saleh & H. Sourouzzian, *Official Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, cat. 201; E. R. Rissmann, *Egyptian Sculpture—Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), cat. 67, 46-48; H. Sourouzzian, *MIFA* 49 (1993), 244-246, pl. 45; *ARL* 1, 2, 2, §85a; *RITA* I, 183-184, §85a; *RITANC* I, 137, §85a.

This magnificent composite statue consists of six pieces of calcite joined together.⁴³⁹ Separate appliques of various precious and semiprecious materials would have been added to ornament the statue. These probably included a *netes*-headdress, inlays for the eyes and eyebrows, a broad collar, sandals, a plaited kilt and an apron.⁴⁴⁰ The statue rested on a separate base, supported by a back pillar. This dorsal pillar and a p.l.nth joining the two legs are inscribed with texts of Seti I.

⁴³⁷ The verb *mry* and the formula *di 'nh ml R'* occurs after the names and epithets of the deities.

⁴³⁸ *ARL* I, 415, §177; *RITA* I, 342, end, §177; *RITANC* I, 305, §177.

⁴³⁹ Legrain, *Statues et statuettes II*, 1-4, pl. 1.

⁴⁴⁰ Saleh & Sourouzzian (1987), cat. 201.

Although the statue has been ascribed to an earlier post Amarna pharaoh (*supra* 371),⁴⁴¹ Sourouzian has shown that it is stylistically consistent with the earliest sculpture of Seti I.⁴⁴² Legrain's assessment is based on the somewhat crude nature of the inscriptions. The paleography is identical to that of the Karnak Alabaster Stele (*supra* 371) of year one, as is the carving. The jagged etching was meant to hold colored paste or paint. Blackened pigment—perhaps once blue—clings to inscriptions on the upper surface of the base. Like the Alabaster stele, the statue must have been strikingly beautiful in its original state. It probably served as an official cult statue of the ruler at Karnak and would have been dedicated early in his reign, perhaps during the first year.

3.76 Karnak, Group Statue of Amen, Mut & Seti I (Cairo CG 39210 + 927)

PM II, 127 & Daressy, *Statues des divinités* I, 299-300; L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, 58-59 & n. 1 (Cairo CG 927); A. el-Ma'arouf, *Cahiers de Karnak* 8 (Paris, 1987), 74-177, pl. 4; H. Sourouzian, *MJA* 54 (1998), 279-281 & pls. 40-41; idem, *BSPF* 144 (1999), pls. 40-41; *ARI* I, 2-2, 213, §85b; *RIF* I, 184, §85b; *RIFANC* I, 137, §85b.

This statue was long known from two separate fragments that were eventually united.⁴⁴³ Three new fragments belonging to it were unearthed in 1985 in the *th min* in Karnak. Fortunately, two of these fit in some of the lacunae in the text on the back pillar.⁴⁴⁴ More recently, Sourouzian has found an additional fragment in the Louvre preserving Amen's face and has reassembled the known fragments in Cairo, including a cast of the Louvre face.⁴⁴⁵

The statue group in black granodiorite represents Amen-Re and Mut seated on a double throne with a much smaller figure of the king

⁴⁴¹ Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* II, 4. He bases this on the poor quality of the inscriptions as compared to the magnificent workmanship of the statue. The paleography of the inscriptions on the king's fine Alabaster Stele of year one is identical to CG 42139 as is the carving. Russmann (1989), 48, suggested that CG 42139 may have been begun for Ramesses I.

⁴⁴² Sourouzian (1993), 244-246.

⁴⁴³ Daressy, *Statues des divinités* I, 299-300 (=Cairo CG 39210); Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 158-159 & n. 1 (=Cairo CG 927).

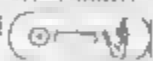


⁴⁴⁴ Ma'arouf (1987), 174-177, 187 & pl. 4.

⁴⁴⁵ Sourouzian (1998), 271-281 & pls. 40-41.

standing between their legs. The back pillar contains a long inscription referring to the "benefactions," *šhw*, the sovereign had made on behalf of Amen-Re. The final part of the text states that he "has made mighty monuments of beautiful black granite." This text is not the *tr n f m mhw f* formula, since part of this formula is inscribed on one of the new fragments near the top of the final line of the inscription.⁴⁴⁶ Sourouzian notes the similarity between this statement and that of the two year nine stela from Aswan (*infra* 3.120 & 3.121), describing the production of numerous "great statues in black granite," which suggests that the statue group may have come from late in the reign.⁴⁴⁷ The relative paucity of Seti I statuary tends to confirm her hypothesis.

3.77 Karnak, Group Statue of Amen & Mut (Cairo CG 39211)

PM II 285 G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, 300, pl. 56. B. Horneman, *Types* 5, pl. 1208. AR 11 2.3 §85c. RITA 1 84 §85c. RITA 1 137 §85c (fig. 2).

This well preserved black granodiorite dyad lacks only the plumes of Amen-Re's crown and the tip of Mut's nose (fig. 112).⁴⁴⁸ The only texts on the statue are the nomen and prenomen cartouches of Seti I inscribed on the front of the double throne. Daressy believed that the prenomen cartouche had been usurped from Amenhotep III and that the name of Amen had been restored in the epithet *mr ymn*. This seems unlikely, for one would expect the whole statue to have been smashed during the Amarna period. Stylistically the piece does not resemble known statuary of Amenhotep III. Finally there is the orthography of Seti's prenomen. It is arranged . If the cartouche had been usurped from Amenhotep III's *Nb-m'rt-R*, one would expect that only the  sign would have been added over the -basket. The latter is almost always found on the bottom of Amenhotep III's cartouche.⁴⁴⁹

The faces of the two deities are unlike other sculpture in the round of Seti I made in black granodiorite, which tend to be in the mature

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 176, line 7 & 177, larger new fragment.

⁴⁴⁷ Sourouzian (1993): 246. So confirmed by the Louvre face: idem (1998): 281.


⁴⁴⁸ G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités* 1: 300, pl. 56. Horneman, *Types* 5, pl. 1208. In Daressy's pl. 56, it is wrongly labeled Cairo CG 39210.

⁴⁴⁹ An exception is the Arabastere Barque Chapel of Thutmose IV that was finished early in the reign of Amenhotep III. PM II 71-72. Brvan 199, p. 71-174.

Ramesseide style favored in the later part of the reign⁴⁵⁰ In fact, the heads of Amen and Mut do not match each other, even if one takes into account the differences in gender

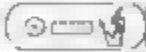

The face of Amen is tall with steeply rising cheeks—unlike the broad oval face and pronounced cheeks of Seti's later statuary The eyes are asymmetrical and narrow with hooded lids The brows are modeled with a sharp ridge and there is a crease between the brow and upper lid The largely broken nose is fairly wide The mouth lacks the traditional Ramesseide smile, its upper lip being thicker, with a downward projecting bulge in the midline Creases at the corners of the lips are continuations of shallow nasal-labial folds

Mut's face is neither as deep as Amen's nor as round and broad as Seti's later sculpture in the round The nose is broken, along with all but the lower rim of the right eye The left eye is slightly tilted, with an undulating lower line and an incised double line for the eyebrow The mouth has depressions at the corners but the line where the lips part is flat, as on Amen's head, but without the bulge at the midline

Overall the quality of the workmanship is only fair, unlike the high quality of the later statuary CG 39211 also lacks stylistic affinities with Seti's later work These facts, taken together with the variant prenomen cartouche and the simple, unorthodox form of the nomen , suggest a date early in his reign

3.78 Karnak, Group Statue of Amen & Mut (Cairo CG 39212)

PM II 285 G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités* 1, 306, AR 11 2-4 §85d, RI 4 I §85, §85d, RIFANC I, 137, §85c

Only the lower portion of this black granodiorite statue is preserved⁴ Its width is nearly identical to Cairo CG 39211 and it is likely that the two are pendants The orthography of Seti's cartouches on the statue tends to confirm this The prenomen is again written  while the nomen *Sty-mr-pt* is spelled with  The unorthodox form of the cartouches again suggests an early date for the piece (*supra* 1.4.5) While Cairo CG 39211 and 39212 are likely pendants, Cairo CG 39210

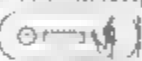
⁴⁵⁰ Cf. Cairo CG 75 (*supra* 3.58), CG 39210 (previous entry), and sculpture from Abydos (*supra* 3.48-3.51).

⁴⁵¹ Daressy, *Statues de divinités* 1, 300. No photo is provided

is apparently unrelated to them and dates to later in the reign. The exact provenance of Cairo CG 39211 & 39212 within Karnak is unclear.

3.79 Karnak, Statue Head of Amen

H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 246, pl. 46a; (figs. 114-115).

Discovered in 1982 south of the granite sanctuary in Karnak, this inscribed head of Amen-Re bears a striking resemblance to two limestone heads from the Ptah chapel of Seti I at Mit Rahineh (fig. 114-115). Like the two Memphite heads, it features hooded, almond-shaped eyes⁴⁵ with a modeled brow, and a similar treatment of the mouth with slightly puffy cheeks and triangular grooves at the corners of the mouth, forming a slight smile that became characteristic of Nineteenth Dynasty royal statuary.⁴⁶ All three heads are oval in form. The similarity between them suggests a point early in Seti's reign as the most likely date for the Karnak head.⁴⁷ Part of the dorsal pillar inscription bears his protocol. This inscription includes the prenomen cartouche of the king written . Here again, this orthography of the prenomen is linked to a date early in the reign based on the post-Amarna style of the head.

3.80 Karnak, Sphinx in the Name of Seti I (Late Period?)

PM II*, 143, G. Legrain — *gypt Exploration Fund 1904-1905 Archaeological Report* (London, 1905), 24. *AHI* 1, 214, §262c. *RITA* I, 185 §262c. *RHAC* I, 137, §262c.

Legrain attributed this piece to the Late Period, but it is inscribed for Seti I. To date, only its texts have been adequately published. It is said to have come from the *cour de la cachette*. Its present location is unknown.

⁴⁵ As defined by Balthmer (1990), 89, figs. 7 & 9.

⁴⁶ Alfred (1980), 189.

⁴⁷ Although it could have been made under Ramesses I, a date earlier (i.e. under Horemheb) or later (under Ramesses II) may be excluded, judging from known stylistic criteria for their statuary.

3.81 Karnak, Statue Base of Seti I

PM II², 24; H. Chevrier, *ASAE* 31 (1931), 83

The present location of this piece is unknown. According to Chevrier, it joins with another fragment belonging to the lower part of the statue, but no further details were ever published.

3.82 Karnak, Precinct of Monthu, *Smt-Ttuy* Stela of Seti I

PM II² 9; A. Vanille, *Karnak* 1, *FIFAO* 19 (Cairo, 1943), 19, pl. 49

A piece described by the excavator as a stela was found broken into several pieces.⁴⁵ Its design features two fecundity figures performing the *smt-Ttuy* ritual. Above this is a heraldic device featuring Seti's cartouches flanked by winged uraei. Two separate groups of fragments bear part of the king's Horus name and a lintel decorated with hawks protecting his cartouches. Part of a torus molding remains which would have had a cavetto cornice above it. The piece may have served as a stela or perhaps as a decorative element of stone fitted into a mud brick building.

3.83 Karnak, Precinct of Monthu, Bases of Colossi of Seti I

PM II² 1 (10-11); R. Robichon & L. Christophe, *Karnak Nord 3*, *FIFAO* 23 (Cairo, 1951), 10-12, fig. 2, pl. 47

These granite bases apparently served as pedestals for two granite colossi.⁴⁶ They were installed by Seti in front of a gateway built into the south side of the temenos wall of the Monthu complex leading to the temple of Maat at north Karnak, and were later usurped by Ramesses III and IV.

⁴⁵ Vanille (1943) 19, pl. 49

⁴⁶ Robichon & Christophe (1951), 10-12, fig. 2, pl. 47

THEBES/WEST BANK

3.84 Gurnah, Memorial Temple of Seti I



The temple and its precincts

PM I 420-42. R. Stadelmann, *MDAIA* 28.2 (1977), 293-299 & pls. 68-70. idem, *MDAIA* 31.2 (1975), 353-356 & pls. 108-109. idem, *MDAIA* 33 (1977), 125-131 & pls. 39-43. J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos I in Gurna: die Reliefs und Inschriften* (Mainz, 1977). R. Stadelmann & K. Mysawiec, *MDAIA* 38 (1982), 395-405 & pls. 95-101. K. Mysawiec, *Der Tempel Sethos I in Gurna: Die Funde* (Mainz, 1987). R. Stadelmann in *Fragments* 251-269 (plans 4-8); (figs. 21, 113, 116-131 & 139).

3.84.1 Architectural Conception

Seti deliberately chose a site immediately opposite the main sanctuary of Amen-Re at Karnak for his memorial temple: the site of the modern village of Gurnah. In antiquity this locale was known as *hft-hr nbw* "opposite its lord," a reference to the placement of the temple directly opposite the Karnak precinct of Amen-Re.⁴⁵⁷ It was located on the processional route from Karnak to the memorial temples of Nebhepetre-Monthotep II and Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, the latter being the primary venue for celebration of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, the second-most important feast in the Theban calendar. A canal terminating at the front of the Gurnah Temple allowed the great barges of the Theban triad, led by the huge barque *Userhat-Amen*, to reach the edge of the western desert from Karnak.⁴⁵⁸

Having chosen a prestigious site, Seti planned a large memorial complex focused on a building of innovative design. Fortunately, it is one of the best preserved in all of Thebes, allowing for close study and in 1970, the German Institute of Archaeology began a major archaeological and epigraphic survey at the site.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁷ Otto (1932), 56; Stadelmann (1978), 174-178, especially 175, n. 42.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., Stadelmann, 177-178.

⁴⁵⁹ Stadelmann (1982), 293-299 & pls. 68-70. Subsequent reports can be found in idem (1975), 353-356 & pls. 108-109; idem (1977), 125-131 & pls. 39-43; Stadelmann & (1982), 395-405 & pls. 95-101.

The main building was laid out along the classic tripartite design of Theban memorial temples, with a back portion housing the inner cult rooms, preceded by two open courts fronted by mud brick pylon gateways and enclosed by side walls.⁴⁶⁰ The whole complex was surrounded by a massive series of enclosure walls of mud brick.⁴⁶¹ Towers were built at the four corners, along with a series of tower-like buttresses set at intervals along the walls. This type of temenos wall is not found prior to Seti's reign in Theban memorial temples. Gurnah, then, was a veritable divine fortress. This design is reminiscent of archaic and Old Kingdom enclosure walls such as that of the pyramid complex of Djoser at Saqqara, suggesting a conscious revival of ancient traditions.⁴⁶²

The gateway through the first pylon was built of limestone and sandstone, the passage through the gate being lined with finely sculpted limestone blocks, while the roof was supported by a massive sandstone architrave.⁴⁶³

A dromos leading from the first to the second pylon was paved with sandstone slabs. Immediately to the west of the first pylon, just inside the court, Seti had two colossal sphinxes installed.⁴⁶⁴ Although little more than their bases now remain, they preserve invaluable topographical lists of foreign place names (ARI 1, 33-35). The pedestals of two smaller limestone sphinxes were found guarding the entrance through the north wall of the first court.⁴⁶⁵ They appear to date late in the reign, as they were never finished.

On the south side of the first court Seti ordered the earliest known version of a model royal palace built.⁴⁶⁶ This type of symbolic palace became a standard fixture of royal memorial temples in the Ramesside

⁴⁶⁰ Stadelmann in *Fragments*, 251-269 esp. 251-252 & 269 fig. 2.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. 253 pls. 23 & 269, fig. 2; Stadelmann & Mysiewicz (1982), 395-397 pls. 96-98a; Stadelmann (1979), 310.

⁴⁶² Stadelmann in *Fragments*, 253. Still later examples such as the walls and high gates at Medinet elabu, obviously modeled on Migdol fortresses, suggest an Asiatic inspiration.

⁴⁶³ Stadelmann & Osing (1988), 255, pl. 46b.

⁴⁶⁴ *PIET* 408 (a-b-d-f), *ARI* 1, 33-35 §§13-14; *RIT* 1, 26-28 §§13-14; *RIT* 1A-C, 36-38, §§13-14; Stadelmann & Mysiewicz (1988), pl. 76a-b; Stadelmann (1979), 312.

⁴⁶⁵ Stadelmann in *Fragments*, 254-255 pl. 5a.

⁴⁶⁶ Stadelmann (1972), 293ff; idem (1975), 353ff & pl. 108a; idem (1982), 395 & pl. 95a-b; idem (1989), 20-21; idem (1973), 221ff; idem (1979), 32 & n. 68.

era. In its scale and design, it is closely related to those in the Ramesseum and at Medinet Habu. Thus Seti established a prototype. The facade, as at Medinet Habu, was decorated with the head-smiting motif and other iconography of triumphant art.⁴⁶⁷

Gurnah also included a complex of storage magazines, located in the north-west quadrant of the precinct.⁴⁶⁸ The main series of storage rooms was accessed by a columned hall, as in the Ramesseum. At some point a fire inside the magazine hardened the mud bricks, Seti's name stamped on many of them, which is proof that the complex had been completed by him and not under Ramesses II, though the latter finished inscribing it and claimed to have built it as well.⁴⁶⁹ South of the main temple, there was a sacred lake, which included a small Osiride island.⁴⁷⁰

Practically nothing remains of the second court walls and pylon.⁴⁷¹ Called the festival court, its west end consisted of a portico supported by ten lotus-bundle columns, the southernmost of which is now missing. The court's function is clearly indicated by the reliefs on the wall behind the portico depicting episodes from the Feast of the Valley in which the barques of the Theban triad, of the deified Ahmose-Nefertari and of Seti himself participated.⁴⁷² They were executed after Seti's death by Ramesses II.⁴⁷³

The back portion of the temple, built entirely of sandstone, is laid out in a tripartite design. The southern wing consists of two separate sets of rooms dedicated to the memorial cults of both Seti⁴⁷⁴ (rooms 34-37) and his father Ramesses I (rooms 28-31) (plan 4).⁴⁷⁵ Rooms 34-37 are dedicated to the offering cult of Seti's statue and they had no connection with the royal barque, which was lodged in room 3, because it could not actually fit in this suite.⁴⁷⁶ The decoration of room 34, executed by

⁴⁶⁷ Idem (1979), 310 & 312. Part of the window of appearances was decorated with Asiatic and other prisoners of war; idem (1975), pl. 109c.

⁴⁶⁸ Stadelmann (1977), 25-129 & pls 39-41a; idem in *Fragments*, 255 & pls 6a-b, fig. 2.

⁴⁶⁹ Idem (1977), 128-129, pl. 41a.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 257 & fig. 269.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 255 & fig. 2; idem (1989), 21 top; idem (1975), 353-354 & pl. 108b.

⁴⁷² Idem (1979), 312-313.

⁴⁷³ *PAF II*², 408-409; Murnane (1975), 168-170.

⁴⁷⁴ *PAF II*, 411-412; Stadelmann (1979), 318-319.

⁴⁷⁵ *PAF II*², 417-418; ibid., Stadelmann, 314-315.

⁴⁷⁶ Arnold (1962), 57ff.

Ramesses II, is typical of the *Opfertischsaal*, which serves as the antechamber to the chapel of the royal cult statue.⁴⁷⁷

The Ramesses I suite is virtually a separate memorial temple built into his son's larger one. As Ramesses had no time to build his own memorial temple, Seti provided one for him. A foundation deposit in the south-west corner of the building under the suite of rooms dedicated to Seti's own cult includes plaques inscribed with Ramesses' name among a larger number of objects bearing Seti's cartouches.⁴⁷⁸ The Ramesses I suite includes a vestibule supported by two columns, a large barque chapel with a false door and two side rooms.⁴⁷⁹

In one sense, the Ramesses I chapel was not an innovation. Rulers before and after Seti provided rooms in their memorial temples for the cults of their fathers or other royal ancestors.⁴⁸⁰ Still, the Ramesses I suite is the most elaborate of these and it functioned as a temple within a temple, called a 'Mansion of Millions of Years,' *hwt n hllw m rnpwt* (ARI I, 1158 & 11). Its chambers, indeed, were multi-functional, it served as a *repositoir* for the barques of Amen and Ramesses I, an offering chapel for his cult statue and the venue for his false door, all of which are located in separate rooms in the main temple.⁴⁸¹ On both side walls, Seti is portrayed offering to the barque of Amen-Re. Behind these episodes he is seen again, anointing a statue of the deified Ramesses I (fig. 119).⁴⁸² In each case, the figure of Ramesses is depicted wearing a combination divine kilt with *shendyt*-kilt and holding an *'nh* and a staff. He wears a wig with square bottomed lappets and a uraeus, this being surmounted by a horned *ttj*-crown on the north wall, while on the south wall the horns support a sun disk flanked by tall plumes. The only name surviving in these panels is Seti's as officiant. Still, the iconography of the two divine figures leaves no doubt that they represent

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 42ff. Stadelmann (1979), 318-319.

⁴⁷⁸ Stadelmann (1977), 129-130 & p. 41. *idem* in *Fragments*, 246 & pl. 7.

⁴⁷⁹ The last two rooms (nos. 30 and 31) were not decorated until relatively late in Ramesses II's reign. They are distinguished from his earlier reliefs by the crudeness of their execution and the later form of the king's nomen *R' ms-m*. PM II, 418-419 *supra* 146.

⁴⁸⁰ E.g. Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and Ramesses III. The latter provided a barque chapel for his 'father' Ramesses II. Stadelmann (1979), figs. 1a-b, 2c.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.* Stadelmann, 314-315.

⁴⁸² PM II², 4, 8 (106-107); Freed (1987), 27 upper left (=Q 349).

Ramesses I as Osiris,⁴⁸³ and he is also identified with this deity on two panels of the false door at the west end of the room, where he sits on a block throne within the Lower Egyptian shrine, wearing a close fitting garment with the white crown and a false beard, holding a crook, flail and was-scepter.⁴⁸⁴ They show that Ramesses was assimilated both with Amen-Re and Osiris, as was Seti himself in other parts of the temple.

The north part of the main temple was occupied by a suite dedicated to Re-Horakhty and dominated by a large sun court (rooms 22-27, 42).⁴⁸⁵ To the west are a set of five service rooms and a stairwell leading up to what must have been a rooftop shrine to the sun god. These chambers were accessed through a long service corridor, which runs parallel to the sun court's south wall.⁴⁸⁶

The central door through the portico leads into a hypostyle hall supported by six columns, with six chapels lining its north and south sides.⁴⁸⁷ The four western chapels are dedicated to various aspects of the royal cult. The reliefs in chapel 2 indicate that it was dedicated to the cult of the deified monarch,⁴⁸⁸ while chapel 3 is consecrated to the royal barque.⁴⁸⁹ On the north side chapel 4 associates pharaoh with Osiris.⁴⁹⁰ It is the reliefs and texts in chapel 5, however, that are most significant, for here the king is assimilated with the god Amen.⁴⁹¹ On the north wall, the king and Amen, standing side by side, are purified by Horus and Thoth.⁴⁹² The deified sovereign receives offerings on the west wall (from the *Two-mnt* / priest) while on the east wall there is a manifestation of Amen-Re-Kamutef native to the temple standing before an offering list. As Nelson and Christophe have shown, this regenerative form of Amen

⁴⁸³ In the vestibule Ramesses II is shown offering wine to Osiris, who appears in precisely the same guise as the two images of Ramesses I in the chapel but without a uraeus. *Key Plans*, Q 307, *PM II*¹, 417 (100).

⁴⁸⁴ *PM II*², 418 (108); *Key Plans*, Q 343.

⁴⁸⁵ *PM II* 416, 420-421. Stadelmann (1969), 267, 169. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos I* 38ff & pls. 24-36.

⁴⁸⁶ Stadelmann in *Fragments*, 256-257.

⁴⁸⁷ *PM II*² 410.

⁴⁸⁸ *PM II*², 411. Nelson (1942), 127-155.

⁴⁸⁹ *PM II* 411. Stadelmann (1979), 314.

⁴⁹⁰ *PM II*² 412.

⁴⁹¹ *PM II* 412. Christophe (1950), 117-180. Stadelmann in *Fragments*, 256-257, idem (1979), 313-314.

⁴⁹² *PM II*² 412 (50); Sourouzian (1993), 247, fig. 5.

was assimilated with the king to become a specific form of Amen called "Amen-Re-Kamutef who is within the temple (named) Beneficial is Seti Merenptah in the Domain of Amen on the West of Thebes" ⁴⁹³

A transverse hall located at the west end of the hypostyle hall gives access to five sanctuaries ⁴⁹⁴ A prominent feature of the hall are two episodes in which pharaoh is suckled by a goddess, ⁴⁹⁵ representing the nourishment of the deceased monarch after he is reborn through his merger with Amen, a rite depicted in the purification ceremony in room 5 ⁴⁹⁶

The larger, central portion of the temple house is occupied by a suite of rooms dedicated to the Theban Triad (rooms 10-20) ⁴⁹⁷ Of the five chapels accessed through the transverse corridor, the three central ones were consecrated to the barques of the Theban triad, with Mut on the south and Khonsu on the north. The central shrine, dedicated to Amen-Re, is much larger than the other four. Supported by four square pillars, it leads to two small rooms (14-15) to the north and south, and a much larger suite of rooms (16-20) to the west ⁴⁹⁸ The large room immediately to the west (16) is also supported by four square pillars, and was dedicated to four manifestations of Amen: Amen-Re, Amen-Kamutef, Amen-Re-Horakhty and Amen-Atum-Osiris. Each of these, in turn, was honored in one of the four chapels to the north and south of this room. On the west wall there was a large false door through which the spirit of the ruler could pass from his tomb into the temple ⁴⁹⁹ The two outer chapels were dedicated to the cults of Re and Monthu, representing Heliopolis of the north and south respectively ⁵⁰⁰

3.84.2 Building History

It is likely that the construction of the Gurnah Temple had been completed by the end of Seti's reign, although much of its decoration

⁴⁹³ Nelson (1942), 132ff; Christophe (1950), 117-180

⁴⁹⁴ Rooms 7-8: *PM II*² 43

⁴⁹⁵ Hathor in the north wing, Mut in the south wing. Hathor: *PM II*² 410 (26) (=Q 126); Mut: *PM II*² 410 (21) (=Q 136)

⁴⁹⁶ Stadelmann (1979), 315-316 & n. 95

⁴⁹⁷ *PM II*², 413-416

⁴⁹⁸ Stadelmann (1979), 316-317

⁴⁹⁹ *PM II*², 415 (79); Hölscher, *Excavations* 3: 25, fig. 14

⁵⁰⁰ Stadelmann (1979), 316 & n. 98

was realized by Ramesses II. Out in front of the rear portions of the temple, Seti decorated parts of the gate through the first pylon and the temple palace facade.⁵⁰ Moreover, he built most, if not all, the mud brick magazines and temenos wall.⁵⁰² Construction of the sandstone temple would have required construction embankments and ramps occupying the site of the magazines and temenos walls. Presumably then, these outbuildings would have been raised only after the temple itself had been finished and the ramps cleared away. A rock stela of the king's year six at Gebel Silsila raises the possibility that work on Gurnah Temple may not have begun until midway through his reign (*infra* 3.110).

Many stone furnishings in the temple, such as a pair of sphinxes flanking the north-east gate of the first court, were never completed.⁵⁰³ Moreover, the pattern of the temple's relief decoration further indicates that it dates to late in the reign.

3.84.3 Description and Chronology of the Observable Phases in the Decorative Program

Much of the scholarly attention to Gurnah Temple has been focused on what the reliefs contribute to our understanding of the alleged coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II.⁵⁰⁴ Beginning with Seele, it has been claimed that Seti and his son jointly decorated part of Gurnah Temple. More recently however, Stadelmann opined that Ramesses' work here came only after his father's death.⁵⁰⁵ What follows is an epigraphic analysis of the reliefs at Gurnah aimed at elucidating the chronology of its decoration and the roles the two kings played.

Several phases of relief work have been identified here that can be distinguished by a number of features. Two have been pointed out before: the use of raised or sunk relief and the occurrence of both the

⁵⁰ Stadelmann (1975), pl. 09a & c, *idem* (1989), 22-23 (=block from first pylon gateway).

⁵⁰² Seti completed the brickwork of the palace magazines and temenos wall as indicated by bricks stamped with his name: Stadelmann in *Fragments*, 255 & pl. 6b.

⁵⁰³ Stadelmann in *Fragments*, 254 & pl. 5a.

⁵⁰⁴ E.g. Seele, *Coregency*, 27-31, 40-45; Mumtaz (1975), 165-170; *idem*, *Coregencies*, 70-7.

⁵⁰⁵ Stadelmann in *Fragments*, 252 & n. 7; *KRI* I, 634-637.

long and short form of Ramesses II's prenomen (*supra* 1 4 7). Still other criteria can now be identified: the orthography of Ramesses' nomen as either *R'-ms-s* or *R'-ms-sw* for one, indicating that the reliefs were cut either before or after his year twenty respectively,³⁰⁶ but only when found in conjunction with the long form of the prenomen, as both forms of the nomen were used during the first two years; likewise, different phases in reliefs portraying Seti I can also be seen, including the use of raised or sunk relief in panels featuring Seti, the juxtaposition of decoration naming him with that naming his son and the posture of his figure, depicted both standing or kneeling, with his torso either fully upright or inclined forward, sometimes dramatically (cf. figs. 113, 116-117 with 120-121 & 124, *supra* 1 2 5 & 1 2 7). As we shall see, these later features, not previously discussed, also bear on the chronology of the reliefs at Gurnah.

3 84.3 1 Decoration Featuring Seti Alone

As one would expect, the earliest reliefs feature Seti alone, since they would have been carved before the accession of Ramesses II as the result either of a coregency or of Seti's death (plan 4). They are found clustered in a few distinct areas: in the sanctuaries of the Theban triad, in the two sanctuaries flanking them and in the rooms behind and beside the Amen chapel (=rooms 9-20). Likewise, in the four western chapels off the hypostyle, there is no indication of Ramesses II's involvement (=rooms 2-5) (fig. 121). Finally, Seti alone is present with his father Ramesses I in the latter's chapel (=room 29).

This early work can be distinguished from later reliefs by the presence of a combination of two features. It is executed entirely in raised relief, and representations of the king, both standing and kneeling, usually have inclined torsos in ritual scenes (cf. figs. 21, 113, 116-117 & 121).

Kneeling figures can be found in *Intel* scenes, in the spaces above doorways and in wall panels. In some cases, the torso may bend forward

³⁰⁶ Kitchen (1979a), 383-387.

only slightly⁵⁰⁷ though more often the inclination is pronounced,⁵⁰⁸ especially when the monarch extends his hands forward in adoration of the god.⁵⁰⁹ Seti kneels most often when presenting offerings, but in one case he does so while receiving Heb-sed's from the Theban Triad. When standing, he almost always bows in worship of the gods, with varying degrees of stoop.⁵¹⁰ Fully erect figures of Seti are exceptional in these rooms.⁵¹¹ This pattern is consistent with reliefs in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall where he is almost invariably depicted with inclined torso, and at Abydos where this iconography predominates.

3.84.3.2 Relief featuring Seti I and Ramesses II in the Hypostyle

Reliefs naming Seti are juxtaposed with ones naming Ramesses II in the Gurnah hypostyle hall: the adjoining transverse corridor, the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, room 34 and the rear wall of the portico. They date to various phases of Ramesses II's earliest relief work (*supra* 1.4.7). As Seele and Marnane have pointed out, the earliest work is in bas-relief where the short form of Ramesses' prenomen occurs (R).

⁵⁰⁷ E.g., room 14, west wall, Q 242 (=PM II² 414 [71]); Amen chapel, south wall west end above doorway Q 228 (=PM II² 414 [70a-b]); room 5, south wall above doorway Q 240 (=PM II² 414 [72 c-d]).

⁵⁰⁸ E.g., room 15, north wall above doorway Q 221-223 (=PM II² 414 [72 a-b]); room 6, north wall lower register, Q 256 (=PM II² 415 [76]); room 16, east wall north end, upper register, Q 249 (=PM II² 415 [77]); room 16, east wall south end, upper register, Q 263 (=PM II² 415 [75]). So too on the column scenes in room 16, PM II² 415, pillars A-D.

⁵⁰⁹ Room 17, north wall east of doorway, Q 285 (=PM II² 415 [81]). Paralleled by a votive stela from the gate of the first pylon, Stadelmann (1988), fig. 4 & p. 78.

⁵¹⁰ E.g., in rooms 4, 10, 3, 16 & 20 at Q 175-176, 216-217, 219, 230, 235, 249-251, 253-254, 257, 261, 263, 265-266, 346, 350, PM II² 412-418, *passim*.

⁵¹¹ In only a handful of scenes, mostly from the cult rooms off the hypostyle and the Ramesses I chapel. E.g., room 4, east wall, Q 174 (=PM II² 412 [45]). See Stadelmann in *Fragments*, pl. 8a, room 5, east wall, Q 168 (=PM II² 412 [49]). Khonsu chapel, south shadow of the door, Q 213 (=PM II² 413 [65c]), room 12, south thickness of the door, Q 214 (=PM II² 414 [67c]), Ramesses I chapel, two scenes at west end of side walls, Q 347 & 349 (=PM II² 418 [106-107]). A standing figure of the king being purified with Amen-Re by Horus and Thoth does not bow, Q 69 (=PM II² 412 [50]). Another purification scene from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall is practically the only one carved on its walls in which he stands fully erect. See *Plans*, KB 230: GHBA I, pl. 148.

These are confined to the hypostyle, transverse corridor and portions of the vestibule, and, since they were completed entirely in raised relief, elsewhere known to belong to only the earliest stage of Ramesses' royal career, they must have been the first part of Gurnah inscribed once Ramesses began his work here (figs 118, 120, 124). Only one element of the hypostyle hall's decorative program features Seti's name alone: a frieze of his cartouches along the top of the east, north and south walls, including the inner face of the northern architrave where it passes over the transverse hall.⁵¹ Evidence from Abydos indicates that the stereotyped decoration along the tops of walls was executed before the scenes below were carved.⁵² That this method was preferred at Gurnah is confirmed by several instances where this frieze was done in an earlier style than the wall reliefs below it.⁵³ Thus Seti's craftsmen had already completed part of the earliest stage of decoration in the hypostyle before Ramesses had his first opportunity to inscribe his name anywhere at Gurnah.

The so-called joint decoration of the hypostyle consists of a mix of vignettes portraying either Seti or Ramesses II (plan 5). Sometimes they alternate from scene to scene; other times reliefs naming just one king are lumped together. Their titularies are juxtaposed on four of the six doorways into the side chapels, the one into room 6 being Seti's alone, while that into room 3 names only Ramesses.⁵⁴ Seti dominates all the reliefs on the north and those on the upper registers of the south wall, while each king appears in one of the lower panels of the south wall. In two of the upper tableaux on the south wall, the royal names have been lost, but it may be that Ramesses was named in both these scenes. On the east wall only Ramesses is named, although the titularies are missing from two of the wall scenes and from the panels on the lintel of the doorway into the inner court.

Upon closer examination, a pattern reveals itself. On the north wall Seti is named in all the tableaux, with Ramesses' protocol appearing on one jamb each of the two western doorways leading into rooms 4 and 5.

⁵¹ Murnane (1975), 166, fig. 7.

⁵² Baines (1989), 25 & pl. 3.

⁵³ E.g. in the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite over the west and east walls (Murnane (1975), 166, fig. 8, B & D). Also in room 34 where a frieze in R. surmounts reliefs in R. on the west wall. *Ibid.*, 169, fig. 9 D.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 166, fig. 7.

On the south wall, Seti again predominates on the upper register, with a more even mix on the two eastern doorways. Ramesses, however, is named in two of the three larger scenes of the lower register and on the whole of the doorway into room 3. The decoration is more balanced on the doorways into rooms 1 and 2. On the east wall, save only for the earlier frieze of Seti, all the panels appear to name Ramesses.

In the transverse corridor, Ramesses dominates the preserved tableaux on the south and east walls (plan 6). The north wall is missing. On the west wall, five doorways lead into the chapels of the Theban Triad and two other deities. Here Seti's name is preserved on seven of the wall panels and doorjambs (fig. 124), while Ramesses appears in only five. Fully nine of these scenes and bandeau texts are now anonymous. Still one would expect that, from a comparison with the other walls in the corridor, that if Ramesses was not named in the majority of them, then at least he appeared in roughly the same number as Seti.¹⁶

The decoration in the transverse corridor was largely overlooked by Seele and Murnane. Ramesses' predominance on some of the walls in the corridor and adjoining hypostyle seems at odds with the theory that the two kings were equal coregents, particularly since Ramesses was the junior partner and Seti was the owner of the temple.¹⁷

3.84.3.3 The Vestibule of the Ramesses I Suite

In the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite in Gurnah Temple, reliefs naming Ramesses II outnumber those of his father (plan 7),¹⁸ and date later than those in the hypostyle. In the latter, much larger chamber, all the reliefs are raised. By contrast, in the smaller vestibule, the style quickly changed from raised to sunk relief, with the second medium occurring more frequently (figs. 126, 128 & 131). This suggests that raised relief was being phased out shortly after work in the vestibule had begun and that the hypostyle was completed first.

¹⁶ The cartouche is missing from a number of these scenes: Q 128, 133 and 87. Seti features in one scene on the west wall (Q 85) and on the right jamb of the doorway into room 2. Ramesses II is found everywhere else (cf. Q 129-134, 181, 190 (=P1111 4.3-414 [55-67], *passim*).

¹⁷ P11112, 417-418; Murnane (1975), 16, fig. 8A-D.

In all but four scenes in the vestibule, Ramesses II is shown as the active officiant in the tableaux, while his father and grandfather act as passive recipients or witnesses to the ritual and ceremonies. The only exceptions are found over the doorway to the chapel of Ramesses I, where Seti I is featured as an active participant three times: offering wine to Amen in a vignette pendant to another, featuring Ramesses I as officiant, over the lintel of the doorway leading into the Ramesses I chapel, and, with Seti again as officiant in the two middle registers on the same doorway (fig. 127).⁵¹⁶ Otherwise, Seti appears only as a deified sovereign standing behind Amen and other gods taking merely a passive role in offering and coronation episodes, where he serves in precisely the same capacity as the deceased Ramesses I (cf. figs. 122-123, 127-128 & 131).

The decorative program of the vestibule itself has not heretofore been considered by scholars, and most attention has been focused on an isolated "coronation" scene on the north wall that portrays Ramesses II receiving years and Heb-sed's in the presence of the Theban Triad and Seti I (fig. 122).⁵¹⁷ The decorative program of this room consists of a series of tableaux depicting cult rituals and royal investitures. In the ritual episodes, Ramesses II and, in only the three cases cited above, Seti I — and in one episode Ramesses I — make offerings before Amen and members of his triad to Osiris and the deified Ramesses I. The others depict Ramesses II led into the presence of Amen to be invested with regalia and other emblems of kingship.

3.84.3.4 Checklist of Scenes in the Vestibule

The following are the wall scenes in the vestibule and names of the participants and major iconographical and stylistic elements of each tableau as they relate to the date of the reliefs. The phase of Ramesses II's relief decoration (R — R) and the iconography of figures of his two predecessors are also noted.

⁵¹⁶ Q 104 (=PM I 2 418 [105a-b]). Ibid. Murane, fig. 8B. Seti appears in the second register on the right jamb.

⁵¹⁷ Seele, *Coregency* 27 §44 with n. 14 & fig. 9.

3 84 3 4 1 South Wall, Raised Relief/Short Prenomen (=R')

All the decoration here is in raised relief with the shorter form of Ramesses II's prenomen occurring. Seti's titulary alternates with that of his son on the doorway³²⁰ and in a frieze of cartouches along the top of the wall, but he is otherwise entirely absent from this decoration, which, since only raised relief is used here, must be among the earliest in the chamber³²¹

Upper Register (Q 307-309)

Ramesses II offers wine to Osiris (Q 307) Here Ramesses II makes offerings to a form of Osiris identical to images of the deified Ramesses I on the side walls of the latter's sanctuary (room 29)³²²

Ramesses II offers food to the Theban Triad (Q 308) This panel has Ramesses II offering before a large table laden with food offerings.

Ramesses II offers flowers to Amen (Q 309) Here again Ramesses II is the officiant, this time before the ithyphallic form of Amen-Re, to whom he offers two bouquets of flowers.

Lower Register (Q 310)

Ramesses II censuring & libating to Theban Triad and Ramesses I (Q 310) Ramesses censures and libates to the Theban triad and Ramesses I, who stands behind the shrine enclosing the deities. Ramesses I holds a crook and flail in one hand and an 'nh and a mace in the other.

3 84 3 4 2 West wall Raised & Sunk Relief/Short & Long Prenomen (=R'—R')

The frieze over the central doorway is executed in raised relief and Seti's cartouches alternate with those of his son, the earlier form of whose prenomen appears. Everywhere else on this wall, sunk relief is employed. The frieze over the right doorway is destroyed, while over the

³²⁰ *PM I*², 417 [103a-b], Seele, *Coregency*, 31, fig. 10

³²¹ Murnane (1975), 166, fig. 8A

³²² Cf. Q 347 & 349 (= *PM I*², 417 [100] & 418 [106-107])

left doorway, the longer form of Ramesses II's prenomen appears alongside his father's cartouches.³²³ The decoration on the northern doorway and the panels above it, and again on the doorway into the Ramesses I chapel, is in R.

Scenes over the Lintels of Three Doorways (Q 302, 304-305)

Lintel of doorway into room 31 Ramesses II offers flowers to Amen, Khonsu and Seti I (Q 302). The vignette is in sunk relief, with the short form of Ramesses II's prenomen (=R). Seti is depicted in a passive role as the recipient.

Four scenes over lintel central doorway Seti I (middle right) and Ramesses I (middle left) before Theban triad. Ramesses II (far right & far left) offers to Amen-Re and a goddess (Q 304). A set of four tableaux in sunk relief. Two on the outer edge of the lintel show Ramesses II with the short form of his prenomen (=R). Amen is accompanied by the goddess Mut on the left and Isis on the right. The diptych panels in the center show Seti I on the right and Ramesses I on the left offering to the Theban triad. This scene is the only one in which Ramesses I, and one of only three in which Seti I, take an active role as officiant. As with the reliefs in the hypostyle, and in contrast to those carved during his lifetime in the temple, Seti is shown with his torso erect.

Jamb of doorway into room 29 Ramesses and Seti I offer wine to Amen (Q 304). These are in the R style. Seti appears as the active participant in the two scenes on the middle registers of the doorjambs.³²⁴ Murnane's diagram of the wall decoration on this jamb erroneously assigns all these tableaux to Seti (fig. 126).³²⁵

Above lintel of doorway into room 30 Ramesses II thurifies Amen, Mut and Seti I (Q 305). This episode is in sunk relief with the longer form of Ramesses II's prenomen. Seti I is again shown in a passive role as the

³²³ Murnane (1975), 166, fig. 8B.

³²⁴ Q 304 (=PM II², 418 [105a-b]), Murnane (1975), 16, fig. 8B.

³²⁵ Q 304 (=PM II², 418 [105]).

³²⁶ Murnane (1975), 166, fig. 8B.

recipient of offerings, holding a *h33*-scepter in one hand and an *'nh* in the other (fig. 128)

3 84 3 4.3 East wall, Raised & Sunk Relief/Short & Long Prenomen (=R¹—R¹)

Only part of the frieze of cartouches over the central doorway is in raised relief and juxtaposes the cartouches of Ramesses I, Seti I and Ramesses II. The rest of the decoration, including the frieze of cartouches at the top to either side of the doorway, is in sunk relief. The frieze over the north end has only the cartouches of Ramesses II in R¹ while that over the south end has Seti I, alternating with his son in R¹. Most of the scenes are in R¹, except for one in the upper right-hand corner of the wall and the frieze above it which are in R^{1 57}.

Upper Register (Q 294-295 & 312)

Ramesses II led into the presence of Amen and Mut by Monthu and Atum (Q 295) This is in sunk relief and bears the short form of the king's prenomen (=R²)

*Double scene over east doorway: Ramesses II as *Twn-mwt* f-priest consecrates offerings before Ramesses I (Q 294)* Executed in R¹, Ramesses I is shown twice as a mummiform king in a double shrine, in the guise of Osiris wearing the red crown in the north panel and the white in the south. Between the two figures there is a vertical text describing Ramesses II's work as a renewal of monuments (*snbwy y-mnw*) on behalf of his grandfather "in the monument (*mnw*) of his father, the Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre" (fig. 125)

Ramesses II offers a tray of food to Amen, Khonsu and Ramesses I (Q 312). Again, Ramesses appears in sunk relief, with the long prenomen (R¹). Ramesses I stands behind the two deities holding a crook and flail in one hand and an *'nh* in the other (fig. 131). His epithets include *ms*⁷ *hrw* and *nt* *'3*, as well as *dt snb 'nh dd w is nb*¹⁸⁰¹

¹⁸⁰¹ Ibid., 166, fig. 8D

Lower Register (Q 296 & 313)

Ramesses II running with his vases before Osiris and Seti I (Q 313)
 Executed in R¹, Seti I is portrayed standing behind Osiris with a crook and flail and an 'nh. He is entitled nfr nfr mš' hrw and nfr '3


Ramesses II led into the presence of Amen and Ramesses I by Monthu while Thothis enumerates regnal years (Q 296) Carved in R¹ Ramesses I is again shown standing behind Amen holding a crook and flail and an 'nh. His epithets include mš' hrw and nfr '3 nb šbqw followed by a di 'nh ml R^c formula.

3 84 3 4 4 North Wall, Raised & Sunk Relief/Short Prenomen
 (=R¹ & R²)

The upper half of the first register and the frieze at the top of the wall are now missing. All but the jambs of the north doorway are decorated in raised relief. The lintel of the doorway has titles of Ramesses II and Seti I in raised relief (R & S).¹¹ Ramesses II's titles appear in sunk relief on the left jamb while those of Seti appear in the same medium on the right (R² & S²).

Upper Register (Q 297-299)

King (Ramesses II¹) offers before Amen-Kamutef (Q 297) Only the lower two thirds of the scene is preserved. The mummiform deity is clearly Amen-Kamutef as shown by his distinctive ribbon hanging behind his back. Behind him is a kind of pedestal in the shape of a monumental gateway on a plinth that usually supports a plumed staff associated with Kamutef. The officiant is presumably Ramesses II who appears as the officiant in nearly all the vignettes here.

King (Ramesses II¹) offers before Khonsu (') and deified king (Q 298)
 Only the legs of the celebrant and deity are preserved. The god is mummiform and stands on a  plinth. The base of his scepter is preserved, taking the form of an elongated dd-pillar with the bottom of a was-scepter protruding from the base. This iconography is consistent with both Khonsu and Ptah. Given the Theban venue and the lack of

¹¹ Ibid., 166, fig. 8C

other episodes featuring Ptah, it is likely that the god was Khonsu. Behind him, the deified ruler is preserved as far as his hair line, sporting a kilt with an elaborate apron which became a mark of the deified king in the later years of Amenhotep III.⁹⁹ He holds an *'nh* in one hand and a *hkt*-scepter in the other. The figure, whose name is lost, is either Ramesses I or Seti I.

King (Ramesses II?) offers Maat to Amen-Re and deified king (Q 299)

All but the heads of the figures and the main text of the scene are preserved here. A ribbon dangling from the back of the god identifies him as Amen-Re (fig. 127). The lower portions of the officiant's head can be seen. He sports a wig otherwise found only in a handful of other tableaux at Gurnah in the hypostyle hall. Behind Amen stands a deified king, either Ramesses I or Seti I, holding an *'nh* and a *hkt*-scepter.

Lower Register (Q 301)

Ramesses II granted Heb-sed festivals and years in the presence of the Theban Triad and Seti I (Q 301). Seele considered this "coronation" scene to be one of the definitive 'proofs' of a hypothetical coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II (fig. 122).¹⁰⁰ As in other examples on this wall, however, Seti is portrayed in the guise of a deified king or cult statue holding a *hkt*-scepter and an *'nh*. The image is generic and of ideological rather than historical value. The insertion of a figure of the recipient's father in such episodes is less common, but it is in keeping with the theme of legitimization by association with his royal ancestors found on the walls of the vestibule. Presumably if Seti had decorated this chamber, only Ramesses I would have been shown as the royal ancestor. After his father's death, Ramesses II chose to emphasize his link to both his father and his grandfather, in order to highlight his own royal lineage.

⁹⁹ Johnson (1990): 35. Cf. the kilt on the magnificent quartzite cult statue found in the Luxor cache (El-Saghir (1991): 2–27, especially fig. 51.

¹⁰⁰ Seele, *Coregency*, v. 27–544.

3 84 3 5 Antechamber (Room 34) to the Cult Rooms of Seti I
 (=R² & R³)

Rooms 34-37 were dedicated to the statue cult of Seti I, but their decoration was never finished in his lifetime (plan 8). Instead it fell to Ramesses II to complete them. The three western rooms are much denuded, and no reliefs survive on their walls. By contrast, the decoration of room 34 is largely intact.³¹ It is entirely in sunk relief, with both the longer and shorter forms of Ramesses II's prenomen appearing (R² & R³) (fig. 129).

The frieze along the top of the walls has Seti's cartouches alternating with those of Ramesses II in the R style. The doorways into rooms 35-37 are all in R except for the right jamb of the south doorway where Seti's titulary appears again in sunk relief (S). The dead ruler's protocol also appears on the right jamb of the doorway in the south wall,³² otherwise he serves as the officiant in four of the eleven preserved wall scenes.

3 84 3 6 Later Reliefs of Ramesses II at Gurnah

Ramesses abandoned work on his father's memorial temple shortly after the adoption of the long form of his prenomen, sometime in year two. At this point, he seems to have lost interest both in memorializing his father and in decorating the temple. Then, sometime after the adoption of the later form of his nomen, *R^c ms sw*, shortly after year twenty the sovereign revisited the project and ordered the completion of reliefs in the sun court, exterior walls and other undecorated portions of the temple.³³ Many of these are extremely crude, and some were never finished (fig. 130).³⁴ After neglecting to complete this temple for at least two decades, he may have resumed it in preparation for one of his Heb-Sed festivals.

³¹ Q 390-400 (=PM II², 419-420 [121-123]).

³² Murnane (1975), 169, fig. 9C-D.

³³ Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos I*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

3.84.4 Summary of the Chronology of Relief Decoration at Gurnah Temple under Seti I and Ramesses II

The construction and decoration of Seti's Gurnah Temple dates to relatively late in his reign. Indeed, a quarry inscription of year six from Gebel Silsida might suggest that work began only halfway through his reign (*infra* 3.110). It is clear that its earliest decoration is found in the rooms where Seti I is featured alone, these being solely in raised relief with pharaoh generally portrayed with an inclined torso both in the standing and kneeling positions. These early reliefs are scattered throughout the temple, but concentrated in its most important chambers, i.e. the barque sanctuaries of the Theban Triad, the suite of rooms behind the Amen sanctuary, the four westernmost rooms leading off the sides of the hypostyle hall dedicated to various aspects of the royal cult and the chapel of the Ramesses I suite. The presence of Seti alone in these rooms, with no trace of Ramesses II, marks them as being earlier and not later than others that portray Seti upright.³³ The second group is intermixed with decoration naming Ramesses II in both raised and sunk reliefs (R' - R'). Moreover, Ramesses officiates in the lion's share of these tableaux in the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite and in room 34. In the hypostyle hall, Seti predominates on the north wall, while the south wall seems to have an approximately even mix of both rulers. On the east wall, Ramesses appears to the exclusion of Seti, while in the transverse hall Ramesses eclipses his father on the east wall, with a more even mix on the west wall, although the names are missing from many of the panels there.

Seale and Murnane have taken the Gurnah reliefs as evidence that Seti decorated his memorial temple jointly with his son during a hypothetical coregency. This now seems less plausible. Close inspection shows that as one progresses from the north wall to the south wall of the hypostyle hall and then on to its east wall and transverse corridor, the number of vignettes featuring Seti steadily diminishes until on the east wall he is entirely absent (*supra* 3.84.3.2). Moreover he is never shown bowing in any of these scenes, although that iconography is found in the

³³ *Contra* Epigraphic Survey, *Basile Reliefs* 77-78. Here it is argued that the Gurnah reliefs featuring the upright stance date earlier than ones where the king bows. But these same reliefs, featuring Ramesses II, must be later than those in which only Seti appears.

latest phases of his decoration of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in his Abydos temple, as well as those areas of Gurnah he decorated himself. One also finds that the frieze of cartouches along the tops of the walls name Seti alone on the north, south and east walls. This suggests that they were the first reliefs to be carved here, and probably the last part of the work done before Ramesses II began participating in the decoration.

The pattern in the hypostyle hall and transverse corridor makes better sense if it is understood as work done by Ramesses II immediately after his father's death. One can follow Ramesses' filial piety as it steadily waned over his first two regnal years, so that by the time his sculptors reached the east wall of the hypostyle, the young monarch is seen to the exclusion of his deceased father.

This pattern was continued in the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite, which appears to have been the second area to be decorated under Ramesses II. Here, raised relief gave way to sunk relief in the R style, and Seti appears as the officiant in only three minor tableaux decorating the doorway into the Ramesses I chapel. Ramesses I himself appears in another. Otherwise Seti is featured in the vestibule only as the passive recipient of offerings or accompanying members of the Theban Triad or other gods in investiture scenes and the like. Here he plays the same role as Ramesses I, and they both are represented with the iconography of deified kings, i.e. holding *ḥt* and *hkt*-scepters, in the company of the gods. Both are given epithets like *nṯ-ḥrw* and *nṯ-ḥt* appropriate to this role.

Seti's image appears for the last time in reliefs decorating room 34, thereafter he is named only in stereotyped decoration on the walls and columns of the portico where his cartouches alternate with those of Ramesses in R.⁵⁵⁶ In room 34 all the decoration is in sunk relief and was carved during the latest portion of the work in R and shortly after the adoption of R. Here again, Seti officiates in a minority of the tableaux and never with an inclined torso, whether standing or kneeling. He never used interior sunk relief at Karnak or Abydos, indeed he only rarely used this medium for interior decoration at all.⁵⁵⁷ Moreover, even when he was shown fully erect in some tableaux at Abydos, these

⁵⁵⁶ Mumane (1975), 168.

⁵⁵⁷ So, exceptionally, in his speos at Karnak where sunk relief was used exclusively: *infra* 3.127.

vignettes were always juxtaposed with ones in which he bows. All these facts support the notion that reliefs in rooms where Ramesses appears were made after Seti's death despite the latter's appearance in many of them, both with his son and alone. Although Ramesses I is the celebrant in one of these scenes, no one disputes that he was dead at this point.

A combination of features, the absence of bowing figures, the uneven distribution of decoration in the name of the two alleged coregents, Ramesses II's domination of such scenes even in the first and second periods (R & R'), the almost universally passive role Seti plays in the tableaux from the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, and finally the use of sunk relief, a medium which Seti generally did not favor elsewhere during his lifetime, all represent major stumbling blocks for the coregency theory. We are asked to believe that Seti allowed his son to make the major decisions on the style and iconography used to embellish Seti's own buildings. He supposedly permitted Ramesses to overshadow him, with the younger man naming himself in most of the wall decoration carved during the alleged coregency, while he himself adopted a passive role in the decorative program in the vestibule of his own father's memorial suite, where by tradition he should have played the role of officiant. Moreover this so-called joint decoration is not in keeping with what is found elsewhere: no such pattern is found in Seti's Abydos temple, in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall or in the two temples Ramesses erected at the outset of his reign at Abydos and Beit el-Wali. Indeed, Seti's name is recorded only in passing at Abydos and not at all at Beit el-Wali.

If we assume Seti had died before any reliefs featuring Ramesses II were cut, then the pattern of decoration in all these buildings makes better sense. Gurnah Temple was dedicated to Seti's memorial cult, but only a small fraction of its decoration was complete at his death. At Abydos, by contrast, he had finished the larger portion of the decoration, and Ramesses II preferred to focus his energies on his own newly built temple there. In western Thebes, Ramesses' first years saw the earliest stages in the construction of the Ramesseum, so there was little else for the sculptors assigned to the Gurnah Temple to do other than continue with the project. Thus, Ramesses felt obliged to complete some of its decoration in the name of his father while at the same time intermingling himself into the decoration. He soon tired of his filial duties and increasingly began to overshadow Seti's memory in its decoration. As his second regnal year came to a close, Ramesses abandoned the project

entirely, only to revisit it some two or more decades later when he completed the decoration in Gurnah, in coarse sunk relief, naming only himself.

3.85 Gurnah, Four Votive Stelae of Seti I from the Temple

R. Stadelmann & J. Osing, *MDAIA* 44 (1988), 255-274, figs. 3-6 & pls. 78-79, 81a-b

These four sandstone votive stelae of Seti I, along with another of Ramesses II, were found reused as paving stones in the passage through the outer pylon of Gurnah Temple.³³⁸ Three of them feature Seti with stooped posture standing before the deity, while the fourth depicts him kneeling, his torso bent down, his arms extended in adoration to the sun god Re-Horakhty. This stela has the only substantial text of any of this group, a hymn of praise by the sovereign to the god.³³⁹

A.) four stelae, as well as a fifth one belonging to Ramesses II, are identical in their use of sunk relief of mediocre quality. In contrast to those of his father, however, Ramesses' stela portrays him standing fully erect before Amen-Re. It also bears the shorter form of his prenomen, and therefore must date to the first year or so of his reign. Seti's stelae probably date to near the end of his reign.

3.86 Ramesseum, Double Temple of Seti I North of Main Temple

FM II, 442; L. Hölscher, *Excavation 3*, 75-77, pl. 40 [A-B], 75, figs. 48-49

The building seems to have been a slightly smaller predecessor to the later one that Ramesses adjoined to his own memorial temple, the Ramesseum. It is known only from the plan of its foundation trenches and foundation deposits bearing Seti's name.³⁴⁰ It is not clear who the original recipient of the cult was, but the latter building seems to have been dedicated to the cult of Ramesses II's mother and Seti's wife Queen Tuya and Ramesses II's wife Neferтари.³⁴¹ It may have been the first Mammisi temple, but was probably intended for some other use by

³³⁸ Stadelmann & Osing (1988), 255-274.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 262-269.

³⁴⁰ Hölscher, *Excavation 3*, pt. 1, pl. 40 [A-B], 75, figs. 48-49.

³⁴¹ On the queen, see Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 97 with references 251-252. Her public role during Seti's lifetime was virtually nil, and she only rose to prominence in the role of Queen Mother during her son's reign. See *infra* 4.10.2 & 4.10.4.

Seti, who may not have accomplished much beyond laying its foundations.³⁴²

3.87 Deir el-Medina, Jamb of Seti I (Turin 6005)

PM I 2¹, 738; S. Bruyère, *Méret Seger* (Cairo, 1930), 285

This jamb was reused in antiquity. Its original dedication mentioned Ptah-Lord-of-Truth. It was reinscribed under Ramesses II with his prenomen and his father's, both introduced by the title *nb Tm y* 'Ramesses' prenomen, which precedes Seti's, includes the epithet *stp-n-R^c*, thus even proponents of a coregency between these two pharaohs would tend to date this object to after Seti's death.³⁴³

3.88 Deir el-Medina, Stela Naming Seti I & Ramesses I (no. 122)

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh*, 1935-4th fasc. 2 (Cairo, 1942), 86-87, fig. 162

Carved in high raised relief, this limestone stela is finished in the mature Ramesside style. Its double scene portrays Seti I standing behind Osiris on the left and Ramesses I behind Re-Horakhty on the right.³⁴⁴ Both rulers bear the epithet 'given life.' The stela could be seen as weak (but previously unmentioned) evidence for a hypothetical coregency. It is more likely, however, that it was set up during Seti's lifetime in honor of both the reigning sovereign and his deceased father, given the considerable number of posthumous monuments of Ramesses I dating to his son's reign.

³⁴² Desroches-Noblecourt (1991), 26-43; idem (1996), 216-219; Leblanc (1999), 12-35 with n. 30; *infra* 4.10.2

³⁴³ Seele and Mumtaz concluded that the long form of the prenomen came into general use only after Seti's death. Seele, *Coregency* 93 §135; Mumtaz, *Coregencies* ■.

³⁴⁴ Bruyère (1952), fasc. 2, 86-87, fig. 162

3.89 Deir el-Medina, Stela of Seti I (no. 422)

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)*, fasc. 1 (Cairo, 1952), 149, no. 422. *ARI* I, 225, §289n, *RITA* I 194-195, §289n, *RITANC* I 146-147, §289n.

This piece is mentioned only in passing by Bruyère, and no photograph or drawing of it was included in the publication. Its present location is unknown.¹⁴³

3.90 Deir el-Medina, Stela of Seti I (Turin 50090 [former 1466])

M. Tosi & A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el-Medina, n. 50090 - 50262* (Turin, 1972), 126 & 30, *ARI* I, 226, §289n, *RITA* I 195, §289n, *RITANC* I 146-147, §289n.

This limestone votive stela depicts Seti I and an anonymous vizier venerating the deified Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.¹⁴⁴ It has been cut down from its original size, so that the lower portions of the figures are lost, along with any original main text. The round top is also the result of trimming at some later point, resulting in the loss of portions of the two kings' titles. Ahmose-Nefertari's plumed headdress and most unfortunately, the vizier's name.¹⁴⁵ Seti leans forward slightly as he libates and thurifies the divine couple; his censer held in an odd way. The vizier is even more stooped.

3.91 Deir el-Medina, Fragment of an Altar-stand

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)*, fasc. 2, pl. 5.

Only the upper part of this altar stand is preserved, encompassing the cornice and part of the shaft. A horizontal cartouche of Seti I is inscribed just below the torus molding at the base of the cornice.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Bruyère (1952), fasc. 1, 149, no. 422.

¹⁴⁴ Tosi & Roccati (1972), 126 & 30.

¹⁴⁵ There is some debate as to who was southern vizier during the earlier years of Seti's reign. Paser built his tomb at Thebes, while the only other vizier known to have served Seti, Nebamun, is attested in the Memphite palace accounts from early in Seti's reign. Kitchen maintains that Nebamun was Paser's predecessor as southern vizier, although Heick places him in the north. *RITANC* I 187-188; Heick, 1958, 311.

¹⁴⁶ Bruyère (1952), fasc. 2, pl. 5.

3.92 Deir el-Medina, Cornice of a Doorpost

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 2, 130, no. 42

This limestone fragment of the cornice and part of the doorpost of a small broken lintel doorway bears the prenomen of Seti I preserved below the cornice.¹⁴⁹ It is unclear from what structure the piece derives, although it may have belonged to the small mud brick temple of Hathor Seti built for the village.

3.93 Deir el-Medina, Relief with the Barque of Hathor (no. 237)

S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 2, 104, fig. 178

This fragmentary bas relief depicts an unnamed pharaoh libating to the barque of Hathor. The aegis of her craft, along with the heads of two priests carrying it, is preserved, along with the king's head and torso. He is coiffed in the long military wig favored under Seti I. His features include a large, aquiline nose and a small mouth in a style reminiscent of his best reliefs. The excellent quality and extensive detailing also suggest that it dates to Seti's reign, although no cartouche or other defining titles are preserved.¹⁵⁰ The piece may have belonged to a stela, royal or private, associated with his nearby Hathor temple. Otherwise it could be part of a tomb relief.

3.94 Deir el-Medina, Hathor Temple

PM I 2*, 694-695; S. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-40)* fasc. 1, 18-19, pls. 10, 13-15, 99-104

This small mud brick processional temple consisted of a series of terraces with a courtyard, a two-columned hall and a chapel, also with two columns. A small mud brick pylon formed the main facade of the whole building. In addition to the items found within, a number of other objects from the village associated with the goddess may also have belonged to her temple (see the following entries).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. fasc. 2, 130, no. 42.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. fasc. 2, 104, fig. 178.

3.95 Deir el-Medina, Hathor Temple, Seti I Altar-stand (no. 303)

PM I 2⁷ 694. S. Bruyère. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh* (1935-40), fasc. 1, 103 fig. 55, 102-03, fasc. 2, 127 fig. 208 & pl. 71, fasc. 3, 42-43, 51 & fig. 2, p. 42. *ARL* I, 225, §95a, i, *RITA* I, 194, §95a, i, *RITANC* I, 145-146, §95a, i.

3.96 Deir el-Medina, Hathor Temple, Seti I Altar-stand (no. 304)

PM I 2⁷ 694. S. Bruyère. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh* (1935-40), fasc. 102-03 & fig. 55, fasc. 2, pl. 2, & fig. 209. *ARL* I, 225, §95a, ii, *RITA* I, 194, §95a, ii, *RITANC* I, 145-146, §95a, ii.

Two limestone altar-stands were discovered at the foot of the stairs leading up to the pronaos of the Hathor temple. Both are inscribed with the protocols of Seti I, naming him as beloved of Amen (no. 303) and Hathor (no. 304).

3.97 Deir el-Medina, Hathor Temple, Fragmentary Libation Basin for Hathor (Cairo JdE 72010)

PM I 2⁷ 746. S. Bruyère. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh* (1935-40), fasc. 2, 5, 126, pl. 8, figs. 139-140. *ARL* I, 225, §95a, iii, *RITA* I, 194, §95a, iii, *RITANC* I, 145-146, §95a, iii.

Only a fragment of this once magnificent libation vessel now remains.¹¹ It is decorated with the protocol of Seti I, and he seems to have donated it to the Hathor temple.

3.98 Deir el-Medina, Hathor Temple, Stela of Seti I (no. 414)

S. Bruyère. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh* (1935-40), fasc. 2, 149. *ARL* I, 225, §289i, *RITA* I, 194, §289i, *RITANC* I, 146-147, §289i.

This fragmentary stela was mentioned in passing by Bruyère without a photo or drawing.¹² Its current whereabouts are unknown. Presumably, it too came from the Hathor temple.

¹¹ Ibid., fasc. 2, 51, 126, pl. 8, figs. 139-140.

¹² Ibid., fasc. 2, 149, no. 414.

3.99 Deir el-Medina, Relief of Ameneminet (JdE 43591)

PM 1.2³ 699; G. Foucart, *BIFAO* 24 (1924), pl. 11; R. Freed, *Ramesses the Great* (Memphis, 1987), 142 cat. 11; *ARI* 1.403, §171.1 (corrections, *ARI* VII.43.5-6), *RITANC* 1.333, §171.1, *RITANC* 1.296-297, §171.1

This fine limestone bas relief stems from the tomb of Ameneminet. The upper register shows the monarch garbed in a long pleated gown and a long military wig, holding an incense censer and bowing in adoration before the barque of Amen-Re.¹³³ On stylistic and iconographic grounds, the piece was long believed to date to Seti's reign. A pair of faded cartouches in paint were assumed to be his until Kitchen reexamined them and found they belong to Ramesses II, giving the early form of his prenomen *Wsr-m'rt-R'*.¹³⁴ A rebus with the short prenomen was also worked into the decoration of the veil shrouding the cabin shrine of the barque.

The relief must date to the earliest part of Ramesses' reign before the bowing iconography was abandoned.¹³⁵ It may be that the vignette was laid out in paint and perhaps even partially carved while Seti was alive, since the cartouches which decorate the pylon of some temple in the scene are rendered only in paint. More telling, however, is the rebus on the barque canopy that is carved with Ramesses' prenomen. There is no indication of Seti's name in the design, even though this relief would date to the period of the alleged coregency (*infra* 4.6.3-9).

3.100 Deir el-Medina, Relief Naming Seti I (Turin N. 50081)

M. Tosi & A. Roccati, *Stela e altre epigrafi di Deir el-Medina n. 50081* 56, 262-119, 20, pl. p. 297; *ARI* 1.226, §289iv; *RIT-1* 195, §289iv; *RIT-1* VC 1.46.147, §289iv.

The piece is not part of a stela, as Kitchen thought, but comes rather from a private source, possibly the tomb of Neferhotep (no. 216).¹³⁶ Executed in crude sunk relief, it includes parts of several columns of text that mention the divine couple Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, as well as the prenomen cartouche of Seti I followed by the epithet *m3'-hrw*.

¹³³ Freed (1987), 142 cat. 11.

¹³⁴ *RITANC* 1.297; *ARI* VII.43.5-6.

¹³⁵ Kitchen dates it to the prince regency period while Seti was still alive. *RITANC* 1.297. Only a handful of reliefs depict Ramesses bowing. *supra* 1.2.6.

¹³⁶ Tosi & Roccati (1972), 119-120 & pl. p. 297.


3.101 Medinet Habu, Head of Amen Statue (Port Said Museum P. 4035 = former Cairo temp. no. 23.8.22.4)

PM I.2¹, 775, unpublished, (fig. 132).

Texts on sides of dorsal pillar

Right side *nfr-nfr nb T3wy Mn-mstt-R^c st R^c nb h^w Sty-nw-n-Pth (nr n) Tmn-R^c sdm ws[w](?)*

Left side *ss^c nh dd ws snb nb twt-th nb hst f nb ml R^c dt r nh[h]*.

This small limestone head of a statue of Amen may be dated to early in Seti's reign based on art historical and epigraphic criteria. The nose is quite small, while the ears are both oversized and pierced (fig. 132). Moreover, the nose which is entirely preserved, is straight and rather flat with wide nostrils, unlike the aquiline noses characteristic of Ramesside royal statuary (*supra* 3.58). The eyes are narrow almond shaped and slanted down towards the nose. These characteristics are in keeping with stylistic criteria for post-Amarna sculpture. The mouth is straight, without the depressions at the corner of the mouth found in other Nineteenth Dynasty royal statuary. It also lacks the slight smile characteristic of Ramesside royal sculpture. The head is well preserved, except for the top of the plumes, which are somewhat damaged. Traces of the base of the god's beard are preserved as well. The form of Seti's prenomen, (☉—) is consistent with other examples from the earliest part of the reign (cf. fig. 115 & *supra* 1.45). The right-hand inscription names the god "Amen-Re who hears the cry of woe" or something similar.¹²⁷

3.102 Medinet Habu, Statue of Amenhotep I as Amen (Port Said Museum P. 4020 [= former Cairo CG 1244])

PM I.2 775; L. Borchardt, *Statuen* IV 127, pl. 127; ARI I 224, §93; RITA I.1.93, §93; RITANC I, 144-145, §93.

Like the previous piece, this statue of Amenhotep I in the guise of Amen was found at Medinet Habu.¹²⁸ In its treatment of the nose, mouth and

¹²⁷ W. G. K. (?) Hb. I 245.1. Perhaps related to Amen-who-hears-prayer.

¹²⁸ Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, 127, pl. 127.

ears, it closely resembles Port Said 4035, both sculptures likely dating to the first year or so of Seti's reign. The statue may have been set up in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu or perhaps in some temple dedicated to Amenhotep I at Medinet Habu, or in a shrine near the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu (*RITANE* 1, 144, §284). The prenomen is written conventionally.

3.103 Valley of the Kings, Tomb of Seti I (KV 17)

PM 12, 535-545. E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Sethos I. im Tal der Könige* (Basel, 1990).

Seti's tomb in the Valley of the Kings, KV 17, is well known as among the largest and most extensively decorated royal sepulchers in the valley. The quality of the painted relief decoration is exquisite. KV 17 also features many innovations in the design and decoration of a royal tomb in the New Kingdom. Horemheb was the first monarch of the age to embellish his tomb with painted raised relief, but only in the well room and the sarcophagus chamber.¹⁵⁹ Seti now filled the previously blank descending corridors, antechambers and side rooms with various editions of the underworld books rendered in polychrome bas-relief.¹⁶⁰ Although no royal tomb ever included unabridged editions, Seti's contains among the most complete versions of a number of these books, including *The Amduat* and *The Book of Gates* and the earliest version of the *Book of the Divine Cow* ever inscribed in a royal tomb.¹⁶¹

Architecturally, the overall design was based on Horemheb's tomb, but Seti's huge burial chamber is the first to have a high, vaulted ceiling.¹⁶² The most singular feature, however, is a descending passageway leading down from the floor of the burial chamber to an as yet undetermined depth. This curious structure has still not been adequately explained. It has been variously described as a corridor leading to the 'true' burial chamber or as an attempt to reach the mythical waters of the primeval ocean Nun.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Hornung (1990b), 27-28; Romer (1984), 11.





¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Hornung, 29-30.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 29-30. The *Book of the Divine Cow* already appeared on the gilded wooden shrines enclosing the sarcophagus of Tutankhamen: Piankoff (1977).

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁶³ See discussion in Romer (1989), 74ff.

The innovative decorative program of KV 17 does not seem to have been part of the king's initial plan when work began early in the reign. The normal procedure for creating royal sepulchres during the New Kingdom was to have the outer chambers decorated as soon as they were cut and before the inner ones had been fully hewn. In this way, should the king die unexpectedly, he could be interred in at least a partially completed vault. By contrast with others, such as Ramesses II's,³⁶⁴ the scene of Seti greeting Re-Horakhty just inside the entrance corridor of KV 17 and other reliefs in the outer passage do not seem to be the earliest. Instead, those are found in the well room.³⁶⁵ The proportions and style of figures there are in keeping with examples in the royal tombs of Horemheb and Ramesses I, having the same longer kilts, short legs and straighter noses.³⁶⁶ These traits contrast with the taller figures elsewhere in KV 17, which have aquiline noses and other distinctive stylistic features of the high Ramesside style.³⁶⁷

The orthography of the king's cartouches is also suggestive of an early date for the decoration in the well room. The prenomen is written  in keeping with other monuments associated with Osiris, such as reliefs in the king's monuments from Abydos, the nomen is not written with . Elsewhere in the tomb, it is written with the -glyph, but in the well room, . The costume of the seated divine figures in both cartouches is white, while it is always red in all the other chambers. The only other incidence of the earlier writing of the prenomen is found in a scene over a doorway into room N in the burial chamber that coincides with figures rendered in the holdover style of the royal tombs of Seti's two immediate predecessors.³⁶⁸ In every other case the decoration reflects the mature Ramesside style found in reliefs at Gurnah, Abydos and the Kamak Hypostyle Hall. It is apparent from all these criteria that the well room was the first chamber to be inscribed

³⁶⁴ In KV 7, the outer passage had been excavated and carved in reliefs within the first year or so of the reign when the shorter form of his prenomen was in use. In fact, the draftsmen were still not sure of the proper orthography of the cartouche, which is most peculiar. Mumane (1977), 79-80.

³⁶⁵ Hornung (1990a), pls. 34-37.

³⁶⁶ Robins (1994), 157-159 & fig. 6.47, *idem* (1983a & 1983b).

³⁶⁷ Cf. Horemheb (Hornung [1971], *passim*); Ramesses I (Mysliwiec *Le portrait royal* figs. 202-203); Seti I (*ibid.* Mysliwiec figs. 21 & 213).

³⁶⁸ Hornung (1990a), pl. 162.

and that its decoration may represent an earlier scheme for its embellishment. It is also the case that the reliefs in royal tombs were not always carved from the entrance back, since reliefs in corridor "B" near the entrance were only laid out in monochrome cartoon form, the sculptors having left their work here unfinished at Seti's death.

The tomb was plundered during the late New Kingdom, and it served as a temporary cache for other despoiled royal mummies before these were all transferred, along with Seti's, to the royal cache at Deir el-Bahri during the reign of Siamun.³⁶⁹ Few of Seti's original grave goods remained intact when Belzoni cleared the tomb in 1817.³⁷⁰ Among his finds there was the lower half of an exquisite anthropoid coffin of calcite, along with fragments of its lid. According to Dodson, this had been the outermost of the standard set of three coffins.³⁷¹ The middle coffin, made of wood, was found in the Deir el-Bahri cache with the royal mummy inside.³⁷² It retains little of its former glory, the embossed gold foil that once covered it was stripped away in antiquity and the face crudely remodeled in stucco. No trace of the innermost coffin has survived, perhaps indicating that it, like Tutankhamen's, had been of solid gold.³⁷³ The calcite coffin is not, strictly speaking, the royal sarcophagus, which was always box-shaped. Dodson posits that it was made of wood.³⁷⁴ The coffins and sarcophagus would have been surrounded by a series of nested wooden shrines covered with sheet gold and engraved with episodes from various underworld books.³⁷⁵

Seti's is one of a few royal tombs that were virtually complete when he died. By contrast to Ramesses II and Ramesses III (both of whom had several decades to finish their tombs), Seti had largely completed his in only a decade. This is all the more remarkable considering the fact that the decoration of KV 17 is among the most intricate and carefully painted in the valley, consisting entirely of bas relief except for the ceiling, which was only painted. Romer notes that Horemheb's tomb

³⁶⁹ Reeves (1990), 92-94.

³⁷⁰ Ibid. 92.

³⁷¹ Dodson (1993), 70 & by personal communication.

³⁷² *PM* I 27, 661, 18; Daresny (1909) 30-31 & pls. 16, 18 & 19.

³⁷³ Aidan Dodson by personal communication.

³⁷⁴ Aidan Dodson by personal communication.

³⁷⁵ As attested from the tomb of Tutankhamen (Piankoff 1977), and on an architect's ground plan from the Egyptian Museum in Turin depicting the tomb of Ramesses IV (Hornung [1990b], 42).

represents a break with the old tradition of completing the decoration in hastily executed wall paintings and in only a handful of rooms during preparations for the funeral.¹⁷⁶ Although the decoration in Horemheb's tomb was carved and painted in exquisite bas reliefs, reliefs in the sarcophagus chamber had only been laid out and were in the process of being carved when work stopped at the time of his burial.¹⁷⁷ Ramesses I's tomb was even more incomplete and hurriedly prepared.¹⁷⁸ In order to fulfil his plans for a vast and elaborately decorated tomb, Seti reorganized and expanded the workforce of the royal tomb makers based at the village of Deir el-Medina.¹⁷⁹ His reform of the village was highly successful, for in the end he was interred in one of the largest, most exquisitely decorated and most completely finished tombs in the entire Valley of the Kings.

Uncertain Provenance within Thebes

3.104 Thebes, Stela Fragment of Seti I (British Museum EA 1665)

A. W. Shorter *JEA* 9 (1933), 60-6; fig. 1; M. L. Bierbrier *BABIT* 10 11 pl. 9; *ARI* 1, 231, §99; *RITA* 1, 198-199, §99; *RITANC* 1, 151, §99

This sandstone stela fragment of an uncertain Theban provenance preserves about two fifths of the main text and nothing of the vignette except the base of the king's tail and the back of his heel.¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the upper left portion of the text, which once included the date and titulary, is missing. What is preserved includes a brief encomium in praise of the sovereign and a rhetorical statement lauding his superior leadership of the chariotry. Finally the last two lines record his decree for the re-institution of some festival the name of which is lost, at Thebes on IV *pri* 10 (see *RITANC* 1, 151, §298).

¹⁷⁶ Romer (1984), 11.

¹⁷⁷ Hornung (1971), *passim*.

¹⁷⁸ *Pf* 1 2², 534-535; Reeves (1990), 91-92.

¹⁷⁹ Romer (1983), 12, 2-22. This reorganization seems to have taken place under the direct supervision of the Vizier Paser. It was more extensive than the expansion of the village when the workmen returned to their ancestral home after the Amarna period in the seventh regnal year of Horemheb. See Murnane (1995b), 234-235, no. 107-C 1.

¹⁸⁰ *BABIT* 10, 11, pl. 9.

3.105 Thebes, Fragments of a Theban Votive Temple Model

A. Badawy & E. Riefstahl, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), 11 figs. 15-16. D. Berg, *SAR* 17 (1990), 81-106, pls. 2-4

These fragments in dark grey granite stem from a votive temple model similar to the Heliopolitan temple model of Seti I that is now in Brooklyn (*supra* 3.29). The names and titles of Amen on the various pieces often mention Karnak. Although this might indicate that Karnak was the venue for the actual structure (presumably the Great Hypostyle Hall), Berg makes a case for the ambiguity of the phraseology, leaving open the possibility that some other Theban monument was intended.³⁸¹ He posits that it depicted Gurnah Temple. Another possibility is that it represents the Ramesside court at Luxor, which was also begun under Seti I. As preserved, however, the sockets on the Theban model differ from those on the Heliopolitan example, which clearly represents a monumental pylon gateway similar to the Luxor facade (*infra* 3.120).³⁸²

3.106 Thebes, Statue of Seti I and Amen (Louvre A 130)

J. V. II 533. J. Vandier, *Musée* 3: 390, 408, 410, 419. II. Sourouzian, *MDAIA* 49 (1993), 246-247, pl. 49d

This small group in black granodiorite depicts Seti kneeling in front of an enthroned Amen-Re.³⁸³ The royal figure is preserved except for his head and neck, but only the god's feet and part of his legs survive. The statue can be assigned to Seti because his two cartouches are inscribed on front of the upper surface of the pedestal to either side of his knees. The pedestal, which is rather deep, is otherwise uninscribed.

It may be that it was not completed, but it is more likely that the existing pedestal fitted into the socket of a separate, larger pedestal in the manner of several examples found in the Luxor cache of statues.³⁸⁴ Such an arrangement is, perhaps, depicted in a relief from the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak where Seti kneels before Amen. The two figures rest on a low platform or mat, which in turn is supported by a larger platform.³⁸⁵ Sourouzian posits that Louvre A130, which has pharaoh holding an *ankh*,

³⁸¹ Perhaps the king's memorial temple at Gurnah. *Ibid.* 101-102.

³⁸² Brand (1997), 101-114.

³⁸³ Sourouzian (1993), 246-247, pl. 49d.

³⁸⁴ Statue of Atum and Horemheb. El-Saghir (1991), 35ff.

³⁸⁵ *GHHK* I.1, pl. 150.

represents the deified king, and therefore may have come from Seti I's Gurnah memorial temple.¹⁸⁶

3.107 El-Kab, Lion Figure (Cairo JdE 89120)

J. Capart *et al.* *Fouilles d'El-Kab Documents* (Brussels, 1954), 106, A, pl. 33, ARJ, 226, §96, RITA I, 195, §96, RITANC I, 147, §96.

This statuette represents "Horus who wards-off-evil" in the form of a lion, and was dedicated to the temple of Nekhbet.¹⁸⁷ This form of Horus was more common in later periods, but is known from the shrine of Amenhotep III at El-Kab simply as "Horus-who-wards-off" and from Seti I's temple at Karnak as "Horus lord of the-desert." The texts along the sides of the base give Seti I's full titulary with the epithet "beloved of Horus-who-wards-off-evil" (ARJ I, 226 14-16).

3.108 El-Kab, Reused Blocks of Seti I (Column Drums)

PMV, 173, S. Clarke, *JEA* 8 (1922), 37.

Clarke noted several reused blocks in the temple complex of Nekhbet at El-Kab. Among these were column drums inscribed with the names of Amenhotep I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III and Seti I.¹⁸⁸

3.109 Hierakonpolis, Statue Base Fragment of Seti I

PMV, 196, J. E. Quibell & F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis 2* (ERA 5) (London, 1902), 53.

Little can be said about this piece beyond noting its existence. Quibell and Green failed to provide documentation of relevant details of the monument or its decoration and no photographs or drawings of it are known, and its present whereabouts are unknown.

¹⁸⁶ Sourouzian (1993), 247.

¹⁸⁷ Capart *et al.* (1954), 106, A, pl. 33.

¹⁸⁸ Clarke (1922), 37.

3.110 Gebel Silsila East, Rock Stela, Year Six

PM V, 220: I.D III, 141 c-g, LDT IV, 973, 98 J. de Rougé *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le vicomte* (Paris, 1879), pls. 262-265. R. Klemm & D. Klemm, *Die Steine der Pharaonen* (Munich, 1981), 39, fig. 40; idem, *Steine und Steinbrüche in Ägypten* (Berlin, 1993), 261, abb. 301. *KRI* I, 59-61, §26; *RITA* I, 51-53, §26; *RITANC* I, 56-57, §26.

This stela is known only from various nineteenth century copies, all of which are marred by errors. Unfortunately, no reliable edition of the lunette panel was ever recorded. The present location and condition of the stela are unknown.

The main text, including its dateline, is well preserved⁵⁹⁹. It commemorates a quarrying expedition sent to East Silsila in year six to procure sandstone for building projects. The date given is *npt hst 6 ibd 4 iht sw 1*. This is followed by a full royal titulary and a brief encomium of the king. Next comes the main subject of the text:

Now when His Majesty, L PH, was in the Southern City doing what he, (namely) his father Amen-Re king of the gods, praises, he lay awake seeking out what is beneficial for all the gods of Egypt. Dawn broke and the next⁶⁰⁰ day came and His Majesty, L PH, caused a royal messenger of His Majesty s, L PH, to be sent with a corps of 1000 men of the army, likewise (reference to ships)⁶⁰¹ with crews in order to ferry monuments for his father Amen-Re (and for Osiris together with his Linthead, consisting of fine hard sandstone (*KRI* I, 60-8-11).

The rest of the main document records how the ruler provided generous rations and supplies to his workmen and how in turn "they worked willingly for His Majesty, L PH." The practice of supplying liberal rations to such expeditions is mentioned in at least one other early Nineteenth Dynasty text⁶⁰².

The inscription does not specify which building project(s) were to receive stone from this expedition. It states variously that pharaoh acted on behalf of "all the gods of Egypt," and that he procured stone for

⁵⁹⁹ For a new translation and commentary, see Davies (1997), 199-204.

⁶⁰⁰ *sw m m n hsw hptw* *KRI* I, 4-6-15, correcting ibid. 60-9. *RITANC* I, 57 § 02.

⁶⁰¹ Cf. the larger year nine stela of the king from Aswan recording quarry work *infra* 3.121 *KRI* I 74.13.

⁶⁰² Cf. Ramesses II's year nine stela from Marshut es-Sadr, Hamada (1938), 2, 7-230; *KRI* I, 360-362; *RITA* II, 193-195; *RITANC* II, 216-218; Davies (1997), 225-232.

"Amen-Re (along with) Osiris and his Ennead." In the accompanying scene, he worships Amen-Re, Ptah and an unidentified goddess.¹⁹¹

Kitchen suggests that the stone was earmarked for various building projects in Upper Egypt, including the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, the Gurnah memorial temple and the Abydos temple. Although the latter was built primarily in limestone, sandstone was also used.¹⁹² It is far more likely, however, that the intended Abydene venue was the Osireion, in which a great deal of sandstone was employed (*supra* 3.53).

Most of this sandstone, however, was destined for Thebes. Year six came halfway through the reign and construction of one if not both of Seti's main building projects at Thebes, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and the Gurnah memorial temple, was surely well underway by this time. Of these, the Karnak Hypostyle Hall was both the larger and the most complete at his death. By contrast, the Gurnah Temple required considerably less sandstone, since only its rear portions employed this material in any quantity. The rest of the edifice was largely constructed of mud brick (*supra* 3.84.1). Moreover, the process of decorating Gurnah seems to have begun late in the king's reign, and less than half its reliefs were finished at his death. This, in turn, points to a relatively late date for its construction. Thus, although the Karnak Hypostyle Hall may still have been under construction in year six, work on it was surely begun much earlier (*infra* 3.11.2). Work on the Gurnah Temple, on the other hand, may have just begun at this point.

3.111 Gebel Silsila East, Rock Stela of Hapi

PMV 220: LIT IV, 97.6; R. Klemm & D. Klemm, *Die Steine der Pharaonen* (Munich, 1981), 39, fig. 40; idem, *Steine und Steinbrüche in Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1993), 261, abb. 301, KR/I 61, §27, RITA 1, 53, §27, RITANC 1, 57-58, §27.

The scene on this stela shows the official Hapi adoring the cartouches of Seti I.¹⁹³ The text describes him as "The Chief of Retainers, favorite of His Majesty, LPH, and Superintendent of the task-force for the

¹⁹¹ KR/I, 59.12.3. Unfortunately, the scene was never accurately copied. De Rouge (1879), pls. 262-265.

¹⁹² The first pylon was constructed of sandstone, although it may have been built under Ramesses II. Ghazoui (1964), 167. RITANC 1, 52-53. This material was used in other portions of the temple, such as in the first hypostyle hall, but most of the temple was limestone. *infra* 3.47.1 & 3.47.3.

¹⁹³ LIT IV, 97.6; Griffith (1889), 234, pl. 3.

monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands." Kitchen cautions that he may not have been the leader of the quarrying expedition commemorated by Seti's year six stela (*RITANC* 1, 58, §104). That text records that a messenger, *wpwty*, was summoned to lead the expedition (*KRI* 1, 60-10). Still, Hapi's titles seem too high-flown to be those of anyone but the leader of such an expedition. Moreover, Hapi's stela adjoins the year six stela. There would have certainly been other missions to the Silsila quarries before year six, to acquire stone for the Karnak Hypostyle Hall (see next entry) and further ones may have come after year six. Hapi, if not the leader of the year six expedition, was perhaps at the head of one of those other missions.

3.112 Gebel Silsila West, Rhetorical Stela of Seti I

PM v 218, J. de Rouge *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pls. 265-267, *ARI* 1, 80-81, §43; *RITA* 1, 68-70, §43, *RITANC* 1, 68-69, §43.

This stela is known only from a hand copy made by De Rouge. Kitchen posits that it is incomplete at the end (*RITA* 1, 69, §139). The preserved text bears Seti's titulary followed by a long *roya*, encomium. Any mention of the specific event being commemorated was lost or left unrecorded by De Rouge. A pair of vertical strokes preceding the titulary might be part of a dateline, but the space is unusually small for this, and the term *hr* (*hm n*) is missing. De Rouge's copy is liable to be inaccurate in some way, and the text may have been damaged at this point, making it possible that year two was meant. This interpretation is admittedly hazardous, since the strokes could just as easily refer to the day or even the month in the dateline. On the other hand, the smaller year nine quarry text of the king from Aswan gives a bare *wpw nsh* 9 *nsw-bity Mn-ms't R'* as the dateline, without the phrase *hr hm n* (*KRI* 1, 73-11).

The long rhetorical text suggests a major event was being commemorated. If the stela recorded a quarrying expedition and, further, if it can be dated to year two, then it might once have recorded the opening of a quarry to supply stone for the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. This is, admittedly, pure speculation.

3.113 Gebel Silsila West, Hapi Shrine of Seti I

PAf V, 218. P. Barguet, *BIFAO* 50, 1952, 49-63, pl. 2. *KRI* I, 81-91, §44 A, *RITAI* 76-80, §44, *RITANC* I, 69-77, §44.


This rock stela was the first in a series of four Ramesside monuments dedicated to Hapi, genius of the Nile inundation.³⁹⁶ Unfortunately, Seti's is badly damaged, with the scene, the date and much of the main text lost. The other three were dedicated by Ramesses II, Merenptah and Ramesses III. The first two of these are dated to the king's first regnal year, while that of Ramesses III is from year six. Although the date of Seti's inscription is lost, it was almost certainly in year one to judge from the next two shrines, which are very similar to it. The endowment, or re-endowment, of new cults with provisions may have been a priority for the king early in his reign.

3.114 Edfu, Stela of Seti I to Hathor (Edinburgh RMS 1907.632)

H. M. El-Saady, *JEA* 76 (1990), 186-188 & pl. 201.

This round-topped votive stela is of unknown provenance.³⁹⁷ Of sandstone, it is carved in sunk relief with no traces of paint. The entire surface consists of a tableau depicting Seti I offering two *nw* jars to the goddess Hathor, who stands before him on a pithos.


The texts are straightforward: the act of the king is "making libation," while over his head the text reads "the perfect god Menmaatre Son of Re, Seti Merenptah, given life." The goddess is titled "Hathor who resides in Bendet." This toponym can refer to a number of ancient sites, but El-Saady has argued that, of all these, Edfu is the most likely candidate. Hathor had a cult center there by the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and she played a major role in the festivals of Horus of Edfu as his consort.³⁹⁸

The orthography of the prenomen () is highly peculiar. The phonetic writing of *mt* in a hieroglyphic inscription is particularly unusual.³⁹⁹ All the parallels collected by El-Saady for this

³⁹⁶ Barguet (1952), 49-63, pl. 2.

³⁹⁷ El-Saady (1990), 186-188 & pl. 201.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 106. Fairman (1954), 196-200.

³⁹⁹ A similar variant in Carnub Temple, written () occurs in a bandeau text of Ramesses II on the portico.

were in hieratic.⁶⁰⁰ The most likely explanation for this curious writing is that the draftsman rendered the prenomen according to the hieratic orthography of the king's prenomen by mistake.

The workmanship of the stela is of medium quality. Stylistically, the relief shows characteristics of the mature Ramesside style. The nose is somewhat aquiline and the belly flat. The pose has a very slight forward inclination, and this effect is heightened by the left shoulder which is somewhat higher than the right.⁶⁰¹ The stela probably dates to the middle or later years of the king's reign.

3.115 Elephantine, "Nilometer" Stela of Seti I

PA IV 226 (Champlinon, *VD* I, 223-5; W. Kaiser, *Mf-ATA* 26, 1970), 113-38 & pl. 43b; F. Junge, *Elephantine XI: Funde und Bauteile* (Mainz, 1987), 49-50, 4.2.3, pl. 3; *KRI* I, 97-98, §45; *RITA* I, 81-82, §45; *RITANC* I, 78, §45.

This large stela fragment was found on Elephantine, where it had been set in the coping of the Nilometer of the Satef temple⁶⁰² but it was probably first erected in the Khnum temple of the New Kingdom (*RITANC* I, 78 [b] §151). An unknown number of lines of the text are missing from the bottom, and its original height is unclear. Its width can be estimated by the dimensions of the double scene and the layout of the royal titulary in the first line. About six groups are missing from either end of the first line, which is the widest of the preserved text (*KRI* I 97.6-7).

Carved in sunk relief, the lunette consists of a double scene with a short rhetorical text running down its center, dividing the two vignettes.⁶⁰³ On the right, the king stands before Amen-Re offering two *hwt-wjars*. He wears a triangular kilt, bracelets and a broad collar. Only traces of his headgear remain, but it appears to be the *khepresh*. Part of the right foot is all that survives of the royal figure in the left panel, the object of his worship being the god Khnum. The two divine figures stand on \llcorner -plinths and hold *was*-scepters and *ankh*-signs.

⁶⁰⁰ El Saady, 1990b, 186, n. 6; *KRI* I 243-5, 244.11, 260-5, 274.8, 369-2.

⁶⁰¹ Cf. Leiden V. 16 Inv. # AP61, the king's votive stela from Saqqara where his back shoulder is higher although his torso is fully erect, *supra* 1.2.3 & 3.38.

⁶⁰² Junge (1987), 49.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, pl. 3.

Several features point to an early date. The figures conform to a late post-Amarna style of relief current in the earliest years of Seti's reign. Thus he has a long, slender neck, narrow shoulders and slim arms and legs. The lips are full, and the mouth is marked by a down-curved groove denoting the cheeks, and the brow is modeled. His posture is fully upright.

In the main text, the nineteenth line of the main inscription bears a prenomen cartouche with the epithet *Iti R'*. While such epithets were occasionally used with the prenomen in the texts of later stelae, they are most common in the earliest years of the reign (*supra* 1.4.5). The stela records a "conversation," really a pair of speeches, between the king and the god Khnum.⁶⁰⁴ The preserved section of the text contains the king's speech. Here Seti thanks Khnum for having entrusted him with the kingship of Egypt, and assures the god that he has heeded his guidance. The text breaks off at the very beginning of Khnum's response. Based on art historical, epigraphic and textual evidence, the most likely date for the text, then, would be year one or two, but certainly within the first half of the reign.⁶⁰⁵

3.116 Elephantine, Relief Fragment of Seti I

† Junge, *Elephantine XI Funde und Bauteile*, 49, 4.2.2.2, pl. 29d

Carved in raised relief, this sandstone block originates from a ritual scene from the New Kingdom temple of Satei.⁶⁰⁶ The preserved decoration includes the tops of two cartouches, a uraeus surmounting a cluster of lotus blossoms, part of the name of the goddess Nekhbet and traces of a Golden Horus title which best suit Seti I.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁴ For translations see Breasted, *ARE* III 89 §§203-4 (lines 14-16 only), *ibid* Junge, 49-51, *RITA* 1, 81-82.


⁶⁰⁵ Contra Habachi (1971), 124 who erroneously associates the stela with quarrying operations recorded on Seti's two year nine stela from Aswan.

⁶⁰⁶ Junge (1987), 49 & pl. 29d.

⁶⁰⁷ Although the fragmentary prenomen and Gold Horus name could belong to Amenhotep III, the traces at the top of the nomen cartouche match the name of Ptah, as in Seti-Merenptah. *Ibid.*, 49, 4.2.2.2 note d.

3.117 Elephantine, Wall Relief of Seti I Offering Wine to Khnum

F. Junge, *Elephantine XI Funde und Bauten* 48-49, 4.2.2.1, pl. 30a

This sandstone block was found in the northeast side gateway of the Roman period temple of Khnum.⁴⁰⁸ It preserves a fragment of an offering scene in sunk relief. The rather crude quality is more characteristic of the work of Ramesses II, but a cartouche identifies it as belonging to Seti. Of the king's figure, only one upraised arm holding a *nw*-jar is preserved. The angle at which this arm projects upward indicates that he was kneeling. Khnum, identified by an inscription in front of him, is enthroned on a high -plinth surmounted by a reed mat. Only the god's left arm, right hand and legs and the tip of one of his horns remain. The style of relief and the diminutive scale of the composition suggest, perhaps, that it came from the uppermost register of an exterior wall of the Khnum temple, as do similar vignettes from the top registers in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.⁴⁰⁹

3.118 Elephantine, Fragments of Three Sandstone Doorways

F. Junge, *Elephantine XI Funde und Bauten* 48-49, 4.2.1-4, pls. 29a-e,g

All four of these gateway fragments are of sandstone decorated with incised texts. Two can be assigned to the same doorway by their dimensions and the similarity in the carving of the glyphs.⁴¹⁰ A third block comes from the upper right-hand portion of another doorway its workmanship being the coarsest.⁴¹¹ By contrast the fourth block is more carefully finished than the others.⁴¹² These blocks probably correspond to three separate doorways of modest dimensions. All are decorated with elements of Seti's titulary and they may have belonged to some mud brick structure now lost, such as temple magazines of the kind Seti erected in the Ramesside temple complex at Aksha (*infra* 3.138) or to a gateway Seti added to the mud brick Sphinx temple of Amenhotep II at Giza (*supra* 2.4 & 2.5).

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 48 & pl. 30a

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. *GHHA* I.1, pls. 81-86



⁴¹⁰ 4.2.1 and 4.2.1.2; Junge (1987), 48 & pl. 29a & c

⁴¹¹ 4.2.1.4; *ibid.*, 48 & pl. 29g

⁴¹² 4.2.1.3; *ibid.*, 48 & pl. 29f

3.119 Elephantine, Graftito of Seti I & Crown Prince Ramesses

S. Seidlmayer (1999), 41-42. *idem*, *Felsinschriften auf und um Elephantine*, in press

This grafitto is one of over 70 new rock inscriptions recently discovered by members of the German Archaeological Institute on a small islet called Hassawanarti that is now joined to Elephantine.¹³ It takes the form of a rectangular box divided into two registers with a -sign along the top. As is typical with such inscriptions, the figures are rendered in silhouette and are lighter in color against the dark granite, an effect achieved by abrading the surface. In the upper panel, Seti I offers two *mw*-jars to Khnum. The king is garbed in a long robe, sporting a ceremonial tail and a *khepresh*-crown with two streamers. Above his head are his two cartouches without introductory titles. He stands upright, his shoulders slanting down towards his front (cf. *supra* 3.38 & fig. 76). The ram-headed Khnum wears an *ttf*-crown and stands on a -plinth holding a *wss*-scepter and an *fnh*. The icon is glossed by his name without epithets. Between them is an offering stand with a *nmst*-jar and a lotus bouquet.

The lower pane, show the kneeling figure of a prince holding a *hw*-fan facing toward the king to whom he pays homage. In front of him are three columns of text and a short horizontal band over his head. The text reads: (1) *hw-hw hr wmm n nsw tms r ms* (2) *wt m mww nh st nsw ms* (3) *irv p't st nsw R' ms* (4) *sw*. "fanbearer on the king's right side, great overseer of the task force for among all monuments, true king's scribe, his beloved, the Her apparent"¹⁴ and King's Son"¹⁵ Ramessu."

The prince is dressed in a long robe with a wig and sandals, and holds a *hw*-fan, emblem of the office of "fanbearer on the king's right side," a signal honor given only to those in pharaoh's highest esteem. The vignette resembles examples showing one of the Viceroys of Kush, such as Amenemopet, who left a number of graffiti in the Aswan region and in Nubia during Seti's reign.

Ramesses' protocol is rather unusual. The hieroglyphs most important titles are abbreviated. Normally, one would expect *irv p't st nsw nsw n htf*,

¹³ Seidlmayer (1999), 41-43.

¹⁴ Here *irv-p't* is used to distinguish the prince as the hieroglyph can also be translated as "hereditary prince."

¹⁵ The phrase *st nsw* is badly worn, but the reading has been confirmed by Seidlmayer.

"hereditary prince and eldest king's son of his body" (*infra* 4.6.3ff). The scribe who laid out the scene seems to have run out of room and may have abbreviated Ramesses' titles to save room for his name, which was partly squeezed in over his head. The first series of titles are, however, the most interesting. The title of fanbearer on the king's right hand is not attested for any prince before him,^{61a} but was commonly bestowed on later Ramesside princes, including his own sons.^{61b} The fan itself appears in a number of other reliefs showing Ramesses II alongside Seti (*supra* 3.39 & 3.64). Could it be that this iconography originated when the prince was bestowed with this high honor? It would have been in keeping with Ramesses' own policy as king of using his sons in the highest levels of the administration as a buffer between himself and his subjects.^{61c}

Ramesses' other title, "great overseer of the 'task force'" for all the monuments of the king," is also extraordinary. It marks his role in supervising quarry work and construction. This inscription must almost certainly be associated with the two quarry texts of year nine recording the quarrying of colossal statues and obelisks, one of which mentions that an unnamed "king's eldest son" was in charge of the work (see the two following entries).

^{61a} Unless the disgraced Generalissimo Nakhmin of the late Eighteenth Dynasty was a son of Ay (Dodson [1990] 95-96 with nn. 78-80), nevertheless, Nakhmin could have easily received this title before Ay became king, as his career seems to have progressed to the highest levels before Tutankhamen's death. He donated five ushabtis to Tutankhamen's burial. *Ibid.*, 95-96, n. 80.

^{61b} Murnane (1994), 206. He notes that Ramesses II often bestowed this title on his sons, although he believes that Ramesses had not received it from Seti.

^{61c} *Ibid.*, 203ff.

^{61d} Here *ms'* does not refer to the army as a military unit, but as a corp used for civil engineering. Still, as in other ancient and modern civilizations, the *ms'* could serve both for military operations and for large-scale civil engineering projects.

3.120 Aswan, Smaller Stela of Seti I, Year Nine

PM V 247 I. Habachi, *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 114-117 fig. 1 pl. 1 *KRI* I, 73, §36; *RITA* I, 62, §36; *RITANC* I, 64, §36, (figs. 133-134).

This rock stela was engraved in sunk relief on a cliff some 150 meters west of the Unfinished Obelisk (figs. 133-134).⁶²⁰ The inscription is somewhat eroded, particularly at the top of the lunette, where some of the titles and epithets of the king and Amen-Re are largely worn away.⁶²¹

The text is also eroded, and Lepsius' copy records only the first line and about half of the second, along with only traces of the other two.⁶²² The stela records an expedition to procure colossal statues:

Regnal year nine of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre son of Re Seti-Merenptah. His Majesty LPH ordered the making for himself of colossal statues of black (stone). Then His Majesty discovered a new quarry for great statues of black (stone), the crowns thereof being from the Red Mountain the mountain of quartzite (*bit*).⁶²³ See never had their like ever been seen since the time of Re. The name of the quarry which His Majesty LPH discovered: the quarry of Menmaatre-Ruler of-the-Two-Lands.

The present author has recently shown that the statues referred to are probably the four seated colossi in and in front of the Ramesside court in Luxor Temple.⁶²⁴ The smaller year nine text further specifies that the crowns of the colossi will be of *bit* stone from the Red Mountain (*KRI* I, 73.12). This statement has caused some confusion among scholars as to the nature of the statues described, since no colossi inscribed for Seti I are preserved. Debate has focused on the description of the crowns. Sethe had argued that the statues were monolithic, noting that contiguous veins of black and red granite are found in the Aswan quarries.⁶²⁵

⁶²⁰ Habachi (1973), 114-117, pl. 10.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 115, fig. 1.

⁶²² *LD* III, 141; *LPT* IV, 118-119 (4) with a.

⁶²³ *KRI* I, 73.12. The Marshiyet es-Sadr stela of Ramesses II also calls for "great statues, their crowns being of *bit* of the quarry of Usermaatre setepenre Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands" (*KRI* II, 362.10-1; *RITANC* II, 2.6.217). For a new translation and commentary of this stela, see Davies (1997), 225-232.

⁶²⁴ Brand (1997), 101-114.

⁶²⁵ Sethe (1933).

This idea was rejected by Harris, who believed the crowns came from a different quarry.⁶¹⁶

The confusion arose from the phrase *h'w sn trv m dw ds(r)t dn bl'wt* Habachi took this as "the crowns thereof from the Mountain of Quartzite of the Red Mountain." Kitchen translates it as "whose crowns were (to be) of red quartzite from the Red Mountain (*Gebel Ahmar*)."⁶¹⁷ Habachi's translation is superior to Kitchen's, but neither of their conclusions regarding its meaning is correct.

One of the four great seated Luxor colossi, the western one in front of the pylon, does indeed have a red crown.⁶¹⁸ The statue was cut so that the lower half of its red crown could be carved in a vein of red granite running through the contiguous black granodiorite of which the rest of the statue is composed.⁶¹⁹ A vein of red granite runs through the back part of the *nemes*-headdress of the eastern colossus, this being precisely what is described in the text of the stela. The original plan for the embellishment of the Luxor forecourt probably included on y the four

⁶¹⁶ Harris (1961), 75. Followed by Habachi (1973), 117, and Kitchen, *RIE-ANC* I, 64.

⁶¹⁷ Followed by Davies (1997), 224.

⁶¹⁸ I am indebted to Dr. Raymond Johnson for this information. His observations were first made after a thunderstorm at Luxor where the rainwater brought out the lighter red color of the stone of the crown. Once noticed, it is quite apparent. This material must be red granite, which occurs in veins contiguous with veins of black granodiorite at Aswan. James Harris, by personal communication. This was called *h'w* in the small year nine stela. Like modern Egyptologists, the ancients seem not to have distinguished between different kinds of red hard stones and used the term *h'w* for different types of stone.

⁶¹⁹ A similar case is the "Young Memnon" colossus of Ramesses II from the Ramesseum, now in the British Museum. The body is of black granodiorite, while the head and crown are of a separate vein of red granite. Aldred, 1986, 194. Similarly a small black granodiorite head of Ramesses II wearing a *nemes*-headdress surmounted by the Double Crown has a patch of pink granite covering the brow of the *nemes* and the front of the Red Crown. Rossmann (1989, 290, 292 & pls. 46-47), dates the piece to the earlier part of the reign, confirmed by Sourouzian, 1998, 290-292 & pls. 46-47.

Leblanc (1985), 80 & n. 46, insists that the dual coloration of the Young Memnon was irrelevant because it was painted. Both the papyrus the Egyptians took to carve such colossi from separate veins of stone and the textual references to this practice are, however, in keeping with a deliberate effort to emphasize the dual coloration of the stone. Moreover, paint was often used only to highlight features of granite statuary, as with the intact statue of Thutmose II from his temple at Deir el-Bahri, where veiled paint highlights the stripes on the *nemes*-crown and traces of red paint remain on the face. Lipinska (1984), cat. 1 & pls. 68-74.

seated colossi of black granodiorite and two obelisks.⁶³⁰ A relief accompanying the year three dedication text portrays the facade of the pylon with two seated colossi and a pair of obelisks without the other four smaller standing colossi, which were added later.⁶³¹ A second depiction of the facade (this time showing all six colossi), was carved on the interior south-west wall of the court.⁶³²

These statues, along with the two Luxor obelisks, were commissioned by Seti in year nine, scarcely two years before his death. Ramesses II had the good fortune to inherit a number of monoliths and the partially built Luxor forecourt and pylon, which were undecorated and probably still under construction at his accession. The colossi would have been transported to Luxor in the rough, with the court being built up around the southern pair, which are now inside it.⁶³³

There is also textual evidence to support the notion that the four Luxor colossi were first commissioned by Seti I. Habachi first pointed out that such monuments were gigantic cult statues dedicated to the cult of the royal *Ka*.⁶³⁴ As such, they were generally given names.⁶³⁵ The eastern seated colossus in front of the pylon at Luxor was named "Usermaatre-setepenre-Ramesses-nuamen Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands. On the present stela, the phrase "ruler of the Two Lands," *hkt tswy*, is appended to Seti I's prenomen in two cases. One of these is found in the lunette scene where the royal protocol is depicted in huge glyphs behind the king's figure.⁶³⁶ This anomalous use of the royal cartouches in the vignette may have been intended to emphasize the divinity of the proposed cult statues, with the caption perhaps being the prospective name for one of the statues. In the last line of the main text, the quarry is named "the quarry of Menmaatre-Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands given *hite*."

⁶³⁰ The four seated colossi are made of black granodiorite called *hnt* "black stone" in the smaller year nine stela.

⁶³¹ Kuentz (1971), pls. 21 & 26.

⁶³² *PM II*, 308 (30); Capart (1926), 41, fig. 23; Bell (1997), 153, fig. 62.

⁶³³ See Brand (1997), 110-111.

⁶³⁴ Habachi (1969), 19.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁶³⁶ Habachi (1973), 115, fig. 1. The epithets that distinguished individual colossi were not usually enclosed within the cartouche proper as with the Luxor colossi. The usage in the year nine stela is highly unusual. A rare parallel is a votive stela of Prince Meryatum worshipping a colossus of his father named the "Usermaatre-setepenre-Monthu-in-the-Two-Lands," Leblanc (1999), 87, fig. 27.

By contrast, the epithet does not appear in the prenomen cartouche in the titulary sequence at the beginning of the text, and this particular epithet is quite rare in contexts other than on royal colossi. The eastern colossus from the facade of Luxor Temple is the earliest example from Ramesses II's reign to bear the epithet "Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands," and is the only one made for him in black stone.⁶³⁷ From the evidence of the smaller Aswan text of year nine and the striking parallels to the four seated colossi at Luxor Temple, we may safely assume that the latter were commissioned by Seti I in his year nine but none were completed until after his death.⁶³⁸

3.121 Aswan, Larger Stela of Seti I, Year Nine

PM V 245 I (Habachi *BH-40* 73–1973), 118–124, fig. 2 pl. 2. *KRI I*, 74, §37, *RITA* I, 63–64, §37, *RITANC* I, 64–65, §37

This larger rock stela, also from year nine, is carved on a large boulder.⁶³⁹ The scene depicts the king bowing with an exaggerated stoop holding an incense censer with both hands, paying homage to the Elephantine triad of Khnum, Satet and Anukis.⁶⁴⁰ Following a dateline, titulary and a royal encomium, the main text records that

His Majesty, I PH, has ordered the commissioning of multitudinous works for the making of very great obelisks and great and wondrous statues in the name of His Majesty, I PH. He made great barges for transporting them, and ships crews to match them (for) ferrying them to the quarry while the officials and transport men hastened and his eldest son was before them doing what is beneficial for His Majesty (*KRI I*, 74.12–14)

⁶³⁷ Habachi (1969), 18

⁶³⁸ Similarly, the great recumbent colossus of Ramesses II at Memphis, carved from indurated limestone, bears on its left shoulder the early form of his *KRI II* 494.4. The limestone colossus would not have come from Aswan, but from a nearby locale. The limestone colossus may have been commissioned late in Seti's reign. Other as yet unidentified colossi would have been ordered for the pylon gateway Seti erected at Helopolis, *supra* 3.29; Badawy & Renfrost (1972), 3

⁶³⁹ For a new translation and commentary, see Davies (1997), 221–224

⁶⁴⁰ Habachi (1973), 119, fig. 2 and pl. 11

Of the monuments referred to here, only the Flaminian obelisk, now in Rome, can be identified (*supra* 3 16). The Flaminian was only partially decorated at Seti's death, and it was left to Ramesses II to complete. To date, no trace of the Flaminian obelisk's companion has been identified. It cannot have been either the siliceous sandstone obelisk fragment, also from Aswan (*infra* 3 121), nor one of the two fragmentary obelisks found recently in the harbor at Alexandria (*supra* 3 17 & 3 18). According to the larger year nine stela, Seti appears to have commissioned a "multitude," *ḥḥw*, of obelisks.⁶⁴¹ Like the four seated colossi of Ramesses II from Luxor, it seems that the two Luxor obelisks also date a bit earlier than is usually thought.⁶⁴² On the one that is now in Paris, the decoration of all but the western face of the pyramidion and shaft exhibits the early form of Ramesses II's prenomen.⁶⁴³ On the other, the short form is found only on the western face of the pyramidion and shaft,⁶⁴⁴ the rest bearing the longer form. The evidence of the Luxor obelisks suggest that their faces were decorated in turn over the course of the first regnal year.⁶⁴⁵ All the exposed faces of the western shaft and one face of the eastern monument had been completed before the order to adopt the long form came down sometime during his second regnal year. This would imply, in turn, that the monuments themselves, if they were not produced specifically for Ramesses II at the very beginning of his reign might be still earlier, assuming there would have been time.

That work on the Luxor obelisks could have proceeded so far during Ramesses II's first year or so suggests that they had almost certainly been in the works before he came to the throne, and that they and the four black granodiorite seated colossi could be among those referred to on Seti I's year nine stelae from Aswan, where he ordered the procurement of several (i.e. at least two pairs) of obelisks and colossi. The evidence from the Luxor obelisks lends further weight to a suggestion made by Redford that the Luxor court was planned, if not begun, under Seti I.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴¹ See Brand (1997), 104ff.

⁶⁴² KRI II, 598-605; RITANC II, 405-406; PM II, 302-304.

⁶⁴³ KRI II, 605: 15, 602: 3, 6, 13, 16 & 603: 3.

⁶⁴⁴ KRI I, 598: 10 & 599: 6.

⁶⁴⁵ Brand (1997), 108-109.

⁶⁴⁶ Redford (1971), 118.

3.122 Aswan, Obelisk Fragment of Seti I

L. Habachi in *Drevnna Egipet* (Moscow, 1960), 224-235, figs. 9-5; R. & D. Klemm, *Die Steine der Pharaonen* (Munich, 1981), fig. 40; P. Brand, *JARCE* 34 (1997), 104-107, figs. 3-7.

This fragment of the upper shaft and pyramidion of a medium-sized obelisk was first published by Habachi.⁶⁴⁷ It lies in an ancient quarry for siliceous sandstone at Gebel Guab on the west bank near Aswan.⁶⁴⁸ It seems to have been extracted and partially dressed, with some decoration carved on three faces of the upper shaft immediately below the base of the pyramidion consisting of tableaux of the king kneeling before various manifestations of the Heliopolitan sun gods.⁶⁴⁹ The shaft broke off just below these scenes. A fourth side remains only partially dressed.

Kitchen suggested that this fragment might be the intended mate for the Flaminian obelisk of Seti I (*RITAC* I, 97, §186). This now seems impossible. Habachi estimated that it was a relatively small obelisk, about 12 meters, judging from both the size of its pyramidion and a nearby quarry face which is 12 meters wide.⁶⁵⁰ At only 12 meters high, it would have been dwarfed by the 23 meter Flaminian. Egyptian illustrations of obelisk pairs always show them as being of the same height. In reality, however, some pairs could differ measurably in height. The two obelisks set up by Ramesses II in front of Luxor Temple are a dramatic example of this. The eastern one is 25 meters high, while the western one (now in Paris) is 22.5 meters high.⁶⁵¹ Given the unique problems associated with quarrying such huge monuments, the difference is not surprising. Still, they are on roughly the same scale. Most pairs, in fact, were almost exactly the same height.⁶⁵² The Aswan

⁶⁴⁷ Habachi (1960), 224-235, figs. 9-5. See now Klemm & Klemm (1981), fig. 40; Brand (1997), 103, fig. 3-6 & 104 fig. 7.

⁶⁴⁸ Klemm *et al.* (1984), 207-220.

⁶⁴⁹ Habachi (1960), 227-230 & figs. 11-13.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 230-231.

⁶⁵¹ Habachi (1978), fig. 33.

⁶⁵² As among several pairs of obelisks of Ramesses II at Tanis, all of which were between 9 and 14 meters high, the difference between each of the paired obelisks was less than 5m, with the difference between one pair being only 0.3m. Montet (1936) 104, 114.

fragment is composed of red siliceous sandstone⁶⁵¹ By contrast, the Rome monument, like others of its magnitude, is pink granite. So the Aswan fragment was probably destined for some other Heliopolitan venue before it was abandoned, and the Flaminian obelisk's mate remains missing.

In fact, there is evidence from a nearby quarry face about 50 meters to the south, that this unfinished obelisk had a mate of its own. This quarry face, from which the broken monolith was undoubtedly removed, shows signs of continued work beyond what would have been necessary for one obelisk. The top, as well as the side of the face has been partly smoothed down along its whole length, and the side of its face too. Moreover, at one end, the side turns in and the top of the smoothed down portion narrows to a point, giving the impression of an obelisk with its pyramidion, and this indeed is undoubtedly what it is. Presumably one obelisk had been extracted and production of the second one was underway when the first broke, as a result the project was abandoned. The siliceous sandstone from Gebel Gulab is of inferior quality to that found at Gebel Ahmar near Cairo⁶⁵². The monolith was apparently cannibalized for blocks, which explains why only the pyramidion and a much smaller fragment remain.

3.123 Philae, Block of Seti I

S. Farag *et al.*, *Oriens Antiquus* 18 (1979), 281 & pl. 18a

This reused sandstone block is inscribed with the nomen of Seti I in sunk relief. It once belonged to a doorjamb from one of the king's buildings on Elephantine from whence it was probably brought.

⁶⁵¹ I am grateful to Dr. James Harrell for this information, as well as for photos of the obelisk and its quarry site. Habachi (1960), 230-231. Siliceous sandstone is wrongly called quartzite by many Egyptologists. Most of it was quarried from Gebel Ahmar near Cairo. Beds of the same material at Gebel Gulab near Aswan were of inferior quality and were rarely used in pharaonic times. The Aswan obelisk fragment of Seti, which came from this quarry, may have broken because of the poor quality of the stone. James Harrell, personal communication. See Klemm *et al.* (1984), 207-220.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.* Klemm *et al.* 211ff.

DESERTS OUTSIDE EGYPT

3.124 Wadi Hammamat, Rock Stela of Seti I (no. 94)

PM VII 333 J. Couyat & P. Montet, *IHHOH* 69 pl. 23, no. 94 R. Klemm & D. Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche in Alten Ägypten* (Berlin 1993), 362-363, abb. 411-412, *KRI* 1, 64, §31A, *RITA* 1, 55, §31A, *RITANC* 1, 60, §31A

3.125 Wadi Hammamat, Rock Stela of Seti I (no. 213)

PM VII 333 J. Couyat & P. Montet, *IHHOH* 105, pl. 41, no. 213, *KRI* 1, 64, §31B, *RITA* 1, 55, §31B, *RITANC* 1, 60, §31B

3.126 Wadi Hammamat, Rock Stela of Seti I (no. 214)

PM VII 333 J. Couyat & P. Montet, *IHHOH* 105, pl. 40, no. 214, *KRI* 1, 64, §31C, *RITA* 1, 55, §31C, *RITANC* 1, 60, §31C

These three rock inscriptions of Seti I are the only known evidence of the king's activity in the Wadi Hammamat. They presumably attest to quarrying activity there during his reign, but all three consist of purely formal ritual scenes without historical texts.

No. 94 depicts Seti kneeling on a tall plinth before the enthroned Amen-Re⁶⁵. An offering stand bearing a *mnst*-jar and a tall bouquet of flowers sits between the two. The relief has been inserted over an earlier inscription of Akhenaten, and the titles of Amen, written directly in front of the god's face and torso, obliterate part of the earlier king's relief. A sun disk with pendant uraei and solar rays terminating in human hands is the only part of the original inscription left intact. A recent photograph by Klemm and Klemm indicates that part of the relief has broken off the rock face since Couyat and Montet's time.

No. 213 depicts Seti offering a figure of *msr* to the ithyphallic form of Amen⁶⁶. The inscription is delineated by engraved lines without modeling.

No. 214 shows the king standing before Amen-Re offering a pair of papyrus stalks⁶⁷. It shares a number of affinities with no. 94, suggesting that they were made on the same occasion. The style of the facial features and careful modeling of the figures in both scenes are identical. The epithets of Amen-Re in both cases are given as "Lord of heaven,

⁶⁵ *IHHOH*, 69, pl. 23, no. 94.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 41, no. 213.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 40, no. 213.

ruler of Thebes," and the paleography of the glyphs is the same. Nos. 213 & 214, which are stylistically different, have a curious affinity. Seti's nomen is rendered in both cases with a peculiar double at the bottom of the cartouche. It is not clear if 213 & 214 are contemporary, but it is likely that 94 and 214 are.

3.127 Kanais, Temple of Seti I

PM VII 321-324, A. Weigal: *ASAE* 9 (1908), 71-84; H. Gauthier: *BIFAO* 17 (1919), 1-38, pls. 1-20; S. Schott, *Akanais. KRI* I, 65-71, §§32-33; *RITA* I, 56-61, §32-33; *RITANC* 1, 60-62, §§32-33.

This rock shrine was carved into a mountain at Kanais in the Wadi Abad, some 55 km east of the Nile from Edfu. It was founded, along with a well and a small settlement, to support mining operations initiated by Seti I to provide gold for the adornment of his temple at Abydos. The shrine consists of a speos fronted by a portico supported by four columns. A square pillar was later added to help support the roof. Two niches with engaged Osiride statues of the king flank the main entrance. The speos has a main hall with four square pillars. The back wall has three sanctuaries while two niches branch off the hall's side walls at the back.

The temple is best known for its celebrated "three-fold" inscription, which is found on the left jamb of the main doorway and on the north wall of the main hall and has received much scholarly attention.⁶⁵ Most significant is text B, dated to year nine, III *shw* 20. It gives an account of the king's inspection tour of the eastern desert to examine the gold mining operations there, and relates how he grumbled over the difficulty of the journey to the site in the summer heat. After contemplation, he looked for a good location to dig a well, and decided to establish a settlement for the miners complete with temple. Stonemasons accompanying him on the journey were ordered to start work on the shrine. Once it was completed, Seti returned to dedicate it.

The date is followed by the stock phrase "on this day" and an account of the king's first visit. It is almost certain, however, that the date refers

⁶⁵ Cf. Breasted, *ARE* III, 81-87, §§169-195; Gunn & Gardner (1917), 24-251; Schott, *Akanais*; Lichtheim, *AEI* 2, 52-57; *ARI* I, 65-70, §32; *RITA* I, 56-60, §32; *RITANC* 1, 60-62, §32; Davies (1997), 205-220.

to his second visit.⁶⁵⁹ The text notes that "after the monument was finished and its inscriptions engraved, His Majesty returned to praise his fathers all the gods. Schott posits that the dateline was left open until the king's arrival, or until the whole of text B was carved during the royal visit."⁶⁶⁰ Although Gunn and Gardiner cast doubt on the historicity of the two royal visits, in particular the king's speech during the first journey, Schott demonstrates that they did occur.⁶⁶¹

The *raison d'être* for the Kanais settlement was to support mining operations that provided gold for Seti's temple foundation at Abydos. Text C takes the form of a decree in which he establishes a new troop of "gold-washers" to mine and transport the precious metal to his Abydos temple. He insists that he has not taken workers from another gang of miners, and warns both contemporary officials and royal posterity not to interfere with his establishment. This mandate includes an order of exemption and protection and a religious malediction on any who would despoil or interfere with the miners.

The temple is dedicated to several gods, including the great imperial triad of Amen-Re, Re-Horakhty and Ptah, who are named in the dedication texts on the architraves (ARI I, 70:5-7, 15). The central sanctuary niche in the south wall is occupied by a statue of Amen flanked by Seti to his right and the falcon-headed Horus of Idfu to his left crowned with a solar disk.⁶⁶² The western niche is occupied by the king and Is's between an unidentified deity the upper part of whose statue has been destroyed, but who was probably Re-Horakhty.⁶⁶³ The eastern niche has Osiris with the king to his right and Ptah to his left.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid. Schott 163-164.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid. 164.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 164; Gunn & Gardiner (1917), 241-251. Further confirmation of royal progresses during this period are legion. E.g., a reference to Horemheb's resumption of an annual tour of inspection inaugurated by Thutmose II (RA IV 2150:7-8, 2-14). See Leprohon (1985), 101. Seti's own travels about his kingdom are recorded in the palace accounts of years two and three (ARI I 243-28, 61.2 *passim*). For a recent commentary and references, see RIT III, 159-185, §112 *passim*. Seti's journey to the Aswan quarries is recorded in two stelae of year nine, *supra* 3:120 & 3:121. Finally, the extensive travels of Ramesses II in his earliest years have been discussed by Redford (1971), 110-119.

⁶⁶² Gauthier (1919), pl. 14; Schott, *Kanais*, pl. 9.

⁶⁶³ Ibid., Schott, 167.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., 136. The plates showing the side chapels are both very dark and almost nothing of the figures in the two niches can be seen. Gauthier (1919), pls. 5-16.

Of the shrine, text B states that "Amen is in it, Re is within it, Ptah and Osiris are in its sanctuary and also Horus, Isis and Menmaatre, the Ennead which is in this temple." It should be noted that the seven deities honored in the Kanais shrine are the same ones with chapels in the Abydos temple. Presumably this "Ennead" included three separate manifestations of the king represented by the three statues in the sanctuary niches for a total of nine gods. In addition to these the deified aspect of Seti was also represented by two Osiride statues engaged in niches flanking the main entrance on the south wall of the portico.⁶⁶⁵

From all this, it is apparent that a major focus of the shrine was the cult of the deified king. In this way the Kanais temple functioned along the lines of New Kingdom temples in Nubia, such as those of Thutmose III at Ellesiya, Amenhotep III at Soleb, Tutankhamen at Faras and several of Ramesses II.⁶⁶⁶ Another indication of the importance of the royal cult here is the use of variant Horus names of the king similar to ones found on the soffits and architraves of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and Abydos temple, both of which were also dedicated, in part, to the deified king.⁶⁶⁷

In contrast to the emphasis placed on the royal cult is Seti's exceptional piety as demonstrated by the iconography of his figure in the ritual scenes.⁶⁶⁸ In every episode he is shown bowing in deference to the gods. There are no erect figures here as there are at Abydos and Gurnah, where one finds a mix of upright and stooped ones. In this way, the Kanais shrine is more like the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, where bowing figures are almost universal.

3.128 Kanais, Stela of Anena and Nebseny

PAV. 1, 125-27, 1-15, 83. W. Golenischeff, *RI* 13 (1890), 79, pl. 3. *ARL* 22 §34. *RI* 11, 61 §34. *RI* 11, 62-63, §34.

This stela commemorates two men associated with gold mining operations in the region of Kanais under Seti I. The first, Anena, was a troop commander who oversaw the transport of the gold to Abydos. The

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., Gauthier pls. 2-3; ibid., Schott, pl. 7.

⁶⁶⁶ As noted by Kitchen, *RI* 13, 61 §115. See now Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 144-117, 121-122, Habachi (1969).

⁶⁶⁷ Abydos *Abydos IV*, pls. 63-65; Karnak Rondel, architraves 149-151.

⁶⁶⁸ Gauthier (1919), pls. 2-20, *passim*.

second man, Nebseny, was a crewman on the ship "<Appearing> in Truth." He is described as being "[charged] to excavate the Well of Seti-Merenptah," i.e. the one at Kanais.

3.129 Kanais, Rock Stela of Panub

PM VII 325-29, LD III 138a, J. Leclant *Syria* 37 (1960), fig. 5 pl. 2 ARF 1, 72-73, §35; RITA I, 61-62, §35, RITANC I, 63-64, §35

This stela is divided into two registers. In the upper, Seti worships a company of six gods: Amen-Re, Mut, Re-Horakhty, Osiris, Isis and Horus, the latter represented as a large falcon.⁶⁶⁹ The king is portrayed stooped as he offers two *mw*-jars. There seems to be damage to the surface below his chin in Meyer's photograph,⁶⁷⁰ and it is unlikely that Seti wore the false beard that is shown in Lepsius' drawing.⁶⁷¹

On the bottom register a stable master of Amen and the chief of troops Panub kneels in adoration of Astarte, who is mounted on a galloping horse brandishing a shield and spear.⁶⁷² Between the two is a text in which the official praises the six gods pictured above, along with Hathor-Lady-of-Behdet, Ptah-Lord-of-Truth, and Sakhmet-Beloved-of-Ptah, whom he entreats to bless the king. Most of these gods are connected with Seti's nearby shrine at Kanais and with his temple at Abydos. Hathor is often associated with desert and foreign locales, while Horus the Behdetite is concerned with the eastern desert and the Kanais shrine.

Astarte herself is not named in the text, but seems to have been personally favored by this military official whose inscription was also made in connection with the nearby Kanais shrine. He may have been part of the escort that accompanied the king on one of his excursions to Kanais.

⁶⁶⁹ For other references on this stela and its gods, see Leclant (1960), 32 n. 1.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 5.

⁶⁷¹ LD III 138 a. The beard is seldom, if ever, worn with the *khepresh*-crown.

⁶⁷² Despite a defective writing of her name, Leclant (1960), 34, nn. 3-4.

3.130 Kurkur Oasis, Boundary Stela, Year Four

This fine stela was discovered in the desert near the Kurkur oasis in 1992, and it is now kept in the inspectorate magazine on Elephantine.⁶⁷³ It remains, as yet, unpublished. Carved from a slab of sandstone that is perfectly intact, it displays workmanship of the highest quality in sunk relief. The scene occupies the upper half and portrays the king bowing in homage before the god Khnum. Proffering two *nw*-jars to the god, Seti is garbed in a kilt with a triangular flap over a second one with a sloping hemline, with a bull's tail attached to the back of his belt. He also wears the *khat* headdress, a broad collar and bracelets. Between the king and the god is an offering stand holding a *nmst*-jar and a lotus blossom. Khnum stands on a plinth holding a *w3s* scepter and an *'nh*. He wears an *ttf*-crown on his head and bears the epithet "Lord of the West."

The text is arranged in seven horizontal lines below the vignette, and is dated to regnal year four III *pr* 20. The king's full titulary comes next, followed by a eulogy to him:

The good god who shields millions, a rampart for hundreds of thousands, who is in control of his heart when he sees the multitude. He rejoices when one remembers battle. The sovereign, great of strength, who takes possession of the white crown, he having caused his portion to flourish for the Two Lords like his father Re. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre-Image of Re. On this day, now His Majesty he is joyful at establishing the borders of Ta Sety. His father Re possesses the Two Banks while his true son repeats his plans eternally.

The vignette is the earliest dated example of a ritual scene in which Seti is portrayed bowing piously before the deity. It also displays the fully Ramesside style of draftsmanship, including distinctive facial features—large aquiline nose and wedge-shaped lips—wider shoulders and a flat belly. The eye is, unusually, *sfumato*.

⁶⁷³ I am grateful to Ingrid Nebel for a photo of the stela and information on it.

NUBIA

3.131 Beit el-Wali, Block of Seti I

PM VII 77 F. C. Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie* (Paris, 1822), pl. 13 [7] H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte* III 14, n. c., 1 Hein. *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit* 6-7

This block is known only from an early copy by Gau. It bears a relief of Seti I being purified by Horus and Seth.⁶⁵⁴ Gau found the block in the entrance hall of the temple of Ramesses II, but it is now lost. Although it may have come from the pylon of the Beit el-Wali temple,⁶⁵⁵ it could also have come from Kalabsha, 300 meters south of Beit el-Wali where a New Kingdom temple seems to have existed.⁶⁵⁶ Gau's copies contain some inaccuracies in the spelling of the king's nomen and prenomen in a couple of instances, but other examples on the block are perfectly clear, and leave its attribution to Seti I beyond all doubt.

3.132 El-Dakka, Blocks of Seti I

PM VII 4 LDT V 75 [top] G. Roeder, *Der Tempel von Dakke* (Cairo, 1910), 13-4, 1 Hein. *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 11-12

Lepsius noted the existence of several fragmentary sandstone blocks inscribed with traces of Seti's cartouche.⁶⁵⁷ Perhaps there was once a 18-19th Dynasty temple on the site.⁶⁵⁸ Alternatively, they may have come from a temple in the fortress of Kuban opposite El-Dakka.

3.133 Kuban, Installation of Seti I in the Fortress of Kuban

W. B. Emery and I. P. Kirwan, *Excavations and Surveys between Badghis, Sebua and Admaun* 929 (1931), vol. 2 (Cairo, 1935), 26, 28 & pl. 1 Hein. *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 13

Emery and Kirwan dated stratum D in the fortress at Kuban to the reign of Seti I.⁶⁵⁹ Hein suggests that blocks of Seti found across the river at El-Dakka may have come from here.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁴ Gau (1822), pl. 13 [7].

⁶⁵⁵ Hein. *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 6-7.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 8-9.

⁶⁵⁷ LDT V, 75 [top].

⁶⁵⁸ Hein. *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 11.

⁶⁵⁹ Emery & Kirwan (1935), vol. 2, 26, 28 & pl. 11.

⁶⁶⁰ Hein. *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 13.

3.134 Sayala, Stela Fragment of Seti I, Year Three

H. Satzinger, *Ägyptisches Museum Wien Funde aus Ägypten Österreichische Ausgrabungen Seit 1961* (Vienna, 1979), cat. fig. 9, 1. Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 17, KRI VII, B.

This sandstone fragment preserves the lower right-hand corner of a small royal votive stela dedicated to Monthu. The scene and text are rendered in crude sunk relief, with only the feet and part of one of the king's legs remaining.⁶²¹ Below the lunette are two horizontal lines of a purely formal text: "Regnal year three, second month of *pri* Repeating-of [births of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre] son of Re Seti-Merenptah, [beloved of] Monthu [//////]."

The stela, along with other Ramesside fragments, probably attests to mining activity by Seti and his successors in the area, although no settlements have yet been found there.⁶²² It may have been set up on the occasion of some official expedition, military or otherwise, to the site in year three.⁶²³

3.135 Amada, Kiosk Fragments

H. Gauthier (1910), 910, 22-24. Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgebung* BABA 2 (Cairo, 1938), 99f, 1. Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 21-22.

Gauthier assigned responsibility for this chapel to Seti I, basing his assessment on eight blocks with traces of a frieze of falcons alternating with cartouches of Seti I, and on two other blocks with his cartouche as well as an architrave fragment.⁶²⁴ Borchardt maintained that the structure was a "Landungskapelle" dating to the earliest part of Akhenaten's reign.⁶²⁵ His argument is weak, however, since Akhenaten dedicated so few monuments to Amen, even in the earliest part of his reign.⁶²⁶

⁶²¹ Satzinger (1979), cat. 1 & fig. 9.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, cat. 1.

⁶²³ Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 17.

⁶²⁴ Gauthier (1910), 122-124.

⁶²⁵ Borchardt (1938), 99f. Followed by Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 21-22.

⁶²⁶ E.g. the stela at Gebel Silsila I & IV 96.² Legrain (1903), 262-266. For blocks at Karnak which derive from a monument dedicated to Re-Horakhty and Amen-Re see Redford (1984), 62 & 64, with figs. 4.4-4.5.

3.136 Qasr Ibrim, Rock Stele of Seti I with Viceroy of Kush Amenemopet

PM VII, 94, F. Hintze, *ZAS* 87 (1962), pl. 3, R. A. Caminos, *JFA* 52 (1966), 65-70, idem, *Shrines and Rock Inscriptions of Ibrim*, *EFÉ Memoir* 32 (London, 1968), 83-90, pls. 39-40, I. Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeiten*, 30, *KRI* I, 98-99, §46, *RITA* I, 82-83, §46, *RITANC* I, 78-79, §46.

This well-known rock stele is one of several carved in the name of Seti I by the viceroy of Kush Amenemopet.⁶⁸⁷ On the lunette, the king lances his Nubian foe with a javelin. The accompanying text is highly rhetorical and lacks a date and thus cannot be assigned with any certainty to any specific event, such as Seti's year eight foray in Irem. Still, this may have been the occasion for which it was made.

3.137 Faras, Block of Seti I

J. Karkowski, *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, *Faras 5* (Warsaw, 1981), 290, cat. 319; I. Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeiten*, 37.

Seti's activity near Faras is known only from one sandstone block inscribed with part of his cartouche.⁶⁸⁸ This was found reused in the Christian cathedral at the site. Karkowski opines that it may have come from Aksha, where other material of this reign is found.

3.138 Aksha, Satellite Buildings of Seti I in the Temple Complex

Lintels and jambs, J. Vercoutter & A. Rosenvasser, *Aush* (1963), 134, 140, pl. 34, A. Rosenvasser, *Aush* 2 (1964), 96-98, pl. 28-29; I. Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeiten*, 38; *KRI* I, 227, §97a, *RITA* I, 195-196, §97a, *RITANC* I, 147-148, §97a.

A total of five lintels, along with portions of the corresponding doorposts bearing decoration of Seti I, were found in the ruins of subsidiary mud brick buildings in the south west portion of the New Kingdom temple complex at Aksha.⁶⁸⁹ These five chambers probably

⁶⁸⁷ Hintze (1962), 31-40 & pl. 3; Caminos (1968), 83-90 & pls. 39-40; idem (1966), 65-70.

⁶⁸⁸ Karkowski (1981), 290, cat. 319.

⁶⁸⁹ Vercoutter & Rosenvasser (1963), 134, 140, pl. 34; Rosenvasser (1964), 96-98, pl. 28-29.

served as storerooms and not chapels as Rosenvasser claims.⁶⁹⁰ They face a corresponding row of such rooms, whose doorways were inscribed for Ramesses II.

Seti appears to have established a fortified town site here late in his reign. At his death the mud brick work had been largely completed and the site was functional, but the temple was apparently not finished, since it was decorated by Ramesses II in the early part of his reign.

Kitchen suggests that the temple may have originally been dedicated to either Min-Amen or some form of Horus, who apparently served as a co-templar deity with Isis.⁶⁹¹ Under Ramesses II, it was dedicated to 'Usermaatre/Usermaatre-Setepenre the great god lord of Nubia.'⁶⁹² Spalinger dates its construction to sometime before year fifteen, but after year two, based on the form of the king's nomen and other criteria.⁶⁹³ Hein dates it to between years five and fifteen. In fact, it is now clear that decoration of the temple was well underway in the earliest part of Ramesses II's reign, and had begun under Seti I as well. The hypostyle was being decorated with reliefs bearing the shorter form of Ramesses II's prenomen.⁶⁹⁴

The Aksha temple may have been intended for the cult of the deified Seti I. A fragmentary relief with the head and cartouches of Seti I also includes the damaged *di n i n k* formula⁶⁹⁵ usually spoken by gods, and attested with deified kings like Amenhotep III at Soleb and Ramesses II in various temple reliefs throughout Nubia. This relief could either stem from Seti I's own reign, or perhaps signify a posthumous cult instituted by Ramesses II similar to others at Karnak, Gurnah and Abydos.

⁶⁹⁰ *RITANC* I, 48, §294. Cf. also Rosenvasser (1964), 96-97. The doorjambs and chambers they give access to are similar to magazines connected to the so-called temple palace at Seti's Abydos temple: *supra* 3.47.11.

⁶⁹¹ *RITANC* I, 148, §294. Presumably Horus of Buhen, who is named on one of the jambs. Rosenvasser (1964), 97.

⁶⁹² *ARI* II, 773-775; *RITANC* II, 495-497.

⁶⁹³ Spalinger (1980), 95-98. Ramesses' second Irem war apparently took place between years fifteen to twenty. Kitchen (1977), 220-22. According to both the military reliefs in the temple showing a Nubian war refer to Ramesses' participation in a campaign against Irem during Seti's eighth year. *Ibid.* Spalinger 98-99.

⁶⁹⁴ Fuscaldto (1992a); *idem* (1992b), 195-196.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.* (1992a), 13-14, pl. 13 & fig. 3d; *RITANC* II, 496.

3.139 Aksha, Block with Kneeling Captive

A. Rosenvasser, *Aksh* 12 (1964), 99, pl. 32c. J. Vercoutier in *Livre du Centenaire MIFAO* 104 (Cairo, 1980), 175, fig. 7c, I. Hein, *Ramesseidische Bautätigkeit* 38.

This block was built into a pillar in the south west corner of the outer hall.⁶⁹⁶ Although it is anepigraphic, Rosenvasser dates it to Seti's reign. It portrays him spearing a Nubian captive while a divine vulture or falcon, of which only the wings are preserved, hovers above him. The king's pose is similar to the traditional smiting scene except that he dispatches the enemy not with a mace but with a spear. This variant of the smiting motif appears first under Seti.⁶⁹⁷ As with many other Nubian monuments, the king's headdress, in this case a round-bottomed wig with diadem, is surmounted by ram's horns which support a sun disk flanked by a pair of tall plumes and two uraei.

3.140 Aksha, Block Fragment with Cartouche of Seti I

A. Rosenvasser, *Aksh* 11 (1964), 140; I. Hein, *Ramesseidische Bautätigkeit*, 38.

This block apparently comes from a group of fragments belonging to a vignette depicting a procession. According to Rosenvasser, Seti was responsible for some kind of building on the site, perhaps the main temple otherwise known to have been completed by Ramesses II.⁶⁹⁸

3.141 Buhen, Larger Stela of Seti I, Year One (British Museum EA 1189)

PM/VII 129-3. M. I. Bierbrier, *BM III* 0.11 & pls. 10-1. *ARF* 17-18, §16. *RI/1* 1.30-3. §18. *RI/1* 1.42-43 & 8. I. Hein, *Ramesseidische Bautätigkeit* 42.

The decree for this stela and for another smaller one also found at Buhen, is dated to IV *smw* last day in the king's first regnal year when he was in Memphis (*KRI* I, 38.2). The decree is almost identical to

⁶⁹⁶ Rosenvasser (1964), 99 & pl. 32c. Vercoutier (1980), 175, fig. 7c.

⁶⁹⁷ Cf. the Qasr Ibrim stela of Seti (*supra* 3-37) and a scene from the Libyan campaign in the king's Karnak battle reliefs. Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 29. In the latter example he tramples another Libyan even as he dispatches the chief with his javelin.

⁶⁹⁸ Vercoutier and Rosenvasser (1963), 140. See Hein, *Ramesseidische Bautätigkeit*, 18-19.

another issued by Ramesses I in his second regnal year (*KRI* I, 2-3)⁶⁹ Both record the king's order that a new endowment of various priests, slaves "of His Majesty's capture" and foodstuffs be granted to the temple of Ptah within the fortress of Buhen. Unlike Ramesses I's stela, in which he claimed that he built the temple, Seti states only that he dedicated the stela.⁷⁰ Seti's tablet was set into the southern niche in the front inner wall of the forecourt.⁷¹ The date on the stela is the earliest known from Seti's reign and probably comes some seven months after that on his father's decree, Ramesses' death and Seti's accession having occurred during this interval.⁷²

The stela is in rather crude sunk relief,⁷³ in contrast to both the parallel stela of Ramesses I and the lesser stela issued by Seti on the same day (see the next entry). Moreover, it is on a smaller scale than Ramesses I's. The scene has the earliest datable example of Seti wearing the long military wig. Previous to this, it is attested with royalty only once under Ramesses I (*supra* I 2 10). Although the workmanship is crude, the narrow shoulders of the figures are in keeping with the post-Amarna style employed early in the reign.

3.142 Buhen, Smaller Stela of Seti I, Year One (Pennsylvania University Museum E. 10988)

PM VII 129; D. Randall-MacIver & C. L. Woolley *Buhen* (Philadelphia, 1911), 92-93, pl. 34-35; S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, vol. I *The Inscriptions* (London, 1936), pl. 60, no. 7; J. Hein *Ägyptische Baukunst* 42 *ARI* 100 §47 *RITA* 83-84 §47 *RITANC* I, 79-80, §47; (fig. 135)

This stela was found with the left third of the slab missing. Its execution is markedly superior to Seti's larger Buhen stela, for although the paleography of the signs is nearly identical, the lunette scene is rendered

⁶⁹ For new translations and commentary on both stelae, see Davies (1997), 249-256.

⁷⁰ *RITANC* I 43 §78. Still, the text recording the temple's construction by Ramesses I lies in the inscription's last three lines—which were carved at the behest of Seti—to replace five earlier lines of text in the original edition. See Christophe (1995), 355. This perhaps indicates that the north temple was not completed until early in Seti's reign.

⁷¹ *RITANC* I 3, §5b. H. Smith (1976), vol. I 2.1 n. 3, correcting *PM VII*, 120 plan.

⁷² *RITANC* I, 3, §5b. Spalinger (1978), 231-232 with references n. 8.

⁷³ *BMHT* 10, pl. 10.

in fine bas relief, and the overall surface has been more carefully finished. Its text is rhetorical praise of the king.

In the vignette, he stands to the right holding an *nb* in one hand and an *ibj*-scepter in the other with which he consecrates a pile of offerings. He wears a *nemes*-headdress surmounted by a crown made up of two tall plumes and a sun disk supported by ram's horns and flanked by Uraei.⁷⁰⁴

To the left of the offering table, Ptah stands in a shrine that also encloses a single offering stand with a *nmst*-jar and lotus blossom. A winged sun disk hovers at the top of the lunette. Pendant uraei dangling from the sun disk flank Seti's prenomen written without a cartouche. As with the larger Bahen stela, his figure is distinguished by its narrow shoulders, which are in keeping with the post-Amarna style.

3.143 Amara West, Town Enclosure Wall

PM VII 164 H. W. Fairman, *JF* 175 (1939), 147 & pl. 13; idem, *JF* 134 (1948), 9; 1. Hehn, *Ramessidische Baustattigkeit* 52; P. Spencer, *Amara West: The Architectural Report* (London, 1997), 15-26.

Seti seems to have founded this settlement and completed much of the town wall, as indicated by mud bricks stamped with his name.⁷⁰⁵ He may also have initiated construction of the temple on the island as the focal point of this new fortified town. Spencer lists the architectural and inscriptional evidence for Seti I's work at Amara including two now missing stela never published by Fairman and a pair of inscribed doorjambs.⁷⁰⁶ Like so many others he began, this was unfinished at his death, and it was left for Ramesses II to complete.⁷⁰⁷ Ramesses II named it the *Pr-R'-ms-sw-mry-Imn*, but Fairman avers that the original foundation would have been called something like the *Pr-Mn-mf-t-R'*, based on a damaged inscription found at the site.⁷⁰⁸ Likewise, the west

⁷⁰⁴ This combination of royal headgear was favored in other representations of the king in Nubia, as on scenes accompanying the Nubian decree and the year eleven stela from Gebel Barkal (Griffith, 927); pl. 39. Reisner & Reisner (1933b), 74.

⁷⁰⁵ Fairman (1939), 142 & pl. 13; idem (1948), 9.

⁷⁰⁶ Spencer (1997), 15-26 & pl. 104.

⁷⁰⁷ Fairman insists that the temple was not built until Ramesses II's reign and leaves open the possibility that Seti had erected an earlier temple on the site. Ibid., 42.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid. Fairman (1948), 9. While his interpretation is possible, the broken inscription could also refer to the *pr-Imn* instead of the *pr-Mn-mf-t-R'*. Still, since one would expect Seti, who founded the site, to have named it after himself, Fairman's

gate of the enclosure may have been erected by Seti and decorated by Ramesses.⁷⁰⁹ Spencer concludes that Seti laid the foundation and perhaps built the entire temenos wall. He may also have begun the temple.⁷¹⁰

3.144 Amara West, Stela of Seti I, Year Eight (Brooklyn 39.424)

PAF VII 159; *AR/I* 02-104, §9 (replaced and improved, *AR/VII* 8-1) §184; *RITA* I, 85-87, §49; *RITANC* I 81-90, §49; Hein. *Ramessidische Bauten*, 52.

This stela records a campaign against Irem.⁷¹¹ The entire surface is badly weathered, and a depression in the middle of the stone that was anciently filled with plaster has largely disappeared. Much of the text was inscribed in this medium and most of this has been lost.⁷¹² The upper portion of the year date is worn away, but four strokes are preserved below. Although a higher figure has been proposed, it is more likely that the date is year eight.⁷¹³ Another text found some ten miles to the south of Amara West at Sa records the same event (*RITANC* I, 81 ff. *infra* 3.147). The piece may join with Khartoum 3063 (see the next entry).

3.145 Amara West, Stela Fragment of Seti I (Khartoum 3063)

PAF VII 61; H. W. Farman, *Dis. over* 55.2 (August 1939), 390; idem, *The Connoisseur* 103 (1919), 127; Hein. *Ramessidische Bauten*, 52; D. Wildung (ed.), *Nubien: Antike Königreiche am Nil* (Munich, 1996), 140, cat. 42; *AR/I* 104, §50; *RITANC* I, 87-88, §40; *RITANC* I, 90, §50.

This sandstone stela fragment consists of only the lunette scene depicting Seti smiting the Nubian foe. It is, perhaps, the top of Brooklyn

solution may be the best one.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., 8.

⁷¹⁰ Spencer (1997), 26.

⁷¹¹ *RITANC* I, 81 ff.; Davies (1997), 47-54.

⁷¹² From the Brooklyn Museum's records, kindly sent to me by Dr. Richard Fazzini.

⁷¹³ Kitchen, *RITANC* I, 82, notes that the only other possibility would be year nine with five strokes above. Vercoffter would date the stela to 𓂏 (year twelve) on epigraphic grounds, but this seems doubtful. *Contra* Vercoffter (1972), 207; idem (1980), 76, n. 2 & 177, with n. 2. Vercoffter relied on photographs, while the stela itself was checked by R. Fazzini and W. Mumane in 1982, who found no evidence of a hypothetical year twelve, leaving year eight as the most reasonable solution. From the Brooklyn Museum's records, kindly sent to me by Richard Fazzini.

39.424, which has a text but no scene (*RITANC* I, 90, §167). In support of this contention, it should be noted that the thicknesses of these two stela fragments are identical. The width of this one is about 6.5 cm less than the Brooklyn stela, but the former is broken off at its right hand side, with only the arm of Amen-Re extending a *kps*-sword to the king preserved. Seti wears the Nubian wig surmounted by a pair of ram's horns embellished with uraei, tall plumes and a sun disk. The stela was found in the pillared hall of the Ramesside temple at Amara-West.¹¹⁴

3.146 Amara West, Block of Seti from the "Governor's Palace"

PM VII 163; H. W. Fairman, *JFA* 34 (1948), 6-9, pl. 6.2; I. Hen, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 52; P. Spencer, *Amara West: The Architecture Report*, pls 18d & 9.

This sandstone block is decorated in crude relief with the upper part of what appears to be an offering scene, probably featuring Re-Horakhty as indicated by a large sun disk on his head.¹¹⁵ Traces of Seti's prenomen mark him as responsible for the block. Fairman suggested that it stemmed from a small chapel on the site erected prior to the main Ramesside temple. It was found reused in the Ramesses II temple.¹¹⁶

3.147 Sai, Fragmentary Stela of Seti I (MAF F.25.11+)

J. Vercoutter, *RIF* 24 (1972), 201-208, pl. 17; *idem* in *Livre du Centenaire II-41* (Cairo, 1980), 157-163, fig. 1, pl. 2; A. B. I. Hen, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 59; *KRI* I, 107-104, §49, replaced and improved; *KRI VII* 8-1 & 84; *RITA* I, 85-87, §49; *RITANC* I, 81-90, §49.

In 1970 Vercoutter discovered a stela of Seti I similar to one found at Amara West.¹¹⁷ The texts are not identical but parallel accounts of the king's year eight campaign against Irem (*RITANC* I, 81ff). The lunette scene, along with the uppermost lines of the text bearing the date, are lost, as is the lowermost part of the text.

¹¹⁴ Fairman (1939), 142-143.

¹¹⁵ Fairman (1948), pl. 6.2.

¹¹⁶ Spencer (1997), 24 & pls. 18d & 19.

¹¹⁷ Vercoutter (1972), 201-298; *idem* (1980), 157-163. See most recently Davies (1997), 47-54.

3.148 Gebel Doscha, Stela of Seti I & the Viceroy Amenemopet

PM VII, 167 LD III, 141k LD7 V, 330. I. Hein. *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit* 60: AN I, 100-101 §48; *RITAI*, 84-85, §48, *RITANC* I, 80-81, §48

This stela was carved on the rocky cliffs at Gebel Doscha on the west bank of the Nile above the Eighteenth Dynasty speos of Thutmose III. It was made at the behest of the Viceroy of Nubia, Amenemopet, who seems to have served in this capacity throughout most of Seti's reign. The king, standing fully upright, offers incense and pouring libation for the Elephantine triad of Khnum, Satet and Anukis.¹

3.149 Sesebi, Block of Seti I

PM VII, 74: H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 24 (1938), 152-153

This block, decorated with the cartouches of Seti I, was found reused as the threshold in the door of a house. No photograph or drawing was published, and its whereabouts is unknown.²

3.150 Sesebi, Precinct Wall of Sun Temple

A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 23 (1937), 48; H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 24 (1938), plan. I Hein. *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit* 62

The small temple to the sun god seems originally to have been built by Akhenaten. Seti rebuilt it and surrounded it with a mud brick enclosure wall.³

3.151 Sesebi, Block of Seti I

A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 23 (1937), pl. 9; H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 24 (1938), 53; I. Hein. *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit* 62

This sandstone block is decorated with a fine bas-relief of a goddess holding two *nupt*-staves behind a king. Only his shoulder is preserved.⁴

¹ LD III, 141k

² Fairman (1938), 153

³ Blackman (1937), 148

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 19.4

This piece can, therefore, be dated to the reign of Seti I on stylistic criteria.^{72c}

3.152 Nauri, Stela of Seti I, Year Four

PM VII. 174 F. L. Griffith, *JEA* 13 (1927), 193-208, pls 37-43; I. Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 62; *KRI* 1, 45-58, §24; *RITA* 1, 38-50, §24; *RITANC* 1, 48-55, §24.

This well-known rock stela is considered one of the most important texts of Seti I's reign.⁷³ Seti issued the edict to protect the chattel and labor force of a foundation he had established for his Abydos temple from abuse by various classes of officials operating in Nubia.⁷⁴ The text belongs to a small group of similar decrees⁷⁵ issued in the post-Amarna period to address official corruption, which seems to have become a serious problem during the reign of Akhenaten.⁷⁶ Further analysis of the legal portions of this text are best left to those with more expertise than has the present author. Still, a few observations can be made on portions that relate to Seti's plans for his Abydos temple and its foundation.

It is apparent from the text that Seti considered the establishment of a large estate for his Abydos temple a high priority early in the reign. The far-flung agricultural holdings, gold mines and other economic concerns maintained by the Abydos foundation had been at least in part established by year four, the date on the stela, if not earlier. In the Nauri decree, an account of the temple and its estates takes the form of a eulogy (*KRI* 1 46-101). The description of the temple proper is fanciful when compared with the actual building preserved at Abydos. As the text dates to year four, when construction can scarcely have begun, it is

The in-curved fragus of the ear marks this relief as dating to the post-Amarna period (W. J. Murnane, by personal communication). The piece lacks any other characteristics of Seti's art or any of his Amarna or post-Amarna successors. The use of bas-relief, moreover, indicates that the piece probably dates to no later than the first year of Ramesses II, for the use of this medium was quite rare during the rest of the New Kingdom.

^{72c} Griffith (1927), 193-208. See most recently Davies (1997), 277.

⁷³ For interpretations of this document, see Edgerton (1947), 219-230; Gardiner (1952), 24-33.

⁷⁴ E.g. the decree of Horemheb, Kruchten (1981). For a text similar to the Nauri decree, also from Seti's reign, see Brunner (1939), 161-164, *supra* 3-44.

⁷⁵ Leprohon (1985), 93-104.

at any rate prospective. The descriptions are largely hyperbole, and even the more specific details do not correspond to reality.⁷⁷ Although they are described in the same glowing terms, the enumeration of the various personnel and properties assigned to the temple's holdings is perhaps more accurate, as these were protected by decree. Thus Seti established estates to provide fowl, cattle and other livestock and plantations to raise grain and other herbage. Personnel were assigned to it too, including various classes of priests, agricultural workers and prisoners of war, the last being described as coming from Retchenu (*KRI* I, 48:16ff). Among the other personnel and properties cited there are fleets of ships. Not mentioned in the eulogy, but described as protected by the decree, other temple personnel such as bee keepers, vintners, desert traders and gold washers are cited (*KRI* I, 52:6-8). All these are described as functioning in Nubia, but the eulogy of the temple foundation states that the king had established estates throughout Egypt to provide foodstuffs for the Abydos foundation (*KRI* I, 50:10-11).

In addition to the Nubian concerns of the temple, we know that Seti established gold mining operations in the eastern desert at Kanais later in his reign (*supra* 3:127). In addition, wine jar dockets from Abydos and Reqaqna mention vineyards, at least one of which was probably in the Delta.⁷⁸ Thus, despite the hyperbole of the rhetorical portion of the decree, it seems clear that by year four, Seti had already begun to establish a huge foundation on behalf of his Abydos temple with holdings throughout Egypt and Nubia.

⁷⁷ The pylons are described as being of "Tura limestone with thickness of granite" (*KRI* I, 47:2). In fact, the outer pylon, largely built under Ramesses II, is constructed of sandstone: *supra* 3:471.

⁷⁸ *KRI* I, 59, §25a-b. The Abydos jar, Cairo amphora 2789, makes reference to the Har-canal in the Delta. Kitchen doubts that a vineyard was to be found at Reqaqna, 24 km north of Abydos, given that the best vineyards were in the north. See *RIT4/NC* I 55-56, §99.

3.153 Gebel Barkal, Fragmentary Stela of Seti I, Year Eleven (Khartoum 1856)

PM VII 220; G. A. Reisner & M. B. Reisner, ZAS 69 (1933) 73-78, pl. 8; I. Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, 66. *ARI I*, 75-76, §38, *RI I* 1. 64-65, §38, *RI I + NC I* 65-66, §38

It is a great pity that this inscription is so fragmentary,⁷²⁹ but fortunately the dateline is intact, as it remains the highest known date in the king's reign, IV *shw* 12 or 13 (*ARI I*, 75.8). The scene depicts Seti offering incense to Amen and a goddess.⁷³⁰ He wears the Nubian wig surmounted by a pair of ram's horns with sun disk, tall feathers and two uraei. Three slender offering stands supporting a large pile of offerings lie between him and the two deities. Seti is upright, and while it is more common to find inclined figures of the king later in the reign, the conventional stance is also found at this time, and one need not conclude that he ceased to employ the bowing stance at the end of his reign (*supra* 1.2.5).

In the main text the dateline and royal titulary are followed by a eulogy of the sovereign which is almost completely lost. Next comes the main report (*ARI I*, 75.12ff). It describes a series of building projects he had initiated on behalf of the various gods of Egypt. The first is a broad hall of appearances (*wšjt h'w*), built of sandstone, for Amen (*ARI I*, 75.14-76.1). This is probably a reference to the addition Seti made in the temple of Amen at Gebel Barkal. Following the brief description of this building comes an extended testimonial to his prowess as a military leader, followed by an all too brief description of his building activities in Heliopolis (*ARI I*, 76.6-7). Precisely what sort of edifice the king erected there cannot now be determined, but it was, perhaps, a reference to the forecourt with pylon gateway, colossi and obelisks he is known to have built there (*supra* 3.29), here described as being in the temple of the *Benben*-stone. The final section of the text calls on all the gods to celebrate the king's accomplishments as a builder because "he has built for you a temple anew, of fine, hard white sandstone." This is presumably a second reference to the Gebel Barkal temple, since no other site is mentioned.

⁷²⁹ Reisner & Reisner (1933), 73-96.

⁷³⁰ Reisner & Reisner, ZAS 69, pl. 8.

Although a great deal of the text is missing, the larger portion of these lacunae seem to be in the rhetorical sections. Thus, following the description of the hall of appearances, the long encomium in praise of Seti's military leadership seems to have included the middle lines of the text, which are either largely or wholly lost. Where the text picks up again in lines 16 and 17 the reference to Amen-Re suggests that the rhetorical theme has not changed. In the end, nothing with historical value seems to be missing from this part of the text, such as a description of building activities elsewhere, say in Memphis.

Thus, in all likelihood only two building projects are mentioned in this text. One on behalf of Amen is mentioned twice (KR I 75.14-76.1 & 76.8-9). Moreover, the edifice is described as a broad-hall of appearances.⁷³¹ The Theban structure was located in the Mansion of the *Benben*-stone, but precisely what sort of edifice it was is unclear, although it may very well have been a forecourt with pylon gateway, obelisks and colossi. Seti appears to have built there.

3.154 Gebel Barkal, Hall of Appearances (*Wshyt h'w*) of Seti I

G. A. Reisner, *JEA* 44 (1917), 220ff. J. Hein, *Ramessische Baualtypen*, 66.

Reisner excavated the remains of a pillared hallway (B 503 on his plan), in front of the original Eighteenth Dynasty sanctuary of the main temple of Amen-Re at Gebel Barkal. It was much denuded, only the lowermost portions of the columns and walls being preserved. Despite the lack of textual evidence to indicate who built it, Reisner was able to narrow the field of possible candidates to Nubkheper and Seti.⁷³² With the discovery of the latter king's fragmentary stela of year eleven in B 503 some years later, he concluded that Seti indeed was responsible for erecting this pillared hall.⁷³³

⁷³¹ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 77 & n. 148.


⁷³² Reisner (1917), 222-223.

⁷³³ Reisner & Reisner (1933b), 77.

ADDENDA

3.155 Obelisk Shaft Fragment of Seti I from Heliopolis (No. 747)

F. Goddio et al., *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters* (London, 1998), 221-226

This fragment of grey granite stems from yet another obelisk of Seti I found recently in the harbor at Alexandria and originally from Heliopolis. It comes, perhaps from the lower part of the shaft as indicated by the central column of inscriptions preserved on three of its faces. One of these includes the phrase *mrj di 'nh*, "beloved of (Divine Name lost), given life," which one would expect near the bottom of the inscription. The three faces also include the tops of matching scenes with a god on the left side and the king on the right side of the central column of text. Each has a -sign above it, with no indication that there was another scene above—such as a ground line—indicative of the several registers of scenes that one finds on the upper shafts of Hatshepsut's obelisks. Seti's Flaminian obelisk, does, however, have similar scenes on all four facets of the shaft at its base showing the king kneeling before a god. On the Alexandria fragment the king's figure is not preserved, but the large space occupied by his titulary indicates that he was shown kneeling or perhaps as a sphinx on a plinth, since the adjoining vignette has Amen's head and plumed headdress. Unlike the Flaminian, which has only Heliopolitan deities, the present monument was more "ecumenical," with vignettes featuring Amen, Khepri and Ptah. The missing fourth face might have had another incarnation of Re, or, perhaps, the dynastic god Seth, although the former seems more likely given the monolith's Heliopolitan provenance.

3.156 Memphite (?) Relief of Seti I (New York MMA L. 1996.46)

Sotheby's New York, *Fine Greek, Roman, Etruscan, Egyptian, and Near Eastern Antiquities*, public auction, May 22, 1981, lot 39

This fine bas-relief fragment in limestone preserves the head and shoulders of the goddess Hathor nursing Seti I as a child. Of the latter, only his uraeus and cartouche is preserved. The angle of his uraeus indicates that his head was turned up, in turn suggesting that he was standing, not sitting, on Hathor's lap. The relief is finely detailed, though not as elaborately as examples from the king's Abydos temple. Stylistically, the face has a modeled brow with a deep crease between

the brow and eye. The shape of the eye resembles examples from the Ramesses I chapel at Abydos. There are no cosmetic bands. The nose is large but not aquiline, and the tip is a bit snubbed, with the underside curving down towards the philtrum. The lips are full and asymmetrical. The relief is certainly not in the mature Ramesside style used later in the king's reign, and is most likely quite early.

Sold at auction in 1981 and loaned to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1996, the piece once belonged to J. J. Klejman of New York who acquired it in 1964. The reported provenance was "from a temple at Karnah near Thebes." The piece is likely not from Gurnah—where little limestone was used—or even from Thebes. More probably, it stems from some Memphite structure of the earlier part of the reign, perhaps from the Ptah chapel at Mit Rahineh (*supra* 3.35).¹⁴


3.157 Inscribed Fragment (Statue Platform?) of Seti I (Heidelberg 924) From Karnak (?)

E. Feucht et al. *Vom Nil zum Neckar. Kunst-Schatze Ägyptens aus pharaonischer und koptischer Zeit an der Universität Heidelberg* (Berlin, 1986), 76, cat. 198.

This small fragment might belong to the upper surface of a statue platform. It gives the titulary of the king who is described as beloved of Amen-Re of Karnak, which probably indicates its original provenance.

3.158 Fragmentary Relief (Stela?) of Seti I from Karnak

H. Jaquet-Gardot, *Karnak nord 3: le trésor de l'Annuaire P¹ statues, stèles et briques réutilisées* (Cairo, 1999), 390-395, cats. 279-281.

These three fragments all seem to belong to a single sandstone relief of Seti I depicting the king now lost, before Amen-Re. Below the raised relief vignette is a sunk relief band of text preserving the king's Nebty and Golden Horus names. Of the king only part of his prenomen cartouche, with the distinctive -sign on the bottom, survives. The nature of the piece is not clear, although it might have been a stela set into a mud brick wall.

¹⁴ Cf. the present example with Sourouzzan (1993), pl. 48b. Although the reliefs and statues from the central chapel show the king sitting on the goddesses' lap without suckling, other reliefs on the side rooms and exterior walls show him suckled by goddesses including the lion-headed Sakhmet. Author's personal observations.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDIES ON THE HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SETI I'S MONUMENTS

4.1 The Internal Chronology of Seti I's Reign

The present chapter aims to increase our current understanding of a number of key chronological and historical issues of Seti I's reign that frustrate those seeking to establish a more secure chronology for the New Kingdom. The length of the reign remains one of the more controversial problems in New Kingdom chronology, the number of years he ruled is still open to question, as are the accession dates of the first three kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The issue of the hypothetical coregencies of Seti I with Ramesses I and II is less pertinent, as no one would now advocate the notion of double-dated coregencies in the Nineteenth Dynasty (*infra* 4.6.1), yet they remain important historical controversies. It is hoped that the following analysis can provide a more secure internal chronology of Seti's reign, but absolute chronology lies beyond the scope of this work.

4.2 Accession Dates of the First Three Ramessides

4.2.1 The Accession date of Ramesses I

There is no direct evidence for the accession date of Ramesses I. Attempts to isolate a time frame for this event have been made by Krauss¹ and Von Beckerath,² but the results are highly speculative, based on estimations of how his short reign might fit into their models for absolute chronology between the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II. The highest date known for the king is 11 *pr* 20 in year two on a stela from Bahari (KR/ I, 2-3). Although this provides a *terminus post quem* for Seti I's assumption of the throne, by itself it does not shed

¹ Krauss (1978), 185-189, 201.

² Sometime during 1/11 *pr*. Von Beckerath (1994), 106 & 117.

light on the accession date of Ramesses I. Until further evidence is forthcoming, it will remain an insoluble problem.

4.2.2 The Accession date of Seti I

The first attempt to pinpoint an accession date for Seti I was made by Helck in 1959.³ By arranging the various dates in the *Rechnungen* from the palace in Memphis, encompassing regnal years two and three, in their calendrical order he arrived at an interval between I *pr* 17 and I *smw* 17 during which the start of the new regnal year could have occurred. As he later admitted himself, this methodology was flawed. The dated entries are not derived from a single papyrus and there is no proof that they once formed a consecutive series of dates.⁴ Helck later proposed III *smw* 24, described as the 'waterborne procession' (*hwt*), of Seti on Ostrakon Gardiner II, as the accession date (ARI VI, 249-7).⁵ Murnane reappraised the material from the *Rechnungen*, and by arranging the dates which overlap, he was able to isolate a continuous series of dates on which the accession could not have occurred. The resulting window during which Seti could have come to the throne lay between III *smw* 18 and IV *smw* 17.⁶

Although it fell within the interval he had established, Murnane rejected Helck's revised date of III *smw* 24. He asserted that the events called *hwt-nsw*, although they could refer to anniversaries of the royal accession, also denoted the public appearance of the royal cult figure on other occasions. Moreover he maintained, the events of III *smw* 24 were described as a *hwt*, 'waterborne procession' and therefore did not betoken Seti's accession date.⁷ Redford has shown that during the New Kingdom the term *hwt-nsw* was used to refer specifically to the king's accession date or its anniversary.⁸ Festivals in honor of individual

³ Helck (1959), 117-118.

⁴ Helck (1966), 233-234; Murnane (1976), 23.

⁵ Ibid., Helck, 233-234.

⁶ Murnane (1976), 23-24.

⁷ Ibid., 25-26.

⁸ Redford, 967, 22-25. The Turin Work Journal describes III *smw* 27 as the *hwt-nsw Wsr-mf-R'...* (ARI VI, 697-2). P. Bib. Nat. 237 describes I *smw* 26, which is incontrovertibly the accession date of Ramesses III, as *hwt-nsw Wsr-mf-R' mnt-Tmn...* (ARI VI, 340-1). A notation following this date in ODM 55 from year twenty-one of Ramesses III describes it as *hwt-nsw n pr-'j' w.s.* (= KRI V, 557-7).

deceased kings were celebrated only once a year, in contrast to holy days of the Theban Necropolis' two patron gods, the deified Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.⁹ Moreover *h'f* seems to have been interchangeable with the term *hnt/hnw* in describing festivities surrounding the anniversary of the king's accession in material from Deir el-Medina.¹⁰ A *hnt* normally refers to a waterborne procession,¹¹ but like many other festal days at Thebes during the New Kingdom, the anniversary of a king's accession must have included some kind of nautical procession involving the royal cult statue.

Murnane's primary objection to Helck's date was that it was not consistently a holiday in the Ramesside period, since a workman was recorded as being absent on III *smw* 24 on an ostrakon of Ramesses II's year forty, which, he reasoned, must have therefore been a workday.¹² This conclusion is misleading, as it is now apparent that workers who were ill or away for extended periods of time were noted as absent for the whole period even if some of the intervening days were in fact official holidays.¹³ Helck also compiled several other examples where III *smw* 24 is logged as a holiday, although no reason is specified in any of these.¹⁴ Thus, while Seti's accession could have fallen any time between III *smw* 18 and IV *smw* 23, Helck's date of III *smw* 24 seems the most likely solution, there being no clear evidence against it.

4.2.3 The Accession date of Ramesses II

Various dates have been proposed over the years for Ramesses II's accession. A range of dates in all three seasons of the Ancient Egyptian calendar has been advanced, and the question has been even more controversial than the accession date of Seti I. Sethe noted that a stela attributed to Ramesses' eighth year describes how work on a colossal statue was carried out between year seven, III *shw* 21 and year eight, III

⁹ Helck (1990), 213, n. 3.


¹⁰ In connection with Ramesses II, O. Cairo CG 25503 (= KRI IV, 425 10-11) and Seti I on III *smw* 24 *pt hnw Sry*, Q. Gardiner II (= KRI VI, 249-7).

¹¹ Wb III, 375.5-12, var. *hnw* Wb III, 375 13.

¹² Murnane (1976), 26.

¹³ Helck (1990), 205, n. 3. Jansen (1980), 127-152.

¹⁴ Ibid. Helck, 207-208.

tht 18.¹⁵ This 363-day interval was described as consisting of "one year and three days (*w' rnpt hrw* 3).¹⁶ The curious writing for *tht* in the dateline, , however, could also represent *smw*, which Sethe himself seems to have preferred. The stela itself was dated to II *pri* 8 in year eight. Sethe concluded that the accession date could not have fallen between III *tht* (or *smw*) 18 (= the day on which work on the colossus was completed in year e-ghu) and II *pri* 8, the date of the stela itself.¹⁷ Instead it must have occurred from between II *pri* 8 and II through IV *pri* 20, the latter figures being the possible range for the broken date on a stela from Giza which appears to stem from year one.¹⁸ Seele later narrowed this time span to between II *pri* 8 and III *pri* 1, the latter figure being the first given on a calendar from the ceiling of the Ramesseum.¹⁹ Doubt was cast on the conclusions advanced by Sethe and Seele when Von Beckerath, aided by a superior edition of the *Manshiyet es-Sadr* stela, pointed out an error in Sethe's theory. Sethe had misread the years between which the statue was carved. They are in fact between years eight and nine, not seven through eight. Since the dateline on the statue lay in year eight, Von Beckerath concluded that it must have been backdated.²⁰ He placed Ramesses' accession between I *pri* 17 and II *pri* 8.²¹ But in reconstructing the new king's itinerary during year one, Redford has called attention to a serious flaw in any proposed accession date during *pri*, whereby Ramesses would have journeyed to Gebel Silsila, which he visited on III *smw* 10, before the festival of Opet in the second month of *tht*. This would, however, mean that he had passed through Thebes before the festival, which is described as his first visit to the city as king.²²

¹⁵ Sethe (1927), 110-114.

¹⁶ Ignoring the five epagomenal days.

The reading *tht* is perhaps more likely than *smw* in this instance. Seele, *Coregency*, 80. If the first date is read as *smw*, then the dates between II *pri* 8 and III *smw* 18 would have lain in the same regnal year if one accepts this accession date. Von Beckerath (1956), 2.

¹⁷ Sethe (1927), 112-13. The stela is in bas-relief and seems to bear the shorter form of the king's prenomen. See Murnane, *Coregency*, 64-65.

¹⁸ Seele, *Coregency*, 80-81.

¹⁹ Von Beckerath (1946), 2; Hamada (1938), 217-230 & pl. 30, *KRI* II, 360-7-362-12; *RITANC* II, 217, §392.

²⁰ Ibid., Von Beckerath (1956), 3.

²¹ Redford (1971), 110, n. 3.

Larson advocated two ranges of possible accession dates based on ostraca from Deir el-Medina containing dated lists, which include regnal year dates, from Ramesses II's reign: (A) III *shw* 5 to III *shw* 11, or (B) I *shw* 16 to III *shw* 5.²³ His case depends on the interpretation of absentees noted on a work list from Deir el-Medina. These dates were subsequently condensed by Wentz and Van Siclen to between III *shw* 5-11.²⁴ In a detailed criticism of this methodology, Krauss seriously undermined Larson's conclusions.²⁵ Ramesses left Thebes for the north on III *shw* 23 in year one after celebrating the Opet festival, which began in the middle of I *shw*. In order to arrive at Thebes in time for Opet, Krauss calculates that he must have left Memphis no later than the end of I *shw*, thereby reducing Larson's window for the accession date dramatically. Von Beckerath had shown that the accession could not have occurred between II *per* 8 and II *smw* 21.²⁶ Taken together with Krauss' own conclusions based on the king's travels during his first regnal year, this left an interval between III *smw* 22 and the end of I *shw* when he must have left Memphis for Thebes to attend the Opet festival – but based on the date of the king's death in the middle of I *shw* and some ancient confusion as to whether he had ruled for a total sixty-six or sixty-seven years, Krauss concludes that Ramesses could not have come to the throne in the later part of *shw*. Kitchen has also refuted Larson's date.²⁷

Helck had long maintained that Ramesses II's accession date was III *smw* 27.²⁸ He based this on the recurrence of this date as a holiday from the attendance journals and other sources from Deir el-Medina. Not all these attestations of III *smw* 27 as a holiday are certain, some being

²³ Larson (1976), 17-21.

²⁴ Wentz & Van Siclen (1976), 234.

²⁵ Krauss (1990), 205, nn. 1 & 2.

²⁶ Von Beckerath (1956), 86.

²⁷ Krauss (1990), 147-148.

²⁸ *RITANC* II, 195.

²⁹ Helck (1959), 118-120, idem (1990), 205-214.

quite fragmentary³⁰ or doubtful.³¹ Others, however, are clear,³² and even when the reason for the holiday was not given, it was consistently observed on this date.³³ It seems clear that III *smw* 27 was generally a holiday, and in particular one in honor of Ramesses II. Mumane, in support of Larson's date, objected to Helck's date, noting that the term *h't* could be used to refer to any occasion on which the king's cult statue appeared in public and not just to the anniversary of his accession, although this is contrary to what Redford had concluded about the term.³⁴ Krauss³⁵ has offered further chronological evidence in support of III *smw* 27 as the accession, and this date, which has gained widespread acceptance as the most likely solution to the problem, is advocated here.³⁶

4.3 The Length of Seti I's Reign

The highest attested date for Seti I is regnal year eleven, IV *smw* 12 or 13 on his fragmentary stela from Gebei Barkal.³⁷ Still, it has often been claimed that he reigned longer than this. The various copyists of Manetho credit him with a long reign of between fifty-one (Africanus) and fifty-nine (Josephus) years. Although Manetho can be quite accurate with regard to the length of some reigns, the figures quoted for Seti are

³⁰ O. Cairo CG 25603 (= *ARI* IV, 424-10-11) describes a holiday due to the *hnt* of some king. Of his prenomen, only the sun disk is preserved. The date is also lost, but it came shortly after III *smw* 20 in year one of Siptah.

³¹ E.g. an absentee list from year one of Ramesses V. O. Cairo CG 25609 (= *ARI* V, 245-3). There are two fragmentary dates between I *smw* 2 and 28. The specific notations for these dates are completely lost.

O. Cairo CG 25513, a work journal from year three of Ramesses IV, describes II *smw* 27 as free for the *h't* or *hnt* of *Wsr-m't* (*R'*) *sp-n-R'* (*ARI* V, 126-5). The Tamm Neeropolis Journal describes a date (lost) between III *smw* 26 and 28 as free for the *h't* or *hnt* of *Wsr-m't* (*R'*) (*ARI* VI, 697-2).

³² See list compiled by Helck (1990), 207.

³³ Mumane (1976), 25-26; Redford (1967), 22-25.

³⁴ Krauss (1977), 146-148.

³⁵ For references to those adopting this solution, see Helck (1990), 205-206. So too Von Beckerath (1994), 69-70, renouncing his earlier view (1956, p. 3), now supports Helck's date.

³⁶ Reisner & Reisner (1933b), 73-96, *ARI*, 75-8, *supra* 3, 153.

impossible.³⁸ Still, one classical source seems to have preserved a more plausible span of ten to eleven years for Seti's reign.³⁹

Nineteenth century scholars, although rejecting the Manethonian tradition, still tended to assign a considerable span for the king's rule, of between twenty and thirty years. These figures, however, were highly impressionistic. By the turn of the century, thinking on this subject was moving towards a duration of twelve to thirteen years.⁴⁰

There was little original evidence to support any of these figures. The highest known date for the king was year nine until Reisner's discovery in the 1930s of the Gebel Barkal stela of year eleven, IV smw 12 or 13. This remains the highest known date for Seti I, but evidence for a longer reign has been put forward based on ancient material. Bierbrier averred that the autobiography of Bakenkhonsu, the High Priest of Amen-Re of Karnak in the later years of Ramesses II, indicated that Seti had ruled for fourteen or fifteen years.⁴¹ Eleven years of his career are ascribed to Seti's reign followed by a second, four year segment. His third post is described as coming under Ramesses II. So, Bierbrier concluded, Seti must have ruled fifteen years. His assessment was disputed by Murnane who rounded the figure quoted by Bierbrier down to ten.⁴² Kitchen, in turn, called Murnane's methodology into question.⁴³ Most recently, Jansen-Winkel has demonstrated that Bakenkhonsu's autobiography is moot as a chronological source.⁴⁴ He argues convincingly that the two positions that Bakenkhonsu seems to have held during Seti's reign could have been served concurrently.

The lack of a date higher than year eleven led Helek to point out that if Seti had ruled for fourteen to fifteen years, then he was alone among

³⁸ The task of unscrambling the Manethonian tradition has long exercised scholars. With regard to his treatment of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, cf. Krauss (1978), 204-256; Redford (1986), chpts. 7, 231ff. & 8, 362-305; von Beckerath (1994), 54-61. With regard to Seti I in particular, see Redford (1986), 303; idem (1967), 208-215.

³⁹ Theophilus or "Pseudo-Eratosthenes." See Redford (1967), 211; Krauss (1978), 274-276.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Redford, 208-209.

⁴¹ Bierbrier (1972), 303.

⁴² Murnane, *Coregencies*, 86; idem (1975), 188-189.

⁴³ Kitchen (1980), 170-71. Murnane still defends his original conclusions. See now *Road to Akadesh*, 110, n. 28.

⁴⁴ Jansen-Winkel (1993), 221-225.

the Ramessides in having so many unattested regnal year dates, in particular successive ones.⁴⁵ Such an argument *ex silentio* must be viewed with caution, however. A useful caveat when citing such gaps as evidence is the problem of the length of Horemheb's reign, which remains highly controversial.⁴⁶ Still, only year ten of Seti I remains unattested between his first and eleventh regnal years, and many of the intervening years are attested in multiple instances.⁴⁷ Although a weak argument by itself, Helck's contention adds some weight to the notion of a ten to eleven year reign.

Kitchen argued for a longer reign based on a number of events that he believed must have transpired between the hypothetical accession of Ramesses as coregent and Seti's death.⁴⁸ He avers that it would have taken a few years for the young ruler to produce his first four sons and for the two eldest boys to have reached an age at which they could be taken on a military campaign depicted in reliefs from Ramesses' temple at Beit el-Wali. He further opined that only after these events had transpired did the viceroy of Nubia, Amenemopet, die, to be replaced by Yuni, who is also attested under Seti I. Kitchen's arguments are highly speculative and rely on the dubious veracity of Ramesses II's claims in the *Inscription Dedicatoire*⁴⁹ and the notion that the Beit el-Wali reliefs faithfully reflect events and personnel vis à vis the Nubian campaign, all of which is highly unlikely.⁵⁰ His imaginative reconstruction may be

⁴⁵ Helck (1992), 63-65.

⁴⁶ The highest uncontroversial date for Horemheb is year thirteen, but seven individual years are unattested, including a three-year interval between nine and twelve. See Von Beckerath (1994), 103. But see Helck (1992), 64, who claims only year eleven is missing. Two highly controversial dates have also been put forward: a year sixteen on a stone libation vessel (J.B. Redford, 1973), 36-49, although it has been dismissed as a forgery by others (Murnane, *Road to Aduexh*, 30-31 with nn. 149, 152) and a year twenty-seven in a graffito inscribed on a statue from Horemheb's memorial temple (Hoscher, *Excavation 2*, 106-08 with fig. 90 & p. 51c), which may in fact refer to the reign of Ramesses II. See most recently Von Beckerath (1994), 104; idem (1995), 37-41 for an overview of this controversy.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Helck (1992), 64.

⁴⁸ Kitchen (1980), 170.

⁴⁹ On the reliability of the *Inscription Dedicatoire* as evidence for Ramesses' early career, *infra* 4.6.2.

⁵⁰ On the significance of Amenemopet's appearance in the Beit el-Wali reliefs, *infra* 4.6.3.0.

dismissed as a chronological fantasy, leaving no proof for a long, fifteen-year reign.

With his death, Seti I left a number of large projects unfinished, which were completed by his son. They include the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and its counterpart in Memphis, his Abydos temple and his memorial temple at Gurnah. Also left incomplete were a number of colossi and obelisks mentioned in two year nine quarry inscriptions from Aswan. As I have shown elsewhere, the four seated colossi and two obelisks that Ramesses II set up in the pylon and forecourt of Luxor Temple were originally conceived by Seti I.¹¹ The larger text of year nine records that Seti had ordered a "multitude (*ḥm*) of works for the production of very great obelisks and great and wondrous colossi." Despite this vow, there are few obelisks and apparently no colossi inscribed for Seti I. Ramesses II, however, was able to complete the two obelisks and four seated colossi from Luxor within the first years of his reign, the two obelisks in particular being partly inscribed before he adopted the final form of his prenomen some time in year two.¹² This state of affairs strongly implies that Seti died after ten to eleven years. Had he ruled on until his fourteenth or fifteenth year, then surely more of the obelisks and colossi he commissioned in year nine would have been completed, in particular those from Luxor. If he in fact died after little more than a decade on the throne, however, then at most two years would have elapsed since the Aswan quarries were opened in year nine, and only a fraction of the great monoliths would have been complete and inscribed at his death, with others just emerging from the quarries so that Ramesses would be able to decorate them shortly after his accession. The state of the Luxor obelisks, then, lends further weight to the case for a shorter, ten to eleven year reign for Seti I.

It now seems clear that a long, fourteen- to fifteen-year reign for Seti I can be rejected for lack of evidence. Rather, a tenure of ten or more, probably eleven, years appears the most likely scenario. Precisely how long the reign lasted depends on the accession dates of Seti and his son Ramesses II, and how these fall relative to the date line on the king's last known monument, the Gebel Barkal stela of year eleven. IV *smw* 12 or 13. Thus, Seti could have governed for a full ten years and about three

¹¹ Brand (1997), 101-114; *supra* 3-120.

¹² *Ibid.*, 108-109.

months if the date on the stela comes between an accession date for Seti in III *smw* and Larson's range of accession dates for Ramesses II in III *3ht*. Seti could also have died shortly after the beginning of his twelfth year, having completed a full eleven years as king. This second reconstruction, based on Helck's more plausible accession dates for the two kings, is the one advocated here.

4.4 A Reassessment of the Hypothetical Coregencies of the Early Nineteenth Dynasty

Egyptologists have long been exercised by the notion that, at certain intervals in Egyptian history, pharaoh would take his eldest son to rule jointly with him in order to guarantee the succession. This practice has most often been labeled a coregency. Such arrangements were most common in the Twelfth Dynasty,²³ but some argue that the first three rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty formed a series of interlocking coregencies, with the one alleged between Seti I and Ramesses II considered better attested than perhaps any other in Egyptian history. Even before Seele's work on the issue, scholars had long termed the association of Seti I and Ramesses II a coregency.

More recently, the term coregency has come into disfavor among students of the Ramesside era in describing the alleged joint rule between its first three dynasts. Christophe and Spalinger prefer the label 'regency,' and Kitchen 'prince regency.' All three object to the term coregency because there is no evidence that the junior partner had an independent system of regnal years before his father's death. On this point Seele agreed, with only Murnane arguing for double dating. More recently he has retracted this proposal, leaving it without a proponent.

Still, all these scholars, except for Christophe, maintain that, near the end of their reigns, Ramesses I and Seti I ruled jointly with their eldest sons, allowing them all the trappings of full kingship, including regalia and titularies, excepting only an independent dating system. One may question the alleged distinction between 'coregency' and 'regency' based solely on the presence or absence of double dating. Such a dichotomy reflects more the historian's obsession with dates and chronology, a major focus of proponents of coregencies. Seele, Kitchen

²³ Despite Obsomer (1995), pt. I.

and others argue that Seti denied his son the right to tally his own regnal years during the regency as a way of exerting his primacy as the senior partner. Yet, if Seti had allowed his son to don the crown and regalia, imbued with all the hallowed potency of the divine office of kingship itself, and to proclaim in full an equally sacred titulary, it is unlikely that denying him an independent system of dating would have marked Ramesses as the inferior partner. The system of regnal years was simply a means of reckoning time and lacked the divine power associated with the regalia, titulary and other formal trappings of kingship. Therefore the modern distinction between regency and coregency would make little sense from the Egyptian perspective.

If Ramesses II had been crowned while Seti I was still alive, he was nominally an equal partner to his father and would not have lacked any of the prestige enjoyed by the younger coregents of the Twelfth Dynasty, even though they also had independent dating systems. The salient question, then, is not whether Ramesses's first regnal year began while his father lived, but whether he was crowned as king before Seti's death. It matters not whether this is called a regency or coregency: if he was allowed all the dignity and splendor of the pharaonic office, then he was by definition a king and terms like "prince-regency" and "regency" cannot be used to describe his association with his father. A prince-regency, then, reflects just what the name implies: that Ramesses was closely associated with his father, but as heir apparent, in the office of crown prince. This state of affairs is well attested for Prince Ramesses in the later years of Seti I and for a succession of his own eldest sons over the course of his own long reign.⁵⁴

4.5 The Hypothetical Coregency of Ramesses I and Seti I

Maspero was the first to suggest that Ramesses I ruled jointly with his son Seti I for at least part of his brief reign, and since then, a number of scholars have maintained the same position.⁵⁵ Still, it has remained the vaguest of notions with little evidence to support it, and was considered only hypothetical in Murnane's study of this phenomenon.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Gomati (1973), Sourouzzian (1989), Murnane (1995a).

⁵⁵ Maspero (n.d.): 160-16; Christophe, 1952, 352 with references.

⁵⁶ Murnane, *Coregencies*, 183-184, 234.

Early proponents of the coregency theory had only Ramesses I's stela of year two from Buhen, Louvre C57, as evidence (*KRI* I, 2-3). The last five lines of the original text were suppressed by Seti I, who added three in their stead bearing his own titulary. The notion that this somehow proves Seti had become coregent lacks merit, rather, the stela must have been reinscribed when Seti issued a virtually identical decree on a stela of his own year one.³⁷

The most explicit source we have for Seti's position during Ramesses' reign is the fragmentary dedicatory stela unearthed in the ruins of the chapel he built for his father at Abydos.³⁸ In describing his own duties during Ramesses' reign, he makes it clear that they took place "until I ruled the Two Lands" *nfrwt r hkt i Thwy* (*KRI* I, 111.8). While Ramesses' kingship is explicitly described,³⁹ Seti's role was to be "with him like a star at his side."⁴⁰ None of the duties he performed were strictly those of a king, but are consistent with services rendered by a prince or even by Horemheb in his capacity as "deputy of the Lord of the Two Lands" under Tutankhamen when he was considered the heir presumptive. Nowhere in the text does Seti claim to have acted as king; instead, he states that his duties under Ramesses took place before he assumed the throne.⁴¹

In his study of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, Seele called attention to a series of reliefs on its western wall depicting Ramesses I intermixed with others of Seti I.⁴² These cannot be taken as evidence of a coregency, as it now seems undeniable that they were carved long after the old king's death (*supra* 3.70.3.2).

The base of a small statue from Medamud, published by Zivie, remains the only other bit of evidence for a coregency.⁴³ It is inscribed on one side with the titulary of Ramesses I and on the other with Seti's. At the front of the upper surface the prenomen of Ramesses I appears to have been surcharged by Seti's.⁴⁴ Despite Zivie's view to the

³⁷ Christophe (1951), 354-356.

³⁸ Schott, *Denksteine*, *supra*, 3.54-3.57.

³⁹ "So my father began (discharging) the kingship of Re sitting upon the diadem like him." *KRI* I, 111.3-5.

⁴⁰ Christophe (1951), 353-354, 357.

⁴¹ Seele, *Coregency*, 12ff.

⁴² A.-P. Zivie (1972), 99-114, *supra* 3.68.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pl. 28.

contrary, this object represents only flimsy evidence for a coregency. Murnane was more cautious, and termed this coregency only hypothetical.⁶⁴ while Kitchen posits that the statue was most likely commissioned by Seti after his father's death and that he subsequently appropriated the cartouche on its front (*RITAN* I, §81, 131-132). Given the number of monuments posthumously dedicated to Ramesses by his son, Kitchen's conclusion is the most plausible. Seti was surely not his father's coregent, but rather remained a crown prince serving at his father's side until Ramesses I died.

4.4 The Hypothetical Coregency of Seti I with Ramesses II

4.6.1 Scholarship on the Coregency

A subtle bias pervades most scholarship on this topic: the interests of historians have tended to focus largely on the coregency as the earliest stage in Ramesses II's career and as a chronological marker for it.⁶⁵ The issue is usually examined from his perspective, with less attention being paid to Seti's role. Indeed, one gathers from much work on this topic that the two most important actions Seti took in the latter part of his reign were to appoint his son as coregent and then to die.⁶⁶ As we shall see, this partially has led these scholars to overlook inconsistencies in their theories that would tend to make Seti the inferior partner. What follows is a brief thumbnail sketch of the views of a number of Egyptologists who have considered the issue in detail.

Seale

Seale postulates a relatively long coregency lasting for several years, perhaps even a decade: the time he thought was needed to complete the large body of temple reliefs carved during the alleged period of joint rule.⁶⁷ He was among the first to study the phenomenon of the different

⁶⁴ Murnane, *Coregencies*, 183-184 & 234.

⁶⁵ Note the titles of Seale's monograph and Murnane and Spalinger's articles on the subject where Ramesses is mentioned first: Seale, *The Coregency of Ramesses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*; Murnane (1975), "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Seti I"; & Spalinger (1979), "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II."

⁶⁶ Seale, *Coregency*, 29.

phases in Ramesses' earliest monumental reliefs through observation of the style of relief used and the orthography of the king's prenomen.⁶⁷

Christophe

Christophe maintains that there were no true coregencies during the Ramesside era.⁶⁸ He terms the role of Seti I, Ramesses II and Merenptah during their respective father's reigns as regencies, since, he argues, they had neither an independent system of regnal years before their sole accessions nor the right to enclose their names in cartouches.⁶⁹ He considers the *Inscription Dedicatoire* from Abydos to be highly unreliable as evidence, and he characterizes the young prince as play-acting the role of king when, according to the text, Seti had him crowned, an event he describes as coming early in the reign.⁷⁰ Christophe places the true beginning of the regency near the end of Seti's tenure, in year eleven, when Ramesses allegedly took responsibility for managing the kingdom because his father was supposed to have been enfeebled by illness and old age.⁷¹

Murnane

Murnane contends that a coregency began sometime in Seti's year ten or late year nine and ended with his death early in year eleven.⁷² He had once maintained that Ramesses began to count his regnal years upon his accession as coregent before his father's death, a notion Seele had rejected on chronological grounds.⁷³ Murnane had also believed that Seti died sometime during the second half of Ramesses' second regnal year, an event that coincided with the adoption of the longer form of the new king's prenomen.⁷⁴ More recently, he revised his view of the

⁶⁷ Although Sethe (1927), 1-6-14, was the first to point out the chronological significance of the short form of Ramesses' prenomen.

⁶⁸ Christophe (1951), 335-372.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 355 & 361-363.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 360-361.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 361 & 363.

⁷² Murnane (1975), 190.

⁷³ Seele, *Coregency*, 76ff.

⁷⁴ Murnane (1975), 188.

coregency, abandoning the notion that Ramesses began to count his regnal years while Seti was alive.⁷³

Spalinger

In his treatment of Ramesses II's early career, Spalinger insists that his joint rule with Seti I was not a coregency but a regency, because the junior partner did not begin to enumerate his regnal years until after his father's death.⁷⁴ Spalinger's examination of this period focuses largely on the young regent's alleged participation in Seti's military campaigns. In particular he tries to show that the battle reliefs inscribed on the walls of Ramesses Bent el-Wah temple can be linked to Seti's campaigns commemorated in his own war monument at Karnak and through various other sources. He concludes that this regency lasted two years or less, beginning shortly after year nine.⁷⁵

Kitchen

Like Spalinger, Kitchen rejects the term coregency in connection with the dynastic policies of the Ramessides because no system of double dating, as found in the Middle Kingdom, was then in use. Rather, he terms the earliest phase of Ramesses II's career a "prince regency." Still, he maintains the notion that the young prince had all the outward trappings of kingship, including the regalia and a full royal titulary.⁷⁶ In a review of Murnane's study he claims that the regency lasted from some time after year nine until a hypothetical year fourteen fifteen of Seti I.⁷⁷

4.6.2 The Abydos Dedicatory Inscription and the Kuban Stela of Ramesses II as Evidence for a Coregency

These two inscriptions of the first decade of Ramesses II's reign have long been taken as evidence of his official role during his father's

⁷³ Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*² 93, n. 90.

⁷⁴ Spalinger (1979b), 271-286; *idem* (1978), 229 n. 3.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* (1979b), 285-286.

⁷⁶ Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 27-30; *RIA* IV C II, 194-195.

⁷⁷ Kitchen (1980), 170-171.

lifetime. In them some see proof that Ramesses acted as Seti I's coregent. According to the *Inscription Dedicatoire*:

It was Menmaatre who nurtured me. The All Lord magnified me while I was a child until I could rule. He gave the land to me while I was in the egg. The officials kissed the earth before me when I was inducted as eldest king's son and hereditary prince upon the throne of Geb and when I reported the [affairs] of the Two Lands as chief of the infantry and chariotry. When my father appeared before the people, I being a child in his embrace, he said concerning me: crown him that I might see his beauty while I am alive.' [He caused that] the chamberlains [might be summoned] in order to set the crowns upon my forehead (saying): place the Great (crown) upon his head' so he said concerning me while he was on earth 'that he might administer this land, that he might care for [Egypt] that he might command the people' (A R I I, 327-328-3).

As Christophe has pointed out, much of this statement describes Ramesses' role as heir apparent and crown prince.³⁰ Murnane initially believed that two stages in Ramesses' earliest career were being described, crown prince and full coregent.³¹ The titles ascribed to the young Ramesses are consistent with the station of crown prince: 'eldest son and hereditary prince (*st-nsw-smw-try-pr*)'³² along with some military titles.³³

Next it is claimed that Seti I had his son crowned (*sh'f*). In Christophe's estimation, this was merely play-acting carried out under Seti's watchful eye. Seele, by contrast, took this assertion at face value,³⁴ as did Spalinger and Murnane.³⁵ Murnane later admitted that many of the claims made in the *Inscription Dedicatoire* were pure hyperbole, in particular the assertion that he held key military posts in the government.³⁶ Certainly Ramesses' claim that he was crowned king by Seti, even as a child in his arms, is highly self-serving and open to question.

³⁰ Christophe (1951), 360ff.

³¹ Murnane, *Coregency*, 58.

³² Murnane (1995a), 202 and references cited there.

³³ Spalinger (1979b), 283ff.

³⁴ Seele, *Coregency*, 26-30.

³⁵ Spalinger (1979b), 283; Murnane, *Coregency*, 58.

³⁶ Murnane (1995a), 207-208. He long maintained that there was some degree of exaggeration. *Idem*, *Coregency*, 59; *idem*, *Road to Kadesh*, 109.

although his description of his role as crown prince is more accurate, especially in the light of the new graffito from Aswan (*supra* 3 119; *infra* 4 6 3 11). The most reliable and concrete portion of this statement is the enumeration of Ramesses' titles as eldest king's son and heir apparent, well attested in sources contemporary with Seti's reign.

The Kuban stela clearly describes Ramesses not as a coregent, but only as crown prince (*KRI* II, 356. 1-6). He is called the "child-heir" (*ḥrd iry-p't*). Again, exaggerated claims for his involvement in the highest circles of the government are made, but no account of his coronation is given.

In addition to being granted these titles, Ramesses was doubtless trained in the civil and military spheres in preparation for the kingship,⁴⁷

but the two inscriptions of Ramesses' earliest reign, since they are exaggerated and patently self-serving accounts, must be used with caution as evidence for Ramesses' earliest career during his father's reign.⁴⁸ The fictitious accounts given by both Hatshepsut (*Urk* IV, 259.1-262.1) and Thutmose III (*Urk* IV, 180.10-12) of their "coronations" during the lives of their fathers Thutmose I and II serve as cautionary reminders in this regard.

4.6.3 Survey of Monuments Touching on the Hypothetical Coregency of Seti I and Ramesses II

4.6.3.1 Stela of Ashahebused (Sinai 250)

This stela has long been considered veritable proof of the alleged coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II.⁴⁹ Its much-damaged upper scene certainly depicted the younger man as king offering to his deified father.⁵⁰ The text consists largely of an encomium in honor of Seti, but it also mentions "his royal son Usimaatre."⁵¹ Although such texts are usually directed at living kings, there is no reason this example could not have been composed to laud the memory of a recently deceased Seti I. Indeed, if it dates to the earliest months of Ramesses II's tenure, it

⁴⁷ *RITANC* II, 215.

⁴⁸ Kitchen, *RITANC* II, 215, avers that the title of general, bestowed on Ramesses at the age of ten, was merely honorific until he was older.

⁴⁹ Murnane, *Coregencies*, 62-64, *supra* 3.7.

⁵⁰ Heick (1981), 212-213.

might have been intended to associate the young, as yet untried ruler with his illustrious father in the time immediately following the latter's death. There certainly is no dearth of other posthumous memorials to deceased kings along these lines from the New Kingdom (*supra* 3.70.3.2).

4.6.3.2 Two Private Monuments Depicting Ramesses as Crown Prince

A tomb relief of the royal scribe Amenwahsu from Saqqara and the Abydene stela of the scribe Miya (figs. 137-138 & 143) both depict the future Ramesses II as a prince alongside his father (*supra* 3.39 & 3.64). In both cases Ramesses plays the same role as his father: that of passive recipient of offerings in the Amenwahsu relief and that of officiant on Miya's stela. He sports the typical garb of a prince found in countless representations of his own sons: a side lock, a kilt with a long sash and a *gim-fan*.⁶ In both cases, he is entitled "king's son of his body," the "first," (*ḥḥy*), on the Miya stela, and on the Memphite relief "his beloved." No further titles such as "eldest king's son" (*ḥḥy nsw nsww*) or heir apparent (*ḥḥy-p't*) are given. Since, however, no other son of Seti I is known, with the earliest datable reference to Ramesses occurring in Seti's year nine, it seems most likely that both these inscriptions stem from the later part of Seti's reign when Ramesses' grooming for the succession became a public affair. Van Dijk would date the Chicago relief to the sole reign of Ramesses II since Seti is shown as a deified "Osiris king." An advocate of the coregency, he is puzzled by the "anachronistic" nature of the piece, since Ramesses is shown as a prince and not a coregent monarch. The use of the title *Wsr nsw* to show the deified Seti I is no more of an indication that Seti I is dead than the use of the epithet *mḥ nsw* with the prince in reliefs from the Corridor of the King at the Abydos Temple marks him as deceased. The use of both epithets is anticipatory in these cases. Moreover, the Amenwahsu relief most probably comes from a funereal stela.

⁶ E.g. Luxor Temple *PM II* 306 (17) & 308 (30). There are many other examples from Abydos, the Ramesseum and elsewhere.

4.6.3.3 Abydos Temple of Seti I

The most explicit evidence of Ramesses' official status before Seti's death is to be found in reliefs from the Gallery of the Kings and the Corridor of the Bull. In the Gallery, Ramesses is depicted in a number of tableaux as an adolescent prince alongside his father, entitled "hereditary prince and king's eldest son of his body" (figs. 80-81 & 142). In one case, his sash bears a pendant decorated with the early forms of his cartouches (fig. 82).⁹⁷ Otherwise the iconography is entirely consistent with his role as crown prince.

It is apparent that the reliefs in the Gallery were among the last ones carved before Seti died (*supra* 3.47.8.2). In the adjoining Corridor of the Bull, he left the decoration laid out in paint but uncarved, and these scenes were later completed in sunk relief by Ramesses II as king (*supra* 3.47.8.4 & 3.47.9.2). In a number of these, including the famous bull-lassoing scene, his own eldest son, Amenirkhopeshof, is depicted alongside his father with the same titles as Prince Ramesses in the Gallery.⁹⁸ All this suggests that Ramesses was still being depicted as a prince in the official record on the eve of Seti's death.

Since King Seti and Prince Ramesses are both shown as protagonists in the Gallery, we may be sure that these tableaux reflect the latter's role while his father lived. By contrast two episodes in staircase Y' adjoining the Corridor of the Bulls depict King Ramesses offering to his deified father⁹⁹ (figs. 86-87), a motif which could easily be *post mortem* Seti, as are a pair of scenes in the Corridor of the Bulls, executed in the style R', where Ramesses and his son act on behalf of the deceased Seti and other deities.¹⁰⁰

4.6.3.4 Abydos Temple of Ramesses II

Although it has often been claimed that the decoration of this building dates to the alleged coregency, very few references to Seti I are to be found here. He appears once in a statue group¹⁰¹ and again in a relief

⁹⁷ Murnane (1975), 163, fig. 5a-b.

⁹⁸ *RITANC* II, 358.

⁹⁹ Murnane (1975), 164, fig. 6a-c, *supra* 3.47.9.3.

¹⁰⁰ The figures of the deified Seti had been altered by Ramesses from cartoons laid out by Seti which originally represented other deities: *supra* 3.47.9.2.

¹⁰¹ *PM* VI, 38-39; *KRI* II, 549-5.

from room I where he is depicted as a cult figure⁹⁷. Far from indicating that Ramesses was his coregent, the paucity of references to Seti I in the temple strongly suggests that he was dead. Why else would he have been so rarely present in his junior partner's temple at the same time that the latter was allegedly playing such a prominent role in the decoration of his father's monuments?

4.6.3.5 Karnak Hypostyle Hall: Interior Reliefs

Seele and Murnane both argued that reliefs from the Karnak Hypostyle provided ample evidence for a coregency, their assessments made largely on the basis of reliefs in the southern portion of the building. No evidence supporting a coregency is forthcoming from the northern portion of the Hall,⁹⁸ a fresh look at material from the southern half casts further doubt on their conclusions.

Although the reliefs in the south wing were largely executed in Ramesses' name, both Seele and Murnane believed that Seti was still alive and able to exert his influence on the decorative scheme. Still, the overwhelming predominance of Ramesses here forced them to conclude that his father had "turned over responsibility for decorating it to him"⁹⁹.

Seele believed that the Hall was largely built by Ramesses I and that Seti and Ramesses II divided responsibility for decorating it amongst themselves.¹⁰⁰

Despite the obvious supremacy of Ramesses in the south wing, both scholars put forward evidence for their contention that Seti was alive and able to assert his authority when it was decorated. This may be outlined as follows:

1) In no less than eight tableaux, Seti is portrayed as a cult figure receiving offerings from his son (fig. 106).¹⁰¹ It should be stressed that in each case, his role is entirely passive. As such, these tableaux are but slim evidence that Seti was alive.

⁹⁷ *PM* VI, 35 (23), *AR* II, 342-2.

⁹⁸ See Murnane (1975), 153-158, *contra* Seele, *Coregency*, 50.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Seele, 86 & 93; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 76.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Seele, *passim*.

¹⁰¹ *Key Plans*, KB 86, 92, 99-100, 101d, 101i, 105, 113, 117-118; *GHHK* LI, pls. 42, 48, 53, 57, 61, 65, 72, 76; Seele, *Coregency* §§89-95.

2) Seti officiates in one panel mixed in with others dating to phase R² of his son's decoration of the west wall (fig. 110).¹⁰² Seele quoted this episode in support of his claim that Seti was alive during the period R².¹⁰³ A number of objections to this notion can be raised on art historical grounds.

As we have seen, there is every reason to believe that — with the exception of the north aisle of the clerestory and a purification scene on the west wall — Seti *always* had himself depicted with a stooped posture in his relief decoration on the walls of the Hypostyle Hall. This stance is found in the king's latest work at Karnak Temple and at Abydos as well. By contrast, the present example is rendered in sunk relief and the king stands fully upright. Moreover, the scene is entirely isolated, with no similar examples naming him nearby. Despite the active role played here by Seti, this vignette is surely a posthumous *homage* similar to ones that Seti made on behalf of Ramesses I on the northern portion of the west wall and west gateway.¹⁰⁴

It should also be pointed out that members of the Kamak Hypostyle Hall Project recently found evidence that Seti was named in additional reliefs from the middle registers of the exterior jambs and thicknesses of the south gateway.¹⁰⁵ These were juxtaposed with others above and below them naming Ramesses II (fig. 18). Unlike the scene just mentioned, these were consistent with the style of Seti's work in the building: they were initially carved in raised relief and depicted him bowing, as did the adjoining scene featuring Ramesses.¹⁰⁶ They are not convincing as evidence of joint rule, however, as Seti appears in only a fraction of the decoration on the south gate and Ramesses seems to have transformed cartoons laid out in paint by his father into reliefs mostly naming himself (*supra* 3.70.3.6).¹⁰⁷ The most economical explanation for these reliefs is that Ramesses took the opportunity to complete a

¹⁰² *Key Plans*, KB 61, *GHK* I.1, pl. 27.

¹⁰³ Seele, *Coregency*, 60, §87.


¹⁰⁴ Cf. posthumous reliefs depicting Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall (Johnson 1994), 133–144.

¹⁰⁵ *Key Plans*, KO 29–30 & 45; *PM* II², 49–50 (164f–g).

¹⁰⁶ All these scenes were later converted to R² and Ramesses replaced his father's name with his own.

¹⁰⁷ See *supra* 3.70.3.6.

handful of these scenes as a posthumous memorial to Seti, in keeping with the latter's *homages* to Ramesses I on the west wall.

3) Elements of Seti's prenomen seemed to be intermixed with those of Ramesses in the form of rebus decoration on the canopy of the sacred barque of Amen-Re in two scenes on the south wall (fig. 141).⁴⁸ Seele believed that their prenomen were combined in the rebus decorations in both scenes. Later Mumane showed that only Seti's is found on the eastern panel.⁴⁹ Still, he maintained that such a juxtaposition is to be found on the western one. It now seems clear that when the western barque canopy was carved in R, once again only Seti's prenomen was reflected in the rebus pattern. At some later point, many but not all distinctive elements of his prenomen were suppressed while glyphs indicative of Ramesses' titulary were added. As the present author shall argue elsewhere, a survey of the development of rebus decoration on barque canopies during the latter half of the New Kingdom indicates that elements distinctive of one king's protocol could be retained by his successors while others were replaced by new ones denoting the current occupant of the throne.⁵⁰ Even after Seti's death, a number of  signs, in the Nineteenth Dynasty unique to his prenomen, still occurred in representations of the canopy as late as the reign of Seti II (fig. 144). During the R and R' phases the barque canopy was depicted to show Seti's titulary alone. Later the example carved in raised relief — being easier to rework — was altered to reflect more closely the prenomen of Ramesses II while elements distinctive of his father's titulary were suppressed, even ones retained in other examples from Ramesses' reign and later.⁵¹ All this suggests that his alterations of the barque scene to the west of the south gate had little to do with the alleged coregency or even the iconographical configuration of the actual barque of Amen-Re early in his reign.⁵²

⁴⁸ Nelson, *Kev Plans*, KB 99-100 & 117-118; Nelson, *GHIK I I*, pls. 53 & 76; Seele, *Coregency*, 71-75; Mumane (1975), 173; *idem*, *Coregencies*, 77-78.

⁴⁹ Mumane (1976), 41-43.

⁵⁰ Brand — 998), appendix B. A revised version of this will appear in the forthcoming epigraphic commentary volume to *GHIK I I*.

E.g. the barque scene in the Triple Shrine at Luxor, *PM II*: 3-0139.

⁵¹ Cf. Seti I's alteration to a barque scene on the east tower of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak, which he usurped from Tuthmosis III to give his own prenomen rebus. This did not reflect the actual iconography of the barque at that time.

The epigraphic history of the Karnak Hypostyle and the alleged coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II have been closely linked by scholars, but is this affinity credible? From the perspective of Ramesses II's reign, the vantage point adopted by all previous scholars examining the question, it does. But what of Seti I? We are asked to believe that he "turned over" the southern portion of the Hall to his junior partner, satisfying himself with the northern aisle. Yet this generous concession would have included the columns along the paramount east-west axis with its gigantic papyrusiform columns, for these were decorated in Ramesses' name alone.¹⁴ Given the importance of this processional route and the trouble Seti had taken to decorate its clerestory and architraves, why should he have done this? As demonstrated earlier, the epigraphic data from this building suggests that Seti's work in the Hall stopped not when he turned over responsibility for the project to his son, but with his death; it is clear that the decoration of the southern portion of the edifice was proceeding on several fronts when it suddenly came to a halt to be continued by Ramesses. Moreover, evidence for Seti's influence over the reliefs on the south wall (assuming he was still alive) is tenuous at best. Rather, it was the memory of a deceased predecessor that Ramesses invoked in presenting his father in several tableaux as a cult figure and inserting a handful of other posthumous scenes with Seti as the officiant.

4.6.3.6 Karnak Hypostyle Hall: Battle Reliefs of Seti I

In a number of episodes from the battle reliefs of Seti I on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle, a diminutive figure following in the wake of the king has been supplanted by a second one portraying Ramesses II in the guise of crown prince.¹⁵ Once thought to be evidence of a phantom older brother of the future monarch,¹⁶ the Epigraphic Survey has proven that these are representations of a military officer named Mehy who had been granted the high honorific title of "fanbearer on the king's right side."¹⁷ While opinions on Mehy's role

¹⁴ The abaci of these columns were decorated by Seti, along with the architraves they supported and the whole clerestory: *supra* 3.70.1.3-3.70.1.5 & plans 2-3.

¹⁵ Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pls. 6, 10, 12, 23 & 29.

¹⁶ Breasted (1899), 130-139.

¹⁷ Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, appendix 6.

vary,¹⁷ and his precise significance in the political history of the earliest Nineteenth Dynasty remains cloudy, the revised version of these reliefs offers us yet another glimpse of Ramesses as crown prince, and here again it is only in this capacity that we find him acting in concert with his father, never as king. Moreover, if Ramesses added his image to these war scenes after Seti's death, surcharging Mehy's figures without adding further ones to any other scenes, then he was only claiming to have been crown prince and not coregent.¹⁸ It is certainly doubtful that these reliefs are a historical record of his participation in Seti's wars.¹⁹

4.6.3.7 Luxor Obelisks and Colossi of Ramesses II

It is now apparent that the two obelisks and four seated colossi from the Ramesside court in Luxor Temple were originally commissioned by Seti I.²⁰ Bearing the short form of Ramesses II's prenomen, the two obelisks in particular were inscribed during the period of the alleged coregency when that form was still in use. Since there is no reference to Seti on these monuments, proponents of a coregency would be forced to conclude that he turned the project over to his junior partner. Given the importance of this enterprise, to the cult of the deified king in particular, it seems highly unlikely that the elder king would have voluntarily relinquished it to his partner,²¹ an explanation resorted to by Seele and Murnane to account for Ramesses' prominence in reliefs in the southern half of the Karnak Hypostyle.

4.6.3.8 Gurnah Memorial Temple of Seti I

As we have seen, it is possible to isolate several distinct phases in the decoration of Gurnah Temple based on the style and iconography of its reliefs (*supra* 3.84.3 & 3.84.3.1). Clearly, the earliest decoration,

¹⁷ Helck (1981); idem (1988); Murnane (1995a), 199-203.

¹⁸ Although the figure of the prince is much smaller than his father's, so too were the images Tutankhamen added behind those of Amenhotep III on the Third Pylon at Karnak. *PM II**, 61 (183); Murnane (1979).

¹⁹ Contra Spalinger (1979b).

²⁰ Brand (1997), 108ff.

²¹ Kitchen, *RITAC* II 405 notes that the obelisks were probably commissioned by Seti and uninscribed at his death.

²² See n. 99 above.

consisting of raised relief, occurs in the rooms where Seti I is featured alone, frequently portrayed with an inclined torso in both the standing and kneeling positions. These reliefs are scattered throughout the temple, but are concentrated in the most important chambers. Seti's presence in these rooms alone — with no sign of Ramesses II — marks them as being earlier and not later than others that always portray Seti upright. The second group is intermixed with decoration naming Ramesses II, in both raised relief and sunk relief (R — R').¹²¹ Moreover, Ramesses officiates in the lion's share of these tableaux in the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite and in room 34. In the hypostyle hall, Seti predominates only on the north wall, while the south wall and transverse hall seem to have an approximately even mix of the two kings. On the east wall, Ramesses is found apparently to the exclusion of Seti.¹

Seale and Murnane have taken the Gurnah reliefs as evidence that Seti decorated his memorial temple jointly with his son during a hypothetical coregency. This now seems highly unlikely. Close inspection shows that as one progresses from the north wall to the south wall of the hypostyle hall and then on to its east wall and transverse corridor, the number of scenes featuring Seti diminishes so that on the east wall he is not found at all (*supra* 3.84.3.2). Moreover, he never bows in any of these tableaux — although that stance is found in the latest phases of his decoration of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and in his Abydos temple — as well as those areas of Gurnah he decorated himself. One also finds that the frieze of cartouches along the tops of the walls are in the name of Seti alone on the north, south and east walls. This suggests that they were the first reliefs to be carved here, and probably the last part of the work to be done before Ramesses II began participating in the decoration, especially if this was done as the walls were being dressed and the construction fill removed.

The pattern in the hypostyle makes better sense if it is understood as work done by Ramesses II immediately after his father's death. One can thus follow Ramesses' filial piety as it steadily waned over his first two regnal years, so that by the time his sculptors reached the east wall of

¹ This assumes that Seti had not laid out the decoration of the Gurnah hypostyle hall in paint, as he seems to have done at Abydos and in the Karnak Hypostyle on columns along the main axis and those in the southern wing and the southern gateway. Still, the evidence from Karnak also suggests that the wall scenes at Karnak were being laid out by the draftsmen directly in advance of the sculptors (*supra* 3.70.3.5).

the hypostyle and adjoining transverse corridor, the young king is seen largely to the exclusion of his deceased father.

This pattern was continued in the vestibule to the Ramesses I suite, the second area decorated under Ramesses II. Here, bas-relief gave way to sunk in the R¹ style, and Seti appears only three times as the officiant in minor tableaux decorating the doorway into the Ramesses I chapel. Otherwise he is only depicted here as the passive recipient of offerings or accompanying members of the Theban Triad and other gods in investiture scenes and the like, where he plays the same role as Ramesses I, both of whom are represented with the iconography of royal cult figures, i.e. holding *nfr* and *hks* scepters, in the company of the gods. Both are often given epithets like *msr hrw* and *mr-¹* appropriate to this role.

Seti's image appears for the last time in reliefs from room 34, thereafter he is named only in stereotyped decoration on the walls and columns of the portico, where his cartouches alternate with those of Ramesses in R¹.¹²⁴ In room 34, all the work is in sunk relief and was carved near the end of the R¹ phase and after the adoption of R¹. Here again, Seti is the officiant in a minority of the scenes and never with incensed torso whether standing or kneeling. Otherwise he is only represented in sunk relief on the interior walls of Gurnah in the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite. Seti never used interior sunk relief at Karnak or Abydos, indeed he only rarely used this medium for interior decoration at all.¹²⁵

A combination of features—the absence of bowing figures, the uneven distribution of decoration in the name of the two alleged coregents, Ramesses II's domination of such scenes even in the first and second periods, the almost universally passive role Seti plays in the tableaux from the vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, and finally the use of sunk relief, a medium which Seti clearly did not favor elsewhere during his lifetime—all represent major stumbling blocks for the coregency theory. We are asked to believe that Seti allowed his son to make all the major decisions on the style and iconography used to embellish Seti's own buildings. Furthermore, he is alleged to have

¹²⁴ Murnane (1975), 168.

¹²⁵ So, exceptionally, in his speos at Kanais where sunk relief was used extensively *supra* I.4.1.

permitted his son to dominate this process, giving Ramesses responsibility for most of the wall space in his own temple while he himself adopted a passive role in the decorative program in the vestibule of his own father's memorial suite, where by tradition he should have played the role of officiant. Moreover, this alleged joint decoration is not in keeping with what is found elsewhere, no such pattern is evident in Seti's Abydos temple, in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall or in the two temples Ramesses erected at the outset of his reign at Abydos and Beit el-Wali. This state of affairs, a gross imbalance in favor of the junior partner in a hypothetical coregency, strains credulity.

If we assume that Seti had died before any reliefs featuring Ramesses II were cut, then the pattern of decoration in all these buildings makes better sense. Gurnah Temple was dedicated to Seti's memorial cult, but only a small fraction of its decoration was complete at his death. At Abydos by contrast, he had finished a larger portion of the reliefs, and Ramesses II preferred to focus his energies on his own newly built temple there. In western Thebes, Ramesses' first years saw the earliest stages in the construction of the Ramesseum,²⁶ so there was little else for the sculptors assigned to the Gurnah Temple to do beyond continue with the project. Thus Ramesses felt obliged to complete some of its decoration in the name of his father while at the same time intermixing himself into the decoration. He soon tired of his filial duties and, increasingly began to overshadow the memory of his father in its inscriptions. By about the end of his second year Ramesses abandoned the project entirely, only to revisit it some two or more decades later when he completed the decoration in Gurnah, in an often coarse style of relief. This time he named only himself.

4.6.3.9 Tomb Relief of Amenemiset (Cairo JdE 43591) from Deir el-Medina

This fine tomb relief was once thought to date to Seti I's reign on stylistic grounds.²⁷ More recently, Kitchen demonstrated that it was made early in Ramesses II's reign based on faded cartouches in paint

²⁶ Thus foundation deposits and some stamped bricks giving the early form of his prenomen indicate that work began on the Ramesseum very early in the reign—ARI II, 667—but not while Seti I was still alive as Kitchen, *RITAC* II, 442 posits.

²⁷ Freed (1987), 142, cat. 11.

and rebus decoration on the veil of the barque of Amen-Re that gives the early form of his prenomen *Wsr ms't-R'* (RITANC I 297). As noted earlier, this relief must date to the very earliest part of his kingship (*supra* 399). We know from other reliefs at Karnak that early in Ramesses' reign, the rebus decoration from the canopy of Amen-Re's sacred barque contained Seti's prenomen alone.²⁸ This scene, then, does not reflect the actual iconography of the barque's canopy shortly after Ramesses' accession. It does suggest, however, that he was, in fact, the only regnant king at that time – namely when the coregency is alleged to have been in force. This piece may be weighted as further evidence against the notion of a coregency.

4.6.3.10 Beit el-Wah Temple of Ramesses II

Although this temple certainly dates to the earliest part of Ramesses II's reign, there is no unequivocal evidence for a coregency here. Seti I is never mentioned in any of the texts or scenes, and there is no reason to believe that the edifice was decorated before his death. Much has been made of how battle reliefs within the main hall might coincide with the young monarch's early career while Seti was alive.²⁹ A scene depicting the viceroy of Nubia Amenemopet is offered as proof of joint rule, since he is apparently attested under both kings, as is his successor Yuni.³⁰ It would indeed seem that these viceroys are attested under both Seti I and Ramesses II, a state of affairs that implies a coregency.³¹ Yet this too is open to question. If the Nubian war scenes represent an actual battle, then it must be none other than the skirmish in Irem commemorated by two stela of Seti I dating to year eight.³² (*supra* 3144 & 3147) and perhaps in a series of rock inscriptions of the viceroy Amenemopet.³³ In all likelihood this campaign, in which the

²⁸ Brand (1998), Appendix B. *idem*, forthcoming commentary on *GTHA* I 1.

²⁹ Spälinger (1979), 271–286.

³⁰ *AK*, 303–304, §1.8; *RITA*, 247 §.18; *RITANC* I, 200–201, §1.8.

³¹ Reisner (1920), 38–40. See *Coregency*, 36. Spälinger (1979b), 275–276 with further references 276, n. 23; *RITANC* II, III, 113.

³² On the Beit el-Wah reliefs and the historical veracity of the individual tableaux, see Gaballa (1976), 107.

³³ See *supra* 3136. For other monuments of Amenemopet, see *AK* I 302–303, §117–15; *RITA*, 246–247, §1.7–15. Commentary and additional references can be found in *RITANC* I, 99–200, §1.7–5. See too Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*.

king himself did not partake, occurred in regnal year eight and was a small affair. With the exception of Seele, proponents of the coregency (or regency) would place its commencement in or after Seti's year nine.³⁴

In the Beit el-Wah reliefs depicting the Irem campaign, it is King Ramesses bearing all the insignia of that office who charges the Nubian foe in his battle chariot and then receives the viceroy Amenemopet and two of his own sons bearing Nubian tribute in another wall relief. Moreover, he depicted himself as king participating in past events that occurred when he was still only a prince. Since Yuni had replaced Amenemopet sometime in year nine, before the coregency is alleged to have begun,³⁵ it is apparent that the old viceroy was no longer in office and probably dead and buried when the reliefs at Beit el-Wah were carved. As for his own two sons, these could have been no more than infants in Seti's year eight if, indeed, they were yet born at all. All this casts grave doubt on the historical reconstructions of Kitchen and Spalinger as well as undermining another support of the coregency theory, since Ramesses was obviously misrepresenting an historical event for ideological reasons.

4.6.3.11 Elephantine Graffito of Crown Prince Ramesses

This new inscription sheds further light on Ramesses' duties as crown prince in the later years of his father's reign, expanding the list of official titles and duties he is known to have had prior to his accession. He was a "fanbearer on the king's right side" and "true king's scribe." Most significantly, he was "overseer of the task force for all the monuments of the king." Part of this title *im t ms' wt*, can also be translated as "great general" or "generalissimo," the highest Egyptian military rank. Since *ms'* simply means "task force/expeditionary force," the phrase *m mwn nbw n nsw* was applied to show that this was a civilian, not a military operation. Given the dual purpose of the *ms'* as the army and corp of engineers, this document gives new credence to two highly rhetorical texts of Ramesses II: the Kuban stela and the

especially 86-87.

³⁴ Mutiari (1975), 189-190; idem, *Coregency*, 86-87; Spalinger (1979), 284-286; Kitchen (1980), 170.

³⁵ On the date of Yuni's tenure: *RITAN*, 2, 200, §118; *RITANC* II, 13, §38.

Abydos *Inscription dédicatoire* (*infra* 4.6.2), where he claims to have served in key posts of the civil and military administration while still a youth, although this would have remained merely symbolic while he was a child. It is also further evidence that his highest office until Seti's death was that of crown prince.

4.6.4 Conclusions

The interest of scholars in the history and chronology of Ramesses II's reign has tended to skew their perception of the evidence for his alleged coregency with his father, and their investigations have centered on the former's role. When examined from the perspective of Seti I's reign, however, disturbing inconsistencies arise. The notion that these rulers jointly decorated buildings at Gurnah, Karnak and Abydos does not hold up under closer scrutiny. In every case where this is alleged to have occurred, one must admit that Seti would have made drastic concessions to his junior partner, by allowing him to take the more salient role in the decoration, and to make all the key decisions as to the style and iconography of the reliefs. We are asked to believe that Ramesses was allowed to eclipse him in the decorative program of his own memorial temple at Gurnah. At Karnak, he is alleged to have assigned responsibility for decorating not only most of the south wing of the Hypostyle Hall, but also the paramount main axis of the edifice with its giant columns, to his son. At Seti's Abydos temple, we find that the only tableaux featuring Ramesses that can be said with certainty to date to his father's lifetime are those in which he is still a prince.

Reliefs in which one king is shown offering to his father or a predecessor depict the recipient as a deified monarch who is liable to be dead. Therefore, examples where Seti receives offerings from his son at Karnak, Abydos and Gurnah are but dubious testimony to a coregency. Likewise, given that posthumous scenes of deceased rulers portrayed in the role of officiant as if they were still alive can be found juxtaposed with decoration of living monarchs—e.g. Amenhotep III with Tutankhamen and Ay at Luxor, Ramesses I with Seti I at Karnak and Abydos—the value of such evidence featuring Ramesses II with his father at Gurnah, Karnak, and staircase Y in Seti's Abydos temple is likewise highly equivocal. The most reliable sort of artistic confirmation of joint rule would be scenes in which both rulers were shown side-by-side performing the same act, as with Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in

any number of reliefs from the *chapelle rouge*,¹³⁶ and in the sanctuary at the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahri.¹³⁷ So the only place we find Seti and Ramesses acting in concert is in the Gallery of the Kings at Abydos where the younger man is in the guise of a crown prince. The only known private monuments depicting Ramesses during his father's reign, a relief of Amenwahsu from Saqqara and the stela of Miya from Abydos, also show him as prince alongside his father, as do reliefs on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. It now seems likely that the reliefs in the Gallery of the Kings were carved at the very end of Seti's reign and that others in the Corridor of the Bull had already been laid out in paint with scenes again featuring prince Ramesses alongside his father, which suggests, in turn, that Ramesses was still crown prince at Seti's death. Another problem with the theory of joint decoration is the absence of Seti from Ramesses' temples at Abydos where the former is referred to only in passing, and at Beit el Wali where he is never mentioned at all. This whole pattern of temple decoration, assuming there was a coregency, represents a gross imbalance in favor of the alleged junior partner, which strains credulity.

The textual evidence for the coregency is highly unreliable. Ramesses' claim that he was crowned by Seti is pure hyperbole. Aside from this, the *Inscription Dedicatoire* and Kuban stela consistently describe him as the crown prince and heir apparent, enumerating titles appropriate to that role. Likewise, Sinai 250 is not the definitive proof some would claim it to be, and could easily date to shortly after the elder king's death. Another lynchpin of the case for a coregency, the notion that the two viceroys of Nubia, Amenemopet and Yuni, are both attested under Seti I and Ramesses II, does not hold up under close scrutiny. The only evidence for Amenemopet serving under Ramesses is found in reliefs at Beit el Wali that transform the historical role of then Prince Ramesses in the Izem campaign of Seti's year eight into a fictitious incident whereby he appears as king defeating the Nubians and then receiving tribute presented to him by Amenemopet, who was, in any case, dead when the reliefs were carved. The Beit el-Wali reliefs, then, are highly dubious evidence of the coregency.

¹³⁶ *chapelle d'Hatshepsout, passim*

¹³⁷ *PAW II* 366 (133); *LD III*, 20

"The entire problem surrounding the regency is one of vagueness."¹⁸ In fact, both Murnane and Spalinger lament the dearth of solid evidence in support of the alleged joint rule of the two kings, and hoped that new evidence would be forthcoming in support of it. In the nearly two decades that have passed since the last major appraisal of the coregency was penned, the only new source bearing on Ramesses' career under Seti I is the graffito from an islet near Elephantine portraying him as crown prince. The present reappraisal casts grave doubt on the known evidence for a coregency. Coregencies in general have received much support from English-speaking scholars, and the Seti-Ramesses case is considered by many to be the most secure. French and German Egyptologists have tended to discount the notion of coregencies altogether, casting doubt on even the much more solid testimony of double-dated monuments for the coregencies of the Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁹ Such outright dismissals of all coregencies remains unconvincing, and some such as the joint rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, are undentable, while those of the Middle Kingdom remain solidly convincing.

Still, in the past a great deal of weak, ambiguous or circumstantial evidence has been offered by proponents of many coregencies, in particular the highly doubtful case of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. The argument for a coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II is built on two *post factum* propaganda texts of Ramesses II dating to after Seti's death, and a large corpus of reliefs that seemed to show that the two men ruled as king at the same time but which can now be shown to date to after Seti's death. More definitive evidence, such as the double-dated inscriptions of the Twelfth Dynasty and the kind of iconographic evidence from the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III showing the two monarchs acting in concert, is wholly lacking from the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

Certainly there was some kind of association between Seti and his son. Crown Prince Ramesses was given a highly prominent role in his father's later years, along with careful training and grooming in anticipation of the day when he would become king. Perhaps no other

¹⁸ Spalinger (1979), 285.

¹⁹ See most recently Grimal (1995), 273-280; Schaefer (1986), 44-55; Osborn (1993), 103-140; idem (1995), 35-145.

pharaoh was better prepared to succeed his father than he. As crown prince, Ramesses gained practical experience in religious, civilian and military affairs. Evidence for his training comes not only from the *Inscription Dedicatoire* and the Kuban stela, but also from Seti's reign, including the larger year nine stela from Aswan, the south wing of the Abydos temple, two private monuments and the new rock inscription from Aswan. Reliefs from Seti's war monument at Karnak and those of Ramesses at Beni el-Wali also suggest that the prince played a military role. Even scholars who would dismiss the idea of a coregency must admit that late in the reign he served as an exceptionally influential and conspicuous heir apparent.¹⁴⁰ Grimal describes this arrangement as "association au trône" and terms Ramesses' office as that of *Dauphin*.¹⁴¹ Upon his accession, after Seti I died, Ramesses placed a heavy emphasis on the memorial cult of his father, constantly stressing his connection to his highly successful predecessor.

Given the young age of both the new monarch and his new dynasty with its attendant problems of legitimacy (*infra* 6.2.1), it is not surprising that Ramesses would choose to associate himself closely with his deceased father, just as Seti himself had done with Ramesses I.¹⁴² To this end he made exaggerated claims to have been associated with his father at an early age and even to have been crowned. The *Inscription Dedicatoire* and the Kuban stela, taken with the reliefs from Ramesses' earliest years, have led many to envision a coregency. Seen from his perspective, the evidence is quite persuasive, but when examined from Seti I's point of view this political arrangement as reconstructed by proponents of the theory is dramatically unbalanced in favor of his son. If one presumes that Seti was dead when reliefs dating to the first two years of Ramesses II's reign were made, the pattern of monumental decoration makes better sense. Nor is it a coincidence that the only glimpses we have of the younger man acting in concert with his father all portray him with the iconography of the crown prince.

¹⁴⁰ Ramer Stadelmann by personal communication.

¹⁴¹ Grimal (1995), 280.

¹⁴² Ling (1992), 59-66.

4.7 Royal Succession and Dynastic Policy

The early Ramessides do not seem to have wholly established the legitimacy of their dynasty by the end of Seti's reign, and their right to the throne may still have been in question.⁴³ Moreover, Ramesses may have felt threatened by the influence of a military officer called Mehy whose figure was inserted into several of the Karnak war scenes. This military officer bore one of the highest courtly titles in the land, that of "fanbearer on the king's right side."⁴⁴ He seems to have had influence with Seti, and some scholars would see him as the original heir apparent.⁴⁵ It is not clear whether Mehy outlived his king, but his suppression must have come soon after Ramesses II became king.

Prior to Ramesses II's accession, the political insecurity of the new dynasty had been bridged by the acumen and connections of its first two rulers, both of whom had reached the highest levels of the administration before their own accessions (see *infra* 4.8). Ramesses I was in much the same political situation as his distant predecessor Amenemhet I. Not since the Twelfth Dynasty had there been such a complete break with the previous royal house, since the Thirteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties were each in some way connected with the previous ruling house. Ramesses, by contrast, had no ties by blood or marriage with the now defunct Eighteenth Dynasty. Moreover, he was the third ruler in succession to lack a royal sire.

Like their Twelfth Dynasty forerunners, the first Ramessides had to take extraordinary measures to ensure a smooth transition of power. Although their religious institutional legitimacy as recipients of the divine office of kingship was nil,⁴⁶ the early Ramessides certainly did not face as fierce opposition, even violent rebellion and personal treachery, as had Amenemhet I.⁴⁷ The rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty had secured their line with a series of interlocking coregencies, and while such an arrangement has been claimed for the first three monarchs of the Nineteenth Dynasty, this now appears highly doubtful, and, in any event, the analogy breaks down with Ramesses II. The antiquated

⁴³ Murnane (1995a), 185ff, *infra* 6.2.1.

⁴⁴ See most recently *ibid.*, 199-203, with references.

⁴⁵ Heick (1981), 212.

⁴⁶ Murnane (1995a).

⁴⁷ Murnane (1977), Borghard (1985).

practice of coregency probably had little to recommend it. With the exception of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut—a precedent with little appeal to a struggling new royal house—there had probably been few coregencies since the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁸ The office of pharaoh, the son of Re and incarnation of Horus and successor of his deceased father Osiris, was unique and indivisible. Hence, less extreme measures were taken. Seti I and Ramesses II served prominently in the role of crown prince under their fathers. This distinctively Ramesside mode of ensuring the transmission of royal power, fully expressed during Ramesses II's long reign, was first developed by his father and grandfather.

The key feature that distinguished Ramesside dynastic policy from that of the Eighteenth Dynasty was the prominent role of the royal children—especially the crown prince.⁴⁹ Seti I and Ramesses II, along with a succession of the latter's sons, were in the public eye and held a number of important religious, administrative and military posts. As Grimal has suggested, the office of crown prince may be likened to the French *Dauphin*⁵⁰ or England's Prince of Wales.

Unfortunately, we have no contemporary sources from Seti I's brief floruit as heir apparent, only the retrospective given on the dedicatory stele from the chapel he erected for the posthumous cult of his father at Abydos. We do, however, possess a number of textual and iconographic sources illuminating Ramesses II's tenure as *Dauphin*. He is typically portrayed as an adolescent garbed in a kilt with sloping hemline and long sash, wearing the side lock. This became the institutional uniform of his own sons and later Ramesside princes. He often carries the *hw-sen* indicative of the office of 'fanbearer' or the more prestigious 'fanbearer on the king's right side'. His own sons typically carry this emblem and frequently bear one of these titles, and the longer epithet is now attested for crown prince Ramesses himself (*supra* 3.119.463.11). The new

⁴⁸ Nearly all of the coregencies proposed for the Eighteenth, including that of Amenhotep II and Akhenaten, are doubtful. See Murnane (1977) *passim*. Aside from Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, whose coregency was motivated by very different circumstances from those of the Twelfth Dynasty, the only other possible example is the latter's alleged joint rule with his son Amenhotep II. The evidence for this, namely a number of chronological arguments and the pattern of decoration in the Amada temple, is more tendentious than that for Seti I and Ramesses II. *Ibid.* 44–57. Redford (1965).

⁴⁹ On the royal family in the Eighteenth Dynasty, *infra* 4.10ff.

⁵⁰ Grimal (1995), 280.

Elephantine grafitto pictures him in silhouette wearing a kind of long pleated robe and official's wig associated with high functionaries, such as the viceroy Amenemopet, in several rock inscriptions he left in the Aswan region and Nubia.¹¹ Like many of his own sons, Ramesses bore a variety of honorific and functional titles placing him in the highest administrative circles of the land, which supports claims made in the Kaban stela and Abydos *Inscription Dedicatoire* (*supra* 4.6.2). In fact, Ramesses' titles and official attire as crown prince were the prototypes for all later Ramesside princes.

Thus, Ramesses II's dynastic policy was a natural evolution from those of his father and grandfather, not a failure to honor any of his sons with the rank of coregent. In his later years, the old king turned over many of the day-to-day political responsibilities of his office to Crown Prince Merenptah, who functioned as his father's "staff of old age" in much the same way as Seti I had for Ramesses I. The essential difference between Ramesses II's dynastic policy and that of Seti was one of degree and emphasis. From the earliest years of his reign, Ramesses' large brood, both male and female, appears in force on the monuments, not just the heir apparent (*infra* 4.10.4).

Mehy's evident closeness to Seti certainly disturbed Ramesses II enough to suppress him in the public record, but we need not resort to this shadowy figure, waiting in the wings as heir presumptive, as the *raison d'être* for the public measures taken later to signal Ramesses II's status as *Dauphin*.¹² Nor was coregency the method by which the first two Ramesside dynasts transmitted power to their sons. Instead, their establishment of the office of crown prince was part of an ongoing evolution in the mechanisms used for the royal succession, beginning with the dynastic crisis following the death of Tutankhamen and culminating in the long reign of Ramesses II.

¹¹ Cf. similar attire worn by Crown Prince Merenptah from the later reign of his father Sourouzian (1989), Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant* 113, fig. 37. For other examples of Ramesses II's sons not wearing the typical princely uniform see Leblanc (1999), 82, fig. 25 (Setihirkhopeshef), 152, fig. 4 (Ramesses), 166, fig. 50 (Ramesses & Merenptah), cf. 303, fig. 77, where Ramesses-Merysutekh sports a long official's robe with wig and side lock.

¹² There has been some scepticism about the alleged role of Mehry. Cf. Bierbrner (1993), 0; Vandersleyen (1997), 512; Teeter's review of Murnane (1994a) in *JALAS* 58 (1999), 126.

4.8 The Ancestry & Pre-Royal Careers of Ramesses I & Seti I

It is most likely that the vizier *Pramesu*, known from his two Karnak statues¹⁵¹ and probably from a set of sarcophagi inter reused by one of Ramesses II's sons as well,¹⁵² is the same man who became Ramesses I upon the death of Horemheb. Another source, the "400-Year Stela," mentions a vizier *Pramesu* whose son Seti was also a vizier during the 400th anniversary of the founding of the temple of Seth in Avaris.¹⁵³ Although there are those who doubt that the two viziers on the "400-Year Stela" are the future Ramesses I and Seti I,¹⁵⁴ it seems hard to deny that the vizier *Pramesu*, whose statue is tattooed with the cartouche of Horemheb on both shoulders, could be anyone else but the future Ramesses I given the extraordinary titles he bore. These include "His Majesty's deputy in Upper and Lower Egypt" and "hereditary prince (*ir-pri*) in the whole land," titles paralleled only by those of Horemheb himself prior to his accession. Murnane has cogently argued in favor of the identification of the viziers *Pramesu* and Seti of the "400-Year Stela" with Ramesses I and Seti I.¹⁵⁵ Although one might postulate an otherwise unattested "dynasty" of Lower Egyptian viziers spanning the early Nineteenth Dynasty on the basis of the "400-Year Stela" itself, as Murnane scrupulously admits, the identification of these viziers with Ramesses I and Seti I seems much more probable in the light of the statues and sarcophagi of *Pramesu* and Ramesses II's filial piety and stewardship of his family's ancestry.¹⁵⁶ Goedicke's arguments against this identification are unconvincing.¹⁵⁷ Stadelmann's conjecture

¹⁵¹ *EA* IV 2175-2176.

¹⁵² See now Polz (1986).

¹⁵³ *ARI* II, 287-288; *RITA* II, 116-117; *RITANC* II, 168-172.

¹⁵⁴ E.g. Zivie (1984), 10-103; Goedicke (1966); Stadelmann (1965; *idem* (1984), 912; *idem* (1986). See *RITANC* II, 169 & 171 for further references to those for and against this identification.

¹⁵⁵ Murnane (1995a), 192-196.

¹⁵⁶ See Ling (1992). Ramesses' commemoration of his family's origins on this monument including a frank admission that they were non-royal is entirely consistent with his own policies and those of his father. Cf. a relief from the Abydos chapel for Ramesses I and the dedicatory stela, both of which commemorate Ramesses I's ancestors. See also monuments honoring Ramesses II's sister and brother-in-law and his mother's parents. *infra* 4.10.2 & 4.10.3. See Ling (1992).

¹⁵⁷ Goedicke (1966), 37-38.

that the two viziers are the father and grandfather of Ramesses I can also be rejected, although he is quite right that the purpose of the stela was to promote the idea that Ramesses' ancestors were chosen by the god Seth of Avaris to accede to the throne of Egypt.¹⁶⁰ Having reconfirmed the identification of the viziers Pramesseu and Seti with the first two scions of the Nineteenth Dynasty, their ancestry may now be examined more closely. This can be reconstructed from a number of sources. According to one of the Karnak statues of the vizier Pramesseu, Ramesses I's father was a 'judge' (*ssb*) and "troop commander" (*hry-pdt*) named Seti (*Lrk* IV, 2176-10).¹⁶¹ This Seti's broken offering stela entitles him "troop commander of the Lord of the Two Lands."¹⁶² He may also have been an individual named Suti Suta attested in some of the Amarna letters as a 'royal envoy'.¹⁶³ This man's brother, a certain Khaemwaset, was "fanbearer of the retinue."¹⁶⁴ He may be the same Khaemwaset mentioned on a group statue from Kawa who bore the title "fanbearer on the king's right side" whose wife was the "mistress of the harem of Amen" Taemwadisy.¹⁶⁵ Another man, Ramose (Ramesses), was a stable master. Although his specific kinship to Seti is not preserved, Vandersleyen's intriguing suggestion is that Ramose might be Ramesses I himself at an early stage in his career.¹⁶⁶ Queen Sitre's parents are unknown, but Queen Tuya's parents were the 'chariot officer' (*idm int hrt*) Riya and the woman Ruiva.

¹⁶⁰ Stadelmann (1965). Refuted by Murnane (1995a), 193-195. *RITA*, II, 17-§270.

¹⁶¹ See Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 15-16.

¹⁶² Cruz-Uribe (1978), 239 & 242-243.

¹⁶³ Suti was sent to Babylon. EA 5-4. Suta, an Egyptian commissioner, is named in EA 234-4-23-33, a letter to pharaoh from Satama ruler of Akka & by Abd-Heba ruler of Jerusalem in EA 288-9-22. Seti's son Pramesseu was a 'royal envoy to every foreign land,' *wpwty nsw r hst nbt* (*Lrk* IV, 2175-11), but this title is not attested for Seti himself on his battered stela or on Pramesseu's Karnak statues.

¹⁶⁴ Cruz-Uribe (1978), 239-240 & 243-244.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 244.

¹⁶⁶ Vandersleyen (1997), 494 & n. 2. Ramose's one title, of stable master, is not attested on the Karnak statues of the vizier Pramesseu. Still, the stela might belong to an early part of his career. J. van Dijk objects that Ramose and Pramesseu are different names. Martin *et al.* (1997), 61 n. 4. Ramesses II, however, used both *R'-ms* and *R'-ms-sw* as his nomen during his reign.

The military background of the Nineteenth Dynasty is well known.⁶⁷ Pramesse's career path took him from the middle ranks of the army establishment to the very highest levels of the military and civilian administrations.⁶⁸ His father Sen had achieved the rank of "troop commander" (*hry-pdt*) when he dedicated his stela. He eventually was given the honorific "judge" (*s3b*).⁶⁹ At this point, Pramesse, if he is the Ramose from his father's stela, was a "stable master" (*hry-thw*).⁷⁰ Although this title is not attested on Pramesse's other monuments, he may have omitted such a lowly office having reached the highest circles of the government.⁷¹ He continued to rise up the military chain of command, becoming a "troop commander" like his father and a "master of horse" (*imy-r ssmwt*), commander of the fortress (*imy-r htm*), controller of the Nile mouth (*imy-r h3w*), charioteer of His Majesty (*k3dn n hm f*), king's envoy to every foreign land (*wpwty-nsw r h3st nbt*), royal scribe, colonel (*ts-pdt*),⁷² and finally "general of the Lord of the Two Lands" (*imy-r ms' n nb Thwy*).⁷³ With this last honor, he reached the highest level possible under Horemheb, who does not seem to have bestowed the titles "generalissimo" (*imy-r ms' wr*) or "great generalissimo" (*imy-r imyw-r ms' wr*) during his reign.⁷⁴

Pramesse was probably far advanced along his military career when Horemheb first granted him civilian titles, all of them high, some extraordinary. So he was made "pontiff" or "overseer of the priests of all the gods" (*imy-r hmw n nrrw nbw*), "deputy of His Majesty in the entire land" (*idmw n hm f m T t r dt f*), a remarkable office similar to Horemheb's as heir presumptive, obviously granted for the same

⁶⁷ Helck (1939).

⁶⁸ Helck (1958), 308-310, 446-447 (21); Von Beckerath (1951), 26-27.

⁶⁹ *Urk.* IV, 2176.10.

⁷⁰ Vandersleyen (1997), 494, n. 2.

⁷¹ Cf. Poiz (1986), 162, chart showing various titles of Pramesse listed on his statues, sarcophagus, and the 400-Year Stela. Only the most important of these titles, "hereditary prince" *hry-pdt*, and "city mayor and vizier" are listed on all these monuments. Some epithets appear only once or twice, including "overseer of foreign countries" and "colonel" *ts-pdt*. Lesser titles could have easily been omitted due to lack of space.

⁷² This translation is preferable to "group marshaler." A *ts-pdt* ranked above a "troop commander" *hry-pdt* and below a "general" *imy-r ms'*.

⁷³ Murnane (1995a), 197.

purpose.¹⁷⁴ Finally, he was given a string of titles associated with the vizierate and the high honorific "fanbearer on the king's right side." The "400-Year Stela" confirms a number of these and also names him "fortress commander of Tcharu" (ARJ II. 288 8-9). As heir presumptive, he was never given the title "king's son" or allowed to enclose his name in a cartouche.¹⁷⁵

Seti I's career before his father's accession can be traced only through later sources as there are no contemporary ones for it. The dedicatory stela for his father's chapel in Abydos describes only his role once the latter had become king (ARJ I. 111 10-15). The "400-Year Stela" is more informative, giving a string of titles to the vizier Seti, ones similar to those borne by the vizier Pramesseu (ARJ II. 287 10-11 & 288 7-8). These are "hereditary prince (*hry-pdt*), mayor of the city and vizier (*imy-r nwt hty*), fanbearer on the king's right side (*hry-hw hr wnmw n nsw*), troop commander (*hry-pdt*), overseer of foreign countries (*imy-r hšwt*),¹⁷⁶ fortress commander of Tcharu (*imy-r hm n Tšrw*), chief of the Madjay-police (*wr n Mšdw*), royal scribe (*šš nsw*), master of the horse (*imy-r šmwt*), festival leader of the Ram-Lord-of-Mendes (*šm-llh Bš-nb-ddw*), High priest of Seth (*hm-ntr špy n Šwtj*), lector priest of Wadjet (*hry-hbt n Wšdyt*), judge of the Two Lands (*wprwt ššw*) and pontiff of the priests of all the gods (*imy-r hmw-ntr n ntrw nbw*)."

Many of these titles are attested for the vizier Pramesseu on this Stela and on his statues from Kamak.¹⁷⁷ They suggest that father and son had parallel career paths leading to the highest levels of the government. As with Pramesseu, the first stage of Seti's career was probably military before he was granted the highest civilian offices. He may have held some of the priestly ones, except for that of "pontiff," before he became

¹⁷⁴ Murnane (1995a) 46. Cf. *JEA* IV. 2091 5 where Horemheb is called "royal deputy at the head of the Two Lands" (*šm nsw n hm Tšwy*).

¹⁷⁵ The two sarcophagi were later inscribed with the phrase "The Osiris King's Son of Ramessu-Mery-Amen," enclosed in a cartouche. The prince, named Ramesses, is here identified only as the son of his father Ramesses II. It cannot refer to Ramesses I, who never bore the epithet *mry-Imn*. The orthography of these cartouches, standard for Ramesses—after year twenty-one—is also never attested for his grandfather. Cf. *supra* I.4.4 & I.4.6. So contra Polz (1986), 166.

¹⁷⁶ Seti I cannot have been the *šm*—*šm* attested in the Amarna letters, as he would have been a child, if he was even yet born, when these missives were written. See note 163 above.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Polz (1986), 162, chart.

vizier, as these are all localized in the eastern and central Delta. Interestingly, he was not given the rank of "general" (*imy-r nṯ*) as his father was. Nor did he bear any of the unusual titles marking him as an heir presumptive to the throne such as "deputy of His Majesty in the entire land," which was given to Horemheb and Pramesu. His first title, "hereditary prince" (*iry-p'r*), does, however, mark him as being in the line of succession to the throne as the son of the heir presumptive Pramesu.

From all this we may conclude that Pramesu and Seti had parallel careers first in the military and then also in the highest civilian offices in the land under Horemheb. Uncertainties about their ages and the problem of the length of Horemheb's reign make it impossible to say when their careers started, although the stela of Pramesu's father the troop commander Seti is post-Amarna in style, suggesting a *terminus post quem* in Tutankhamen's reign, probably early. It is widely believed that Ramesses I was already an old man, which has led Martin to suggest that a relief from the Memphite tomb of general Horemheb showing him presiding over a reward ceremony for an aged colleague with a prominent aquiline nose represents Pramesu.⁷⁸ This is far from certain, however, and we don't know how old Ramesses I was at his accession.

Pramesu and Seti both served as viziers: the older man probably in the south,⁷⁹ since Seti's priestly titles and the event described in the "400-Year Stela" all suggest he was based in the north.⁸⁰ Perhaps Horemheb felt the older man was more trustworthy as his representative far from the capital in Memphis. With the death of Horemheb, both vizierates would have fell vacant as Seti became crown prince alongside his father.⁸¹ Two viziers are attested for the reign of Seti I, Nebamun, probably in the north, and Paser in the south.⁸² Otherwise, we have at least one vizier missing from the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I.

⁷⁸ Martin, *Horemheb*, 42-43.

⁷⁹ So Von Beckerath (1951), 27, n. 99.

⁸⁰ Contra Helck (1958), 308-310, who places Pramesu in the north.

⁸¹ Cf. the practice of Seti I and Ramesses II: neither of whose crown princes were ever vizier. As sons of the reigning king, they no longer required the office of vizier as a stepping stone to the monarchy as Ay, Horemheb and Ramesses I had.

⁸² *ARI* I 285-301; *RITA* I 233-246; *RITASC* I, 189-98. Helck (1958), 311 contends that Nebamun was the northern vizier under Seti, while Kuchel (*RITANC* I 189-188) maintains that Paser was the successor of Nebamun as southern vizier.

Biographical texts from Paser's Theban tomb (TT 106) might suggest that his tenure began under Ramesses I and continued well into that of Ramesses II. He records that "my lord (Seti) commanded the raising of me to be chief noble of the palace after he had appointed me to be chamberlain and first prophet of Weret-hekau. He repeated the placing (*whm rdt*) of him (*sic*) to be mayor of the City and vizier" (AR/ I, 299 10-11). A parallel biography with praise of Ramesses II occurring elsewhere in Paser's tomb sheds light on this passage. Here he states that "my lord raised me to be the chief official of the palace after he had appointed him (*sic*) to be chamberlain and first prophet of Weret-hekau. He reappointed (*whm rdt*) him (*sic*) to be a hereditary noble, mayor of the City and reporter of truth" (AR/ III, 9-6-7). Now clearly Paser had already held all these titles under Seti I. One might conclude that Ramesses II's was the second reappointment (*rdt whm*) to these offices, Paser first having been reinstalled by Seti I. His original appointment to the vizierate must have come at the beginning of Ramesses I's reign. The only limit on vizier's term of office, besides death, was the pleasure of the king, and a new ruler could choose whether or not to continue the tenure of his predecessor's officials. Paser's career as vizier continued at least into year twenty-one of Ramesses II, and he certainly was retired by year thirty when Khay was appointed vizier.⁶¹ He later became first prophet of Amen under Ramesses II.⁶² Thus, it may be that both Paser and Nebamun were appointed by Ramesses I and reconfirmed in their offices by Seti I and, for Paser at least, by Ramesses II.

4.9 Ramesses I's Ancestors in his Abydos Chapel

A relief from the Abydos chapel of Ramesses I depicts this ruler followed by his queen, along with five female and three male figures, doubtless his relatives, offering to Osiris, Isis and Hathor-Mistress-of-the-West.⁶³ It is very unfortunate that the upper portion of the relief is largely missing, taking with it the names of the queen and eight

⁶¹ Helck (1958), 321-322; Edel (1978), 117-58; AR/ II, 380.

⁶² Helck, *ibid.* 314, posits that Paser was dead shortly after Ramesses II's twenty-fifth year.

⁶³ W. nlock, *Bas-Reliefs*, pls. 6-8; *idem*, *Temple of Ramesses I*, 16-18 & pl. 3.

kinsmen. The men wear long pleated garments and official's wigs.⁴⁶ A pointed flap descends from under the wide-fringed sash of each of their robes, perhaps indicative of a particular type of kilt often worn by soldiers in the later Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside periods.⁴⁷ The five women, of whom only one is preserved in full, sport gowns identical to the queen's, but with long tripartite wigs, each surmounted by an unadorned modius.

The identities of these people cannot be established with certainty, but a few tantalizing possibilities may be ventured. The queen is almost certainly Sitre, Ramesses' only known wife and Seti's mother. As for the others, the dedication stela from the chapel provides a vital clue: "It is his mother who is beside him, inseparably. Those who have gone on before him are assembled before him, and the king's beloved brother is opposite him. The god's mother, her arms embrace him like Isis, she has joined with her father. All his brothers and sisters are in their places. Because his people surround him, he rejoices."⁴⁸

Some of these kinfolk can be identified from other sources. "His mother" must be the anonymous wife of Ramesses I's father, the troop commander Seti (*infra* 4.10.1). The "god's mother" would be the aforementioned wife of Ramesses, Queen Sitre, referring to her role as the mother of Set I, the ruling pharaoh.⁴⁹ The king's "beloved brother" may be Khaemwaset, named on a battered stela of Ramesses I's father Seti where he is also described as "beloved."⁵⁰ Another man might be a certain Ramose (= Ramesses), whose precise relationship to the king remains unknown.⁵¹ Interestingly, both the wife and mother of Ramesses I are mentioned while his father is not. The role of these women as "god's mothers" of kings is here being stressed, while there

⁴⁶ The presence of a third was deduced from the size of a gap in the wall. *Ibid.*, *Temple of Ramesses I*, 16-17 & pl. 3.

⁴⁷ Cf. Johnson (1992), plates, *passim*; Martin, *Horemheb*, plates, *passim*; LD III, 121.

⁴⁸ ARI I, 113-5-7; RITA I, 95; RITANC I, 93-94.

⁴⁹ Cf. the prominent role and new titles granted Ramesses II's mother Tuva after Seti I's death (*infra* 4.10.2). Sitre's role as Isis complements her husband's identification with Osiris. Was she also dead when the text was composed?

⁵⁰ Cruz-Uribe (1978). One of the women might be his wife Taemwadjet (*infra* 4.8).

⁵¹ He is mentioned on the stela of Seti, although he might be the future Ramesses I himself (*supra* 4.8). Cruz-Uribe (1978). Queen Tuva's parents may also have been represented. Gaballa & Kitchen (1968); Habachi (1969b).

is no evidence that the troop commander Seti was posthumously elevated to the rank of "god's father," although he may have been pictured in the chapel relief.⁹²

Are any of these people Ramesses' children and therefore Seti I's siblings? Any such identification raises problems. Their order does not seem to reflect marriage status, i.e. they are not paired off male and female. This arrangement might indicate the order of their birth if they are Ramesses' children, and if this is the case, then one of them could be Seti I. This seems improbable, however, for two reasons: there are no iconographical markers reflecting his eventual royal status, unlikely in view of the fact that the monument dates to his reign. The other men would then presumably include his brother(s). But royal brothers are rarely if ever attested during the reigns of their siblings, surely because of the implicit threat they represented to the king's rule.⁹³ If any of these men had been a royal brother, of either Ramesses I or Seti I, it is likely that he was dead. A telling point is that the dedicatory stela describes these people as having "gone on before him," suggesting that they are deceased ancestors. The scene as a whole recalls many private funerary stelae of the New Kingdom where two or more generations of the owners' kin may be pictured so that they might partake of the offering cult. These eight were probably all of Ramesses I's generation and/or that of his parents or earlier, and most if not all were probably deceased, with the possible exception of Queen Sitre. As the stela records, this chapel served to honor the cult of Seti's ancestors. Apart from this exceptional case, however, there are no further references to any members of the royal family under both Ramesses I and Seti I, save only for a handful mentioning the Queen Mother Sitre and her apparent

4.10 Royal Family under Ramesses I and Seti I

The high profile of the royal family at large under Ramesses II contrasts with its near invisibility under Seti I. Except for Ramesses I and the

⁹² This title was often granted to the non-royal parents and predecessors of the first sons of new royal houses. Habachi (1958).

⁹³ A doctoral thesis on the subject of the "king's brothers" has recently been completed by Jean Revez (1999), which includes a discussion, 131-139, of the unnamed brother of Ramesses I.

future Ramesses II, little contemporary evidence for Seti's immediate relatives is forthcoming prior to the latter's accession.

4.10.1 Queen Sitre, Mother of Seti I

Queen Sitre is entitled in her tomb (Queen's Valley 38) as "king's wife, god's wife, mistress of the Two Lands and great mother of the king."⁹⁴ In KV 17, Seti's own tomb, her protocol includes "hereditary princess (*hrt-p't*), great royal wife, and mistress of the Two Lands."⁹⁵ A representation of her cult statue along with those of Seti I and Ramesses I, appears in Seti's own chapel within his temple at Abydos where she is called simply "wife of the king."⁹⁶ It is likely that Sitre was the wife of Ramesses I and mother of Seti I although just whom she married and whom she gave birth to is not entirely clear. The "400-Year Stela" of Ramesses II claims that the vizier Seti (Seti I) was the son of the vizier Pramesseu (Ramesses I) and the lady Tia, but she may have changed her name to Sitre or perhaps Tia is a diminutive form of Sitre.⁹⁷ All references we have to the queen seem to date to Seti's reign. Royal wives often remained in obscurity during their husband's tenures, only to become prominent as queen mother during the reigns of their sons. Yet Sitre's titles imply a greater importance than the monumental record suggests. As "great mother of the king" and "she who was born to be god's mother" (AR/I 5.13-14), Sitre's role in giving birth to the first king to succeed his father on the throne in more than a generation would have been particularly important. Yet she, like her daughter-in-law Queen Tuya, languished in relative obscurity during Seti's reign. Tuya,

⁹⁴ P122, 751; AR/I 49a, 5.7-8; RITA I 49a, 5; RITANC I 49a, 9; Leblanc (1999), 50-51 with references. QV 38 is to be published by C. Desroches-Noblecourt.

⁹⁵ P122, 751; AR/I 49c, 5.7-8; RITA I 49c, 5; RITANC I 49c, 9.

⁹⁶ Abydos II pl. 35; AR/I 49b, 5.7-8; RITA I 49b, 5; RITANC I 49b, 9.

⁹⁷ Mamane (1995), 94. See also Gaballa & Kitchen (1983), 259 & n. 4; Stadelmann (1984), 912; RITANC I 9 § 7; Vandersleyen (1997), 495 & n. 3; RITANC II 72. This was also the name of Seti's only known daughter (*infra* 4.10.3). Van Dijk, in Martin *et al.* (1997), 61, claims that Sitre was another wife of Seti I as she is not given the title of "king's mother" in the relief showing her in the royal chapel in Seti I's Abydos temple. But she is attested as a "great king's mother" in QV 38. She was clearly not Ramesses II's mother nor is it likely that she was Ramesses I's, so she must have been Seti I's mother.

however, enjoyed great prominence as dowager queen mother once her son Ramesses II became king

4.10.2 Queen Tuya, Wife of Seti I

Queen Tuya is well attested as the wife of Seti I and mother of Ramesses II.⁹⁹ During her husband's tenure she is practically invisible, and with the possible exception of a limestone head found at Gurnah,⁹⁹ all references to her stem from the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁰⁰ Tuya's notoriety under Ramesses is connected to her role as queen mother. Among the monuments he raised in her honor are several statues, one of them a pink granite colossus in the first court of the Ramesseum almost nine meters high.¹⁰¹ The small double temple attached to the main shrine was consecrated to the cults of Tuya and Nefertari and may be the earliest Mammisi with reliefs and inscriptions describing the divine birth of the king.¹⁰² Along with other members of the royal family, she also appears several times as a diminutive figure at the feet of royal colossi. Tuya is given a variety of titles on various monuments of Ramesses II. The epithets "great royal wife, mistress of the Two Lands, wife of the god, hereditary princess (*hst p't*), and mistress of the North and South" stem from her marriage to Seti I, while the titles "mother of the king" and "mother of the god" would have been conferred upon her son's accession.

4.10.3 Princess Tia, Daughter of Seti I

Princess Tia is known only from monuments dating to the reign of her brother Ramesses II. She married the like-named Tia, a well-placed official who served as the treasurer of his royal brother-in-law's memorial temple, the Ramesseum. He is also attested as a "(true) king's scribe, overseer of the (royal) treasury, (great) overseer of the cattle of

⁹⁹ Desroches-Noblecourt (1982); Habachi (1969b); Sourouzian, *LAI V*, 796-797.

¹⁰⁰ Sourouzian (1981).

¹⁰¹ *KRI II*, 844-847 with cross references, *RITA VC II*, 549-557.

¹⁰² Lebanc (1994), *RIT-LVC II*, 551.

¹⁰³ Desroches-Noblecourt (1991), 26-43, *idem* (1996), 216-219; Lebanc (1999), 32.

Amen" and once as "fanbearer on the king's right side."¹⁰¹ Ironically, he is better known than his royal wife Princess Tia. A relief in Toronto shows the couple following after her mother Queen Tuya where she is called "mistress of the house, chantress of Amen-Great-of-Vicloness, the august royal sister Tia."¹⁰² She is also called a "great one of the harem of Re." The couple's tomb was recently discovered by Martin next to the Memphite sepulture of Horemheb.¹⁰³ It is not clear whether the princess married before or during the reigns of her father or grandfather.¹⁰⁴

No other children of Seti I are known. A long alleged elder brother of Ramesses II is a phantom,¹⁰⁵ as is a Prince Amennefernebef.¹⁰⁶ Princess Henutmehyt, once thought to be a sister of Ramesses II, was in fact his daughter.¹⁰⁷

4.10.4 The Royal Family's Role under Seti I & Ramesses II

The virtual absence of the royal family in the monumental record under Seti I is in striking contrast to its high visibility under Ramesses II. Save only for the crown prince in the second half of the reign, Seti consigned his living relatives to the background. Comparison with earlier New Kingdom reigns shows that this was not unusual. It remains a fact that

¹⁰¹ Habachi (1969b), 42-46, *ARI* III, 366-3, *ARI* VII, 162-163.

¹⁰² Royal Ontario Museum 955.79.2; Habachi (1969b), 42.

¹⁰³ Martin (1984); idem, *Hidden Tombs*, chpt. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Habachi (1969b), 46, places it in the reign of Seti I. Van Dijk would place the marriage before the accession of Ramesses I when it would not have yet been a "royal" marriage. Martin *et al.* (1997), 32. Kitchen *RI IV C* 1.212 believes that Princess Tia was an older sister of Ramesses II and also places the marriage before Ramesses I ascended the throne.

¹⁰⁵ Based on Breasted's (1899) now discredited theory that Ramesses II replaced the figures of his assassinated elder brother with his own in Seti I's Karnak war reliefs. See Mumane *Road to Kadesh*, appendix 6. Kitchen christened the phantom Prince Neb-en-khast-neber *ARI* I.9.12.13 but later retracted the suggestion after the Epigraphic Survey published its results *RI IV C*, 231-6a.14c. Dorothy Eady Omm Sety, *Ithb* 1.41-42, maintained a variant of this theory according to which the eldest son was guilty of treason. The sarcophagus of Pramesse from Luxor was once thought to belong to this prince. See discussion in Polz (1986).

¹⁰⁶ From a graffito allegedly found by Mariette on the island of Schel, but never located again. Habachi (1969b), 41, n. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 41. Sourouzian (1983), *RI IV C* II.549; Lebanc (1999), 244-253 with references to scholars who believed she was a daughter of Seti I nn. 14-15.

most of the royal children of the Eighteenth Dynasty were consigned to the shadows during their fathers' reigns.²⁰ Indeed, even the eldest sons of Eighteenth Dynasty kings generally remained in obscurity until they succeeded their fathers on the throne. With high infant and childhood mortality rates, unexpected deaths of senior princes often left their younger brothers in line for the throne.²¹ Yet historians have sometimes resorted to Byzantine scenarios to explain the advancement of junior sons to the throne of their fathers.²²

The main exceptions to the obscurity of royal children in the earlier New Kingdom are the daughters of Akhenaten by Nefertiti, but even in this case, his sons Smenkhkare and Tutankhaten remained largely anonymous before their accessions.²³ Retrospective accounts of the childhoods of a number of Eighteenth Dynasty kings are often found in the tombs of their royal nurses, and are often the only references to their lives before they ruled.²⁴ Even the rules of succession²⁵ are obscure, and the best known cases are the exceptional ones.²⁶

In the Eighteenth Dynasty the wives, sisters and daughters of kings are better attested than their male relatives. Nevertheless, they are often poorly known. Early in the dynasty, royal women enjoyed great prominence, but after the extraordinary reign of Hatshepsut. Thutmose III, Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV seem to have kept their wives in the

²⁰ See Dodson (1990). The daughters of Akhenaten are the exception that proves the rule.

²¹ The mortality of senior sons nearly crippled the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and in fact the family of Thutmose I which was probably unrelated to that of Ahmose was co-opted in order to save it (cf. Tyldesley (1996), 73-74; Vandersleyen (1997), 248-25). Likewise, the death of Amenhotep III's eldest son Prince Thutmose may have been a turning point in Egyptian history inasmuch as the eventual successor was his younger brother Amenhotep IV. See Widung (1998), *Pharaohs of the Sun*, cats 15 & 6.

²² So with Thutmose IV. This view was most vociferously championed by Dorothy Eady (Ommi Serv. See Bryan (1991), chpt. 2 with references nn. 4-7.

²³ The evidence for a coregency of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare is highly dubious. Murnane (1977), idem (1995b), 10-12 & 209-211. Tutankhaten is mentioned once on a block from Amarna as the king's bodily son (idem (1995b), 2, 98-A). On their paternity, see most recently Murnane in *Pharaohs of the Sun*, 177-178.

²⁴ Ibid., 87, n. 4.

²⁵ Ibid., 90-91.

²⁶ So propaganda texts of Hatshepsut in aid of her highly unorthodox succession, and Thutmose III in defense of his regimacy after his aunt's death.

background, often substituting their mothers as public figures.²⁷ Some of these women, like Thutmose III's mother Isis and Amenhotep III's mother Mutemwia, were minor concubines of the previous king. This policy seems to have been a reaction both to the power queens had acquired as the "god's wives of Amen" and to Hatshepsut's unorthodox reign.

The obscurity of the mid-eighteenth Dynasty royal wives gave way to a second, unprecedented episode of prominence during the Amarna period, beginning with Amenhotep III's great royal wife Tiy. Both she and her daughter-in-law Nefertiti played vital roles in both the political and ceremonial spheres. Ideologically, their positions bolstered the divine status of their royal husbands.²⁸ Later, Ramesses II restored his queens, especially the "great royal wives" to their place in the sun.²⁹

The obscurity of the royal family under Seti might be partially explained by the vagaries of preservation. Royal women are mostly attested on monuments of their husbands, especially on statues. These frequently appear as diminutive images etched in sunk relief on the support for the advancing leg of the striding king or as small three-dimensional figures standing next to the legs of their enthroned husbands, especially on colossi. Yet we have few statues of these types preserved from Seti I's reign, most of them badly damaged.³⁰ Unfortunately we will never know if the king would have portrayed his family on any of the royal colossi he was preparing at the end of his reign. Nevertheless, Nefertari and her eldest son are found on royal colossi and

²⁷ Amenhotep II's "great royal wife" was his mother Meryt-ne, and he had no other publically acknowledged wife. Thutmose IV's mother Tia remained a cipher until her son took the throne, becoming "great royal wife and king's mother." See Bryan (1991: 72-73 & 93-98). Likewise Thutmose IV's concubine Mutemwia is known only from the reign of her son Amenhotep III. *Ibid.*, 113-118.

²⁸ The literature on this subject is vast. Cf. e.g., Aldred (1968b); Redford (1984); Berman (1998), 3-9.

²⁹ *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 97-100 & 110-111, Leblanc (1999).

³⁰ The battered Crottaferrata statue with only part of the throne (*supra* 3.22) only the torso of the enthroned statue Vienna AS 59.0 (*supra* 3.48), (C 42139) the Abaster Statue from Karnak (*supra* 3.75) is a cult statue, and one would not expect a subsidiary figure: a striding statue of Amenhotep I as Amen from Seti's reign bears a figure of Ahmose-Nefertari carved on the negative space behind his striding leg (*supra* 3.33). Other preserved statues of the king show him kneeling or in the company of the gods where one would not expect other members of the royal family to be presented.

other statuary from the very earliest years of Ramesses II's reign.²²¹ She also figures prominently in reliefs from the Luxor pylon completed by year three.²²² To conclude that Seti I was on the verge of bringing Queen Tuya and other members of his family into the limelight at the end of his reign is a hazardous argument *ex silentio*. Still, Crown Prince Ramesses seems to have gained his prominence relatively late in the reign, and his experience under his father served as a model for showcasing his own sons which he built upon from the very beginning of his reign. Given this and other areas where Ramesses II's innovations seem to have been foreshadowed by his father, the obscurity of the royal family under Seti I will remain a puzzling enigma.

²²¹ E.g. Tunn 1380, CG 42140. *Statues et statuettes II*, 4-6 & pl. 2). A broken group statuette of Nefertari and the king's eldest son Amenirkhopeshet is also probably early. For these and similar examples, see Leblanc (1999), plates between 246 & 247. *R114C* II, 558, §1023.

²²² Kuentz (1971), *passim*.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BUILDING PROGRAM OF SETI I

5.1 Introduction

The mammoth size of Seti I's building program is all the more remarkable in light of the brevity of his reign—only eleven years. In this chapter the program as a whole and its state at his death are examined. A relative chronology of his various projects in major centers like Memphis, Abydos and Thebes is offered; the scope of his activity in these places, and in larger areas such as Nubia, appears to be greater than previously thought.

5.2 Western Asia and Sinai

Seti I is perhaps best known for his aggressive foreign policy in Asia, the annual military campaigns that continued from the first year until well into the reign. Much of the evidence for these stems from a number of stelae left in Palestine and Syria. Four seem to date from early in the reign, and were probably made in connection with the campaign of year one (*supra* 3.2.3.5), a fifth was dedicated after he recaptured Kadesh in his middle or later years (*supra* 3.1).¹ In Sinai, he left a handful of monuments attesting to ongoing activity in the turquoise mines at Serabit el-Khadim (*supra* 3.6-3.8).

5.3 Lower Egypt

Unfortunately little remains of Seti I's activity in the Delta. Much of what survives is in the Eastern Delta, particularly in the vicinity of Qantir, site of the ancient cities of Avaris and Pi-Ramesses. But it was Seti who founded the great residence of the Ramesside kings and developed the ancient cult center of the dynastic god Seth at Avaris. He probably rebuilt the god's temple there, but a barque socle dedicated to this cult is all that survives (*supra* 3.12). It is certain that he founded a

¹On this campaign, see *Road to Kadesh* 52-58 with references.

royal palace nearby at Qantir (*supra* 3.11). Major economic and military development of the area was also undertaken, including a workshop for producing faience, and a huge factory complex for metalworking and production in other materials (*supra* 3.10). Also, a large chariot base was located nearby, suggesting that the industrial site was dedicated to arms production. Located as it was on Egypt's north-eastern frontier, the gateway to Sinai and Western Asia, Seti's plan for turning his family seat into a military base makes perfect sense given his war record abroad.

During the course of his own long reign, Ramesses II continued the development of this new city, which he soon renamed after himself, and his achievements there have tended to overshadow Seti's role as the ultimate founder of Pi-Ramesses. Although Seti dedicated other monuments to the gods there, aside from the barque pedestal for Seth only a few stray blocks naming him have been found in the area (*supra* 3.13-3.15). Elsewhere in the Eastern Delta, he dedicated a siliceous sandstone pedestal surmounted by a hawk figure to Horus of Mesen on behalf of his deceased father Ramesses I at Qantara (*supra* 3.9).

5.4 Memphis

Like other pharaohs, Seti I made extensive use of locally available materials in his large projects. At Memphis this was limestone, particularly the fine quality stone of Tura, but unfortunately this is the prime ingredient in making lime, and ancient sites were plundered from early post-antiquity to the end of the last century as convenient sources of stone to feed the lime kilns. Blocks from Memphis and its necropolis at Saqqara and elsewhere were also used to supply medieval Cairo with building material. As a result, few traces of the vast constructions of Egypt's ancient capital remain, and its architectural history is poorly understood. Investigations of the site are further hampered by the fact that ancient Memphis lies under the site of the modern settlement of Mit Rahineh. Once a village, Mit Rahineh is expanding rapidly and is already part of the sprawling suburbs of the modern megapolis of Cairo.

Memphis was the capital of Egypt in the New Kingdom and the home of the god Ptah, and one would expect a great builder like Seti I to have developed the city extensively. Still, there is relatively little evidence of his activity there. Early in his reign, he seems to have erected at least

two small chapels. The one to Ptah is well preserved and includes three exquisite statues of Ptah and two goddesses with figures of the king sitting on their knees. Both the statuary and the reliefs are finished in a post-Amarna style, indicating an early date (*supra* 335). A second chapel, apparently dedicated to Amen-Re and Mut of Thebes is known only from a lintel inscribed with an early variant of Seti's prenomen and the names of the two Theban deities (*supra* 336). A limestone cornice inscribed with the king's cartouches might belong to the Ptah chapel near where it was found (*supra* 337). A lintel featuring the king running before an unidentified goddess may stem from some other chapel, but the relief is unrelated stylistically to that of the Ptah chapel, and it does not belong to the earliest part of the reign (*supra* 333). It is unclear what monument it came from or when it was dedicated.

During his reign Seti appears to have undertaken some major constructions at Memphis, but little direct evidence of these remains. The largest was probably the *hwt-ntr šh Sty-nr-n-Pth m pr Pth*, the "Temple (called) Beneficial is Seti Merenptah in the Domain of Ptah" known from only three inscribed pieces of a foundation deposit. It was quite possibly a large hypostyle hall added to the main sanctuary of Ptah. Like so many of the king's other monuments, it remained unfinished at his death, to be completed and usurped by Ramesses II, who renamed it for himself (*supra* 332). No architectural trace of it has yet been found, but it was almost surely quarried away in post-Antiquity.

Two other establishments of Seti I at Memphis, which have also disappeared, are known only from a couple of fleeting references in later texts. A certain Sayempeteref was the chief goldsmith in the *hwt-Mn-Mt R* "Mansion of Menmaatre," in Memphis, which may have been the king's Mansion of Millions of Years (i.e. his memorial temple) in the city, or merely an abbreviation of the *hwt-ntr šh Sty-nr-n-Pth*.⁴ Alternatively, then, another edifice of the king, also known only from a

A festival hall of Ramesses II at Memphis is preserved only in the lowest courses of its stone work, which were made of grey granite. Only a handful of limestone blocks pertaining to the main superstructure escaped the lime kilns.

Badawi (1947), 141-142; Courlay (1979), 93.

⁴ A similar abbreviation, with the prenomen, was used to refer to the memorial temple of Seti I at Gurnah even though the official name, the *hwt-ntr šh Sty-nr-n-Tmn m pr Tmn hr Imwt Wlst*, employed the nomen; *ARI* I, 223 II-13.

textual source, the *pr Sty-mr-n-Pth*, "Domain of Seti-Merenptah," could have been his memorial temple.⁵

Only one statue of black granodiorite inscribed for the king is known from Memphis (*supra* 333). It may be that, as at Heliopolis and Thebes, colossal statues of the king were in the works late in his reign to embellish the temple of Ptah.⁶ The huge recumbent indurated limestone colossus of Ramesses II there is inscribed on its belt with the early form of his prenomen, indicating that it was being completed during his second regnal year (*KRI* II, 494 4, *supra* 146-147). A black granodiorite colossus of Ramesses, also from Memphis, features the earlier prenomen on its dorsal pillar (*KRI* II, 495 2). Could it be that both of these were commissioned by Seti at the end of his reign? It is clear that Seti built extensively at Memphis, including a large addition to the main sanctuary of Ptah and a memorial temple, later usurped by Ramesses II. Further evidence of his activity at the site probably awaits future excavations.

5.5 Heliopolis

As at Memphis, Seti made use of locally available building material at Heliopolis, much of it siliceous sandstone quarried at nearby Gebel Ahmar. The site of ancient Heliopolis is even more poorly understood archaeologically than Memphis. In fact, hardly a trace of Seti's activity there has been found *in situ*. Great quantities of stone were used in the construction of medieval Cairo, and have largely disappeared without a trace. Today the site is engulfed by a suburb of modern Cairo that bears its name and may never be investigated archaeologically. By good fortune for Egyptology, however, the Ptolemaic kings transported great quantities of material from Heliopolis to their capital at Alexandria for reuse, and thereby preserved a large sample of the city's pharaonic heritage. Recently, a wealth of new material has been recovered from the modern harbor of Alexandria in a submerged area corresponding to the ancient city center, which was destroyed in an earthquake.⁷ A handful of Seti's Heliopolitan monuments have been raised from the

⁵ Badawy (1947), 108.

⁶ Brand (1997), 101-114.

La Roche (1996), Empereur (1996a, 1996b), Corteggiani (1998).

harbor of Alexandria in recent years (*supra* 3 17-3 18, 3 28). Among thousands of fragments still lying on the sea floor, there may be others belonging to him.

A corpus of at least fifteen of his monuments is presently known from Heliopolis, attesting to extensive building activity there. These include obelisks, statues, offering tables and other stone furnishings that would have embellished major constructions within the great precinct of the sun god at Heliopolis. Only a handful of fragments come from the buildings themselves including a small doorjamb and a block of siliceous sandstone (*supra* 3 19, 3 27), a small octagonal pillar (*supra* 3 26) and an exquisite black granodiorite lintel (*supra* 3 23). All these are from smaller constructions, and they surely do not attest to the huge additions the king must have made to the sanctuary of Re and his circle of deities. We know that, at the very least, Seti added a large pylon gateway and court fronted by colossal statues, obelisks and sphinxes, known to us only by the votive temple model from Tell el-Yahudia (*supra* 3 29) and the Flaminian obelisk in Rome (3 16). No other trace of this edifice is preserved. Since the decoration of the Flaminian obelisk was completed by Ramesses II, it is probable that the whole project remained unfinished at Seti's death.

No other major structures of Seti at Heliopolis are known even by name.⁴ One would expect Seti to have built a memorial temple there and a major addition to or reconstruction of the main temple of Re at Heliopolis named something like 'Benefactor Seti beloved of Re in the domain of Re,' by analogy to his Memphis and Karnak buildings. The official name of the pylon and forecourt represented by Brooklyn 49 183 is unknown. Perhaps it was called the *h3 Stv-nw n-R' n pr R'* like the hypostyle halls at Memphis and Karnak. By analogy with the Ramesside court at Luxor, it could have been a later addition to Re's precinct, which would mean that Seti planned or built at least three major buildings at Heliopolis. All of this, unfortunately, is pure speculation.

Although it is perhaps impossible to know more about his constructions at Heliopolis, the numerous statues, obelisks, offering tables and other monumental furnishings and embellishments testify to his activity

⁴ See Raue (1999), 122-123, for a discussion of Seti I's activity at Heliopolis with a reconstructed map, 91, abb. 8.

there and his keen interest in Re's cult center. In addition to the large Flaminian obelisk, Seti planned or erected at least two pairs of siliceous sandstone obelisks and another two pairs in granite, for a total of at least ten of these monoliths. Two of these never left the quarries at Aswan (*supra* 3.122), while fragments of some others were plucked from the sea floor at Alexandria recently (*supra* 3.17, 3.18). Only the Flaminian was a great obelisk, the rest all seem to have been around twelve to fifteen meters high. Still we may take seriously a text on the Roman monolith stating that Seti "filled Heliopolis with obelisks." A siliceous sandstone block, also brought up from the sea, may have belonged to the pedestal of one of these (*supra* 3.28).

Seti I also donated three granite offering tables: one to Horus-in-the-Great-Mansion (*supra* 3.24); another to Khepri (*supra* 3.20), while a fragment of a third (*supra* 3.30) must have been dedicated to Atum or Re-Horakhty. There may have been still another if the king granted one to the three primary manifestations of the Heliopolitan sun god as well to Horus. Two naos were also made for these gods (*supra* 3.24, 3.25). We might wonder if the king commissioned other statuary to decorate these constructions, including at least two colossi as represented by the temple model, but only one battered statue fragment survives (*supra* 3.22). In fact, there is a dearth of his statuary much of which is from quite late in the reign.⁹ The granite colossi in particular were only begun near the end of his life (*supra* 3.120-3.121). In conclusion, Seti had a particularly strong interest in the site of Heliopolis, and seems to have expended great deal of energy on enlarging the cult center of the sun god Re. The dearth of evidence for the actual buildings at the site is, then, all the more unfortunate.

5.6 Abydos

Seti's main achievement in the holy city of Osiris was his splendid temple dedicated to the major gods of the Egyptian pantheon. It is justly famous for its exquisite reliefs. The redevelopment of the site was one of his major preoccupations as early as year four, when the king issued a decree, found at Nauri, to exempt the huge and diverse properties of the god in Nubia (*supra* 3.151). It was clearly just one of a number of

⁹ Sourouzian (1993), 243, 254-257.

such decrees to protect the revenues and chattel of the Abydos foundation from official abuse. It may be that a fragmentary decree from Hermopolis was also issued on behalf of the Abydos foundation (*supra* 344). The resources Seti lavished on this undertaking were enormous, and included the revenue of gold mines in Nubia and the eastern desert of Egypt itself, where he founded a settlement and speos temple at the site of Kanais, digging a well to supply water to the miners (*supra* 3127). Here again, the threefold dedication inscription states that the gold supplied by this mining settlement was earmarked for the Abydos temple, and issues maledictions on any who would divert this supply to other ends.¹⁰

Construction at Abydos was probably first undertaken in the earlier years of the reign, but certainly not at its very beginning. The Osireion was also underway during this time. In year six Seti dispatched a quarry expedition to Gebel Silsila to procure sandstone for various projects (*supra* 3110) and some of it may have been destined for portions of the Abydos temple and for the Osireion, that is, if a number of ostraca describing the transportation of stone for the column bases and flooring of the latter monument also date to year six (*supra* 353). It was after the midpoint of the reign, then, that huge granite monoliths for the Osireion's pillars and walls would have arrived at the building site by a canal that was still being dug even as the paving stones for its floor were arriving by ship from Gebel Silsila.

Meanwhile construction of the temple was proceeding from the sanctuary outward. The roofed portions, including the chapels, south wing, Osiris suite and the two hypostyle halls may have been erected first, the two courts and pylons being added later. These outer sections of the temple may have still been under construction at Seti's death, for they were decorated entirely by Ramesses II, who also claimed to have set up the pillars on the portico in the first court (*supra* 3471).

In the roofed portions of the temple Seti's sculptors seem to have proceeded from the Osiris complex and seven main chapels outward to the second hypostyle and then on to the first hypostyle and south wing. The temple's decorative program was first laid out in a series of polychrome cartoons. By his death, the artisans had begun to sculpt the Gallery of the Kings and the outer hypostyle hall, and had also finished

¹⁰ Schott, *Kanais*.

a group of at least four black granodiorite statues for the temple, along with an altar pedestal (*supra* 3.48-3.52).

To finish parts of his father's work, Ramesses II employed the painted cartoons as a guide, although he erased the extant reliefs in the outer hypostyle and replaced them with designs of his own. Ramesses failed to complete the reliefs in the south wing. Merenptah briefly resumed that work but then quickly abandoned it.

It has been thought that the chapel Seti erected on behalf of his father dates to the earliest part of the reign (*supra* 3.54). This conclusion can be challenged for two reasons. Stylistically, the reliefs reflect both the post-Amarna style of his earliest years and the mature Ramesside style used in his nearby temple. They may, therefore, date to the middle years of the reign. This shrine was certainly positioned with reference to the main precinct wall of the Seti temple but was surely built after it. The chapel, then, probably dates to the earlier half of the reign, but not to its beginning.

Seti also made some additions to the "metropolitan" temple of Osiris at Abydos, from which a limestone relief fragment and a granite lintel presumably come (*supra* 3.61-3.63). There are other items of less certain Abydene provenance, including a fragment of a sphinx and two statuettes (*supra* 3.58-3.59; 3.62). Seti also appears to have undertaken construction of the so-called "portal temple" completed by Ramesses II (*supra* 3.60).

Abydos was certainly a major focus of his building program but it may be that Seti envisioned a grand design for the holy city. The old sanctuary of Osiris in the "metropolitan" temple and Seti's own edifice may have formed the opposite ends of a processional route—similar to the temples of Karnak and Luxor at Thebes—running along the desert's edge. Certainly the chapel of Ramesses I and the temple of Ramesses II lie along this hypothetical axis. In fact, both structures may have served as wayside shrines where the barques of the Abydene triad and the portable reliquary of Osiris could have stopped during processions between the two main temples during Khosakh and other festivals. The Ramesses I chapel, as indicated by its decorative program, certainly played a dual function, as the memorial temple of the king and as a wayside repository for the reliquary (*supra* 3.54). It has also been pointed out that the temple of Ramesses II is designed along the same lines as the temple of Ramesses III in the First Court at Karnak, which

also functioned as an elaborate wayside shrine.¹¹ Ramesses II began to decorate this temple very early in his reign,¹² which is probably why he expended so little energy on completing reliefs in his father's memorial temple during his own R¹ period.¹³

As it now seems clear that there was no coregency between Seti I and Ramesses II, and temple decoration featuring Ramesses II as king appeared only after his father's death, it may be that Ramesses II's Abydos temple was under construction near the end of Seti's reign and that he intended to decorate it in his own name. Its construction and that of the so-called "portal" temple probably began only when much of the work on the main Seti temple had been completed late in the reign. In addition to the renovation the 'metropolitan' temple of Osiris, Seti undertook construction of a least three, and perhaps four, new buildings as part of a grand design to transform Abydos into a large cult center to rival those at Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis.

5.7 Thebes

In Thebes, Seti's primary focus at the outset of his reign was on restoring existing monuments vandalized at the behest of Akhenaten, although in many cases he chose to alter repairs effected by Tutankhamen. The completion of reliefs in the southern portion of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple also dates to the earliest part of the reign. A number of stelae, statuary and other new monuments stem from this period, including the alabaster stela from the solar shrine at Karnak (*supra* 3 71), and another erected in the Ptah temple (*supra* 3 72). A small cluster of statuary at Karnak may also belong to this period, including the beautiful alabaster composite statue of the king (*supra* 3 75), two group statuettes of Amen and Mut (*supra* 3 77-3 78) and a black granodiorite head of Amen (*supra* 3 79). Both Cairo CG 42139 and the Amen head exhibit post-Amarna stylistic traits, while the latter and Cairo CG 39211 & 39212 all bear variant forms of Seti's cartouches.

¹¹ Kuhlmann (1979b).

¹² See Mumane, *Coregencies*, 71-73 with references.

¹³ As suggested to me by John Baines, personal communication. Mumane, *Coregencies*, 75, posits that Ramesses' work on his own nearby temple during a hypothetical coregency largely precluded his participation in the decoration of his father's temple at that time.

typical of monuments from his earliest years. Two other sculptures from Medinet Habu, a statue of Amenhotep I as Amen-Re and a statouette head of Amen, also date to the first year based on these stylistic and epigraphic criteria (*supra* 3.101- 3.102).

Work on Seti's tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 17) seems to have begun very early, shortly after Ramesses I was interred in his hastily finished sepulcher. As with Ramesses II's tomb,¹⁴ early variants of Seti's prenomen cartouche indicate that decoration of part of his final resting place was achieved in the earliest part of the reign. In fact, these early reliefs, which are clustered in the well room, indicate that the original design of the tomb was to follow Horemheb's in having decoration confined to a handful of its many chambers and corridors (*supra* 3.103). Although its excavation and decoration had begun early in his reign, work was still ongoing when Seti died.

Contrary to the views of many scholars over the past century, no part of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, such as a hypothetical grand colonnade on the model of Luxor Temple, existed or was in the works when Seti came to the throne (*supra* 3.70.2). He probably undertook it quite early in the reign. Sandstone for the Hall would have been procured from the quarries at Gebel Silsila. In fact, a quarry inscription of year six records that he dispatched an expedition to procure stone for his building projects at Thebes and elsewhere. Although some of this may have been earmarked for the Karnak Hypostyle, year six, the midpoint of the reign, seems too late for the commencement of work there. Another stela at Gebel Silsila may commemorate the opening of quarries to supply sandstone for the Hall (*supra* 3.112). This bears a long rhetorical encomium of the king, but the event it commemorated is unfortunately lost. The date line in the sole copy of the text by De Rouge is garbled, although it may correspond to regnal year two. Such an elaborate stela at Gebel Silsila probably signals quarry work for some great monument, and it is tempting to conclude that it heralds the beginning of work on the Karnak Hypostyle in Seti's second regnal year, a project that was to occupy him for the rest of his reign. At his death the entire structure had been built and almost half of it was inscribed with reliefs. Painted cartoons to guide the sculptors had been laid out on the great columns along the main axis, on many of the smaller ones in

¹⁴ Mumane, *Coregencies*, 79-80.

the south half and on the south gateway. It was left to Ramesses II to complete them.

Clearly, the pharaonic state could afford to undertake multiple large building programs simultaneously.³ In the earlier half of Seti's reign, major constructions were underway at Karnak, Memphis, Heliopolis, Abydos and elsewhere. Still, an enterprise as vast as the Karnak Hypostyle Hall must have strained the state's resources of manpower and the means to support the hundreds of workers engaged there. There is reason to believe that the king's second major building project at Thebes, his memorial temple at Gurnah, was started later in his reign, perhaps in year six. Its construction was barely finished (*supra* 3.84.2), and only a fraction of the relief decoration had been carved, when he died (*supra* 3.84.3.1 & 3.84.4). That the work on this highly important project began so late in the reign suggests that the Karnak Hypostyle had required all the resources and manpower that Seti could muster in the Theban region. The Hall was probably not finished by year six, but work may have proceeded far enough for some resources to be diverted into the Gurnah project. Since only the rearmost portions of the memorial temple are in stone, the rest being constructed largely of mud brick, work on the shrine may have proceeded relatively quickly. Moreover, the temple as a whole was considerably smaller than the great memorial temples of Ramesses II and III, which were built of stone throughout. Given its relatively small size, the limited amount of stonework and the small corpus of reliefs finished before Seti's death, it is highly doubtful that work on Gurnah Temple went on continuously from early in his reign.

In the last three years of his reign, Seti's quarrymen were ordered to procure numerous obelisks and colossi at Aswan, and some of these were destined for a new edifice at Thebes, the Ramesside Court at Luxor Temple. The Luxor obelisks were decorated in the first year or so of Ramesses II, so they along with the four great seated colossi of black granodiorite would have arrived at the building site in about the last year of Seti's reign (*supra* 3.121).⁴ Thus, we may surmise that by year ten or eleven construction of the Karnak Hypostyle and Gurnah

³ Compare the vast program of building undertaken by Amenhotep III in preparation for his first jubilee. Brvan in *Dasung Sun*, chpt. 4, Johnson (1998).

⁴ Brand (1997).

memorial temple would have been complete and pharaoh's tireless builders would have begun to build the Luxor forecourt. Normally, statuary for a new temple was commissioned only after construction was fairly complete. In the case of colossal statuary however, it was often necessary to maneuver the roughed-out monoliths into their final resting places and then to build the structure up around them. Even in the case of the two colossi in front of the pylon, this may have been the preferred method. The Luxor obelisks and colossi may have been commissioned in year nine, in anticipation of building work projected to commence a year or so hence. It would appear, then, that construction of Seti's major structures at Thebes unfolded in three stages.

Seti was active elsewhere in Thebes and left a series of other minor monuments there. At Deir el-Medina he built a small temple for Hathor (*supra* 3 92 & 3 94), and left a number of votive objects including stelae (*supra* 3 89, 3 90, 3 92-3 98), three altar-stands (3 91, 3 95-3 96) and a libation basin (*supra* 3 97). Several private monuments naming the king also stem from the village (*supra* 3 88-3 100). Elsewhere at Thebes, he undertook construction on the site of the double temple of Ramesses II at the Ramesseum (*supra* 3 86). An unsolved mystery is the fragmentary votive temple model of Seti I from Thebes, which cannot presently be identified with any of his buildings, although it probably represents one of them (*supra* 3 105).

5.8 Upper Egypt

Outside of Abydos and Thebes, Seti's building activity in Upper Egypt is not well attested, although he seems to have been active at many sites. In the Fayum and at Minya in middle Egypt, he left two boundary stelae early in his reign (*supra* 3 42-3 43). Only a fragmentary decree of exemption and part of a doorjamb were found in the cult center of the god Thoth at Hermopolis. Likewise at Coplos, Petrie found merely the base of a sphinx, now lost (*supra* 3 66). A fine offering table dedicated to the monarch's patron deity Seth, probably stems from the god's Upper Egyptian cult center at Nubt, modern Tukh (*supra* 3 67). Seti's only known artefact from Medamud is a small statue base from the earliest part of his reign, offered in memory of his deceased father, Ramesses I (*supra* 3 68). Reused blocks from this site were removed from his Gurnah Temple in late antiquity (*supra* 3 69). From El-Kab, only a lion figure and some reused blocks date to the reign (*supra* 3 107).

3 108). At Hierakonpolis, Quibell reports that he found a statue base fragment naming Seti, but this has since disappeared (*supra* 3 109).

Considering Seti's huge building program at Thebes, it comes as no surprise to find that he was also active in the quarries at Gebel Silsila. It was almost certainly in year one that he dedicated a rock shrine to the Nile inundation god, Hapi, on the west side of the river (*supra* 3 113). As mentioned earlier, the large rhetorical stela at west Silsila probably dates to year two, and it would have commemorated the opening of quarries to procure stone for the Kamak Hypostyle Hall (*supra* 3 112). In year six, another quarry expedition was recorded on a stela on the east of Gebel Silsila (*supra* 3 110). A superintendent of task forces named Hapi was sent to East Silsila to oversee quarrying, but it is unclear when this was or if he supervised the expeditions of years two or six (*supra* 3 111). One may be certain that the work of these expeditions, particularly that of year two, would have been ongoing for a number of years.

At Edfu, only a small votive stela dedicated to Hathor testifies to Seti's interest in the site (*supra* 3 114). On Elephantine in the Aswan region, Seti is known to have been quite active. He restored the Eighteenth Dynasty Satef temple (*supra* 2 75) and dedicated his "Ni-ometer" stela early in the reign (*supra* 3 115). German excavations have turned up a number of fragments of doorways and wall reliefs (*supra* 3 116-3 118), although these are of a rather poor quality, and seem more in keeping with work of Ramesses II. In the Aswan granite quarries, the two rock stelae of year nine record the establishment of new quarries to produce obelisks and colossi (*supra* 3 120-3 122). Crown Prince Ramesses supervised these projects and left a rock inscription on an islet near Elephantine at this time (*supra* 3 119). Also in the Aswan region, Seti commissioned a pair of stucco sandstone obelisks, one of which broke shortly after it was extracted. The other is still engaged in the quarry face (*supra* 3 122).

5.9 The Deserts outside Egypt

From Kurkur oasis, a recently discovered rhetorical stela of year four bears the earliest dated example of a ritual scene in which the king bows in the presence of the gods (*supra* 3 129). Three rock inscriptions left in the Wadi Hammamat probably stem from two separate visits to the site by someone on official business of the king (*supra* 3 124-3 126). Seti traveled to Kanais in the eastern desert on two occasions (*supra* 3 127).

On the first, he reconnoitered the eastern desert route to the gold mining regions and decided to found a well and a settlement for the gold miners complete with a shrine to the gods at Kanais. He returned in year nine to dedicate the shrine. A number of officials left their own inscriptions at the site, including Anena, Panub and the newly appointed viceroy of Nubia, Yuni (*supra* 3.128, 3.127).¹⁷

5.10 Nubia

Seti was particularly active in Nubia near the end of his reign. At Beit el-Wali only a decorated block was found belonging to an otherwise unknown building of his. It has also been suggested that he initiated work on Ramesses II's temple there.¹⁸ The king appears to have been responsible for an installation in the fortress of Kuban, and loose blocks found nearby at El-Dakka probably attest to some shrine at Kuban (*supra* 3.132 & 3.133). At Sayala he left a fragmentary votive stela of year three (*supra* 3.134). From Amada come fragments of a kiosk naming the monarch (*supra* 3.135). A rock stela from Qasr Ibrim, featuring his first viceroy of Nubia, Amenemopet, may commemorate the year eight campaign against Irem (*supra* 3.136). Only a single inscribed fragment of the king is known from Faras (*supra* 3.137), but this may have come from Aksha, where he established a fortified town site that included a number of store rooms with inscribed sandstone doorways (*supra* 3.138). He left a number of other fragments at Aksha, including a block depicting him spearing a Nubian captive and a fragment of wall decoration (*supra* 3.139-3.140). He may also have begun work on the temple there, which was later inscribed by Ramesses II (*supra* 3.138).

At Buhen in year one he reinstated an endowment for Min-Amen, established just a few months earlier by Ramesses I, and dedicated a stela to commemorate the event (*supra* 3.141). A second votive stela was also commissioned on the same day (*supra* 3.142), and he reinscribed the final two lines of his father's tablet with his own titulary.¹⁹

¹⁷ For Yuni's stela, see *KRI* I, 303-304, §118, I, *RITA* I, 247, §118, I, *RITANC* I, 200-201, §118, I.

¹⁸ On the question of precisely when construction of the Beit el-Wali temple began, see Hein, *Ramesseidische Baudätigkeit*, 107-109 with references.

¹⁹ *KRI* I, 3.3, *RITA* I, 2, §3; *RITANC* I, 2-5, §3.

The town enclosure wall at Amara West also dates to Seti's reign (*supra* 3 143). Here too he left a stela commemorating the Irem campaign of year eight (*supra* 3 144-3 145) and an inscribed block from a crude shrine to the sun god, Re-Horakhty (*supra* 3 146). The Irem campaign is also recorded on a fragmentary stela unearthed at Sai (*supra* 3 147).

A votive inscription of the viceroy Amenemopet at Gebel Doscha features the king offering to the Elephantine triad (*supra* 3 148). At Sesebi the pharaoh usurped Akhenaten's temple (*supra* 2 77) and rebuilt the precinct wall (*supra* 3 150), and at least two loose blocks there date to his reign (*supra* 3 149-3 151). Further to the south, at Nauri, the king had his exemption decree for the Abydos foundation inscribed atop a *gebet* (*supra* 3 152). At the southernmost part of his empire Seti added a hypostyle hall to the shrine of Amen-Re at Gebel Barkal (*supra* 3 154). Also from here comes the last known text of his reign, the fragmentary building inscription of year eleven (*supra* 3 153).

It is possible that Seti was already planning a series of new temple towns in Nubia late in his reign, a vision realized under Ramesses II. He founded new settlements at Aksha and Amara West, and he seems to have made additions to several extant settlements throughout Nubia. Seti's colossal building program in Nubia was, perhaps, the largest there undertaken prior to Ramesses II's, greater perhaps, than even Amen-hotep III's. As in Egypt proper, Seti's building program may have rivaled that of his prolific son, and it is likely that Ramesses' Nubian constructions were also an outgrowth of his father's nascent building campaign.

5.11 Conclusions

Seti is well known as a prolific builder. The truly colossal magnitude of his program, however, has not been fully understood until now. In little more than a decade, he transformed the major centers of the Egyptian kingdom with a series of often gigantic, and always elegant, new monuments: two great hypostyle halls were added to the main temples of Amen-Re at Karnak and Ptah in Memphis, with perhaps a third at Heliopolis. Late in the reign, two pylon forecourts were under construction at Thebes and Heliopolis, and these were to be furnished with colossal statuary and obelisks. Perhaps a half dozen pairs of obelisks were finished or in the works to embellish the city of Heliopolis. At

least three temples of the type the Egyptians called "Mansions of Millions of Years" (i.e. memorial temples)²⁰ were built at Memphis, Thebes and Abydos. At Abydos, he was in the process of transforming the holy city of Osiris into a large cult center on par with those of Amen, Ptah and Re. For in addition to his exquisite temple dedicated to the Abydene triad, the great imperial triad of Amen, Re and Ptah, and to his own cult, he also built the Osireion, made additions to the temple of Osiris, and undertook construction of one or two other buildings, including, perhaps, the temple of Ramesses II. The new royal residence city, later named Pi-Ramesses in the reign of his son, was begun by Seti. Remains of other monuments scattered throughout Egypt, Western Asia and Nubia attest to his far-flung building program.

Seti I died, probably rather suddenly and doubtless unexpectedly, shortly after the twelfth anniversary of his accession. As a result, every one of his large building projects was left unfinished in some way. Ramesses II had the good fortune to inherit a number of large ceremonial buildings, colossal statues, obelisks and the like, largely built or complete, but as yet mostly undecorated. Because he completed these monuments, in some cases by usurping his father's decoration, as in the Karnak Hypostyle, which, along with Seti's addition to the Ptah temple, he renamed for himself, we have been left with the impression that Ramesses was largely or wholly responsible for monuments built or at least commissioned by Seti I. In fact, some of the most colossal monuments of Ramesses' reign, which in large measure define him as the greatest pharaonic builder, were conceived by his father. What makes Seti's accomplishments all the more remarkable is the short duration of his eleven-year reign when compared to the sixty-seven granted to Ramesses or the nearly four decades to that other great New Kingdom builder, Amenhotep III, after whom Seti had modeled himself.

²⁰ See most recently Haeny (1997).

²¹ Yoyotte, 1950.

CHAPTER SIX

STUDIES ON THE REIGN OF SETI I

6.1 Historiography of Seti I Reign

6.1.1 The Rediscovery of Seti I in the Nineteenth Century

Seti I came to the attention of modern historians well over a century ago with Belzoni's discovery of KV 17, Seti's tomb, in 1817. Belzoni's tomb, as it came to be known, and its then missing royal occupant, quickly gained the admiration of Europeans obsessed with all things ancient Egyptian. An exhibition featuring Belzoni's recreation of the tomb's painted reliefs caused a sensation when it opened in London in the 1820's. With the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script and the mounting new expeditions to record the monuments by Champollion, Rosellini and Lepsius, a large corpus of inscriptional sources on Egypt became available. New information concerning King Menephthah I⁴ or *Chusret*,⁵ as Seti was known to Champollion, caught the attention of the new science of Egyptology. Here was the father of the illustrious Ramesses II, renowned not only for his impressive tomb and famous offspring, but also for four more spectacular monuments—the Karnak hypostyle with its colossal architecture and vivid battle reliefs, his "palace" at Gurnah, his exquisite temple at Abydos embellished with the finest of all Egyptian bas reliefs and the mysterious Osireion lying behind it.

As these and other new sources were carefully deciphered and analyzed, a now familiar picture of Seti's reign—closely tied to the impressions left by his monuments—began to emerge from the shadows for the first time in over a thousand years. For Champollion, the king's architectural accomplishments were a direct reflection of the character of the pharaoh himself and of his age. During his sojourn in Egypt of

⁴ Ousireti based on readings of "Seti" spelled out with glyphs representing Osiris and Menephthah on the second part of his nomen Merenptah. The king was also known to Champollion as *Mandoué*.

1829, Champollion visited the site of Seti's ruined Gurnah Temple and wrote

Cependant l'édifice de Kournâ, quoique très inférieur en étendu à ces grandes et importantes constructions, mérite un examen particulier, puisqu'il appartient aux temps pharaoniques, et remonte à l'époque la plus glorieuse dont les annales égyptiennes aient constaté le souvenir. La magnificence de la décoration, la profusion des sculptures, la beauté des matériaux et la recherche dans l'exécution prouvent que cette habitation fut jadis celle d'un riche et puissant souverain.¹

In the imagination of nineteenth century Europeans, the grandeur and finesse of Seti's monuments marked his reign as a glorious and prosperous age. New inscriptions and other finds helped fill in more gaps so that by the turn of the nineteenth century Maspero could pen one of the first narrative histories of the reign in his monumental *History of Egypt*. Maspero characterized the king as a bold and effective warrior vigorously defending his kingdom, but he concluded that Seti "does not appear to have had a confirmed taste for war and Egypt enjoyed a profound peace in consequence of his ceaseless vigilance." After a relatively brief overview of the sovereign's war record, Maspero gave most of his attention to the monuments. He was also greatly impressed by the king's physical remains discovered in the cache of royal mummies in 1879. Seti's "fine kingly head was a masterpiece of the art of the embalmers, and the expression of the face was that of one who had only a few hours previously breathed his last." Nor was he the last scholar to be deeply moved by the grace and majesty of what many consider to be the finest mummy ever found in Egypt.⁴ Other nineteenth century treatments of Seti's reign by Wiedemann, Meyer and Petrie echo much the same views as Maspero's.

¹ From a journal entry dated 6 July 1829 written at Gurnah Temple. H. Champollion (1998), 340.

² Maspero, *History*, 165-166.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 85. Cf. Breasted (1905), 350 "one of the stateliest figures that ever sat upon the throne of Egypt."

6.1.2 Seti I in Twentieth Century Scholarship

By the first decade of the twentieth century, publication of the original texts and of accurate translations such as Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt* led to more profound historical studies of the reign. This was soon followed by his authoritative *History of Egypt*, appearing in 1905, which was the fullest treatment of Seti I yet by the leading Egyptian historian of the day.⁵ Breasted's scholarship, based on first-hand examination of the original inscriptions in Egypt and collections throughout Europe, had a profound influence on his colleagues, and many of his characterizations of Seti's reign were frequently echoed by later scholars, including Gardiner, Faulkner, Kitchen and others.⁶ Among the common themes were Seti's orthodox and conservative regime, his aggressive foreign policy which restored the Egyptian empire in Western Asia, his spectacular monuments with their sumptuous reliefs and his piety towards the gods, his royal ancestors and his father Ramesses I. Breasted's interpretation of recut figures of Crown Prince Ramesses on Seti's Karnak war monument as evidence for the overthrow of an elder brother remained the accepted theory until the Epigraphic Survey recorded and published these reliefs over seventy years later.⁷ It was Breasted who founded the Epigraphic Survey, recognizing the need for accurate copies of reliefs and inscriptions on the standing Theban monuments. He was also instrumental in convincing John D. Rockefeller to underwrite the Egypt Exploration Society's monumental publication of the most impressive New Kingdom monument outside Thebes, Seti I's exquisite temple at Abydos. Between 1933 and 1958 four "elephant folio" volumes appeared reproducing the elegant reliefs by means of reinforced photographs, sensitive pencil drawings and dozens of full color facsimile paintings of selected tableaux. To date, no further editions in this vital series have appeared, although a fifth volume covering the reliefs in the southern annex of the temple has long been promised.⁸

By the time the fourth volume of the Abydos temple appeared in 1958, Breasted's successors had formed lasting historical impressions of Seti I's reign. The king was presented as highly orthodox and

⁵ Ibid., 342-351.

⁶ E.g., Gardiner (96); Faulkner *CAT* II chpt. 23; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*; Breasted (1899); Epigraphic Survey, *Banle Reliefs*.

⁷ Baines (1984); Baines *et al.* (1989).

conservative, being the second scion of a new royal house beholden to the traditional cults, especially that of Amen-Re, whose priesthood remained wary of the monarchy in the wake of Akhenaten's heresy. His colossal building program was often seen as a vast atonement to the gods. But Seti was considered a genuinely pious king, dutiful and devoted to the gods whose temples and monuments he restored, to the royal ancestors and especially to his father Ramesses I. Abroad, he was the greatest warrior pharaoh since Thutmose III, who singlehandedly restored the West Asian empire supposedly lost during the Amarna interlude. A prolific builder like his son Ramesses II, Seti was infinitely more modest and patient with his artisans, from whom he demanded the very highest standards. Pioneering epigraphic analysis of the standing monuments by Seele in his *Coregency* transformed what had been simply the theory of a coregency between Seti and Ramesses II (first proposed by Mariette and Maspero, into an almost universally accepted "fact" among Egyptologists.

Despite advances in scholarship and publication achieved by the middle of the twentieth century, significant gaps in the historical record made more accurate and comprehensive study of the reign difficult. Most troubling was the lack of accurate facsimile editions of the monumental record. Breasted's translations of the major texts remained an invaluable source and further publications in monographs and journal articles added somewhat to the corpus as new material came to light,⁹ and remote and obscure sources like the shrine at Kanais with its great threefold inscription were published.¹⁰

Yet for some of the most important sources, such as the Karnak battle reliefs, historians still relied on copies made by Champollion, Rosellini and Lepsius during the previous century. Other vital sources remained largely or wholly unpublished. The efforts of Calverley and Broome at Abydos filled an important gap while long-time director of the Epigraphic Survey. Harold H. Nelson single-handedly took on the enormous task of making hand copies of the reliefs and inscriptions inside the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. Finally, in the 1970's, the Epigraphic Survey undertook the definitive recording and publication

⁹ E.g. the reliefs and dedicatory stela from the small temple of Ramesses I: Winlock, *Bas Reliefs*, idem, *Temple of Ramesses I*; Schott, *Denksteine*.

¹⁰ Weigall (1908); Crum & Gardiner (1917); Gauthier (1919); Schott, *Kanais*. His swan song, it was edited and published by Murnane in 1981.

of the Karnak war reliefs. Since 1990, work in the Hypostyle Hall has resumed under the aegis of the *Centre Franco-égyptien d'études des temples de Karnak* and the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project of the University of Memphis, Tennessee.¹²

Now that the twentieth century has come to an end, important lacunae still remain. In addition to the unrecorded portions of the Abydos temple, Seti's memorial temple at Gurnah remains virtually unpublished.¹³ Recent finds in the harbor of Alexandria promise to increase our understanding of the long neglected traces of the monarch's activity in Heliopolis. At Mit Rahineh, despite promises made in the 1980s, his chapel awaits publication,¹⁴ as does the Speos Artemidos in Middle Egypt.¹⁵

The present work remains the first comprehensive study of the reign ever published. Heretofore, scholarly attention has focused on individual aspects of the reign in isolation, especially the hypothetical coregencies and Seti's war record. The king has also been subsumed within the wider context of New Kingdom history, viz. the post-Amarna era and the Ramesside age. Because history is written from hindsight, Seti has been overshadowed by his illustrious successor Ramesses II and examination of the father's reign is often treated merely as a prologue to that of the son.¹⁶ In a reverse of the old saying, Ramesses the Great was a hard act to precede.¹⁷ What follows is an examination of some of the main historical themes and characterizations that have exercised scholarly attention to Seti I and his reign. This is followed by a reassessment of a number of aspects of the ruler and his policies.

6.1.3 Political Temperament of the Reign

Coming in the wake of the Amarna revolution, the reign of Seti I has often been characterized as orthodox, ultra-conservative and reactionary. The return to traditional forms of art and the expense lavished on the

¹² Rondon (1997) has published the architraves. A commentary to the Nelson volume and facsimiles of reliefs from the gateways and the battle reliefs of Ramesses II are also underway.

The reliefs will shortly be published by Osing.

¹³ Berlandini (1984) & (1988).

¹⁴ Bickel & Chappaz (1988), Chappaz (1994).

¹⁵ E.g. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant* (Desroches-Noblecourt (1996).

cults of the gods, especially that of Amen-Re, are frequently cited as evidence of this, and the age beginning with the accession of Horemheb is often described as "the triumph of Amen," a period of orthodoxy.¹⁷ The priesthood was viewed as an undue influence exacting its pound of flesh from the monarchy in repayment for the injuries done to it by the heretic.¹⁸ Further contributing to this view were the corruption and lawlessness then rampant among the official classes as a result of Akhenaten's administrative laxity and the extremely harsh countermeasures instituted by the post-Amarna pharaohs to redress them as reflected in the decrees of Horemheb from Karnak and Seti I from Nauri.¹⁹ For Wilson, pharaoh no longer commanded the respect and status as a god-king that he warranted in earlier times, and further, Egypt had lost in security, self-confidence, and tolerance, had become nervously tense, arbitrary, and exacting.²⁰ Gardiner has also remarked that a kind of religious fervor mixed with gloominess settled over the country, and the post-Amarna period was seen as the beginning of an age of "personal piety" that came to dominate the religious life of the Ramesside age.²¹

Compounding all these factors was the Nineteenth Dynasty's non-royal origin. To Gardiner, being "a stranger from the extreme north and with no royal lineage behind him, Sethos ran a serious risk of being viewed as an upstart."²² Because Seti was faced with all these concerns, none more important than his nascent dynasty's questionable legitimacy, the various policies and traits of his reign have often been seen as manifestations of a highly orthodox and conservative temperament.

¹⁷ E.g. Breasted (1905), chpt. 20; Von Beckerath (1951), 24-27; Aidredt, C. *Alt* II, chpt. 9.

¹⁸ E.g., *ibid.*, Breasted, 336-338; Wilson (1936), 219; Steindorff & Seele (1957), 223-226, 244-245; Redford (1984), 225-231.

¹⁹ *ibid.* Wilson, 237-239, 241-242.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 242.

²¹ Private tombs ceased to have scenes of daily life and festive banquets and laudatory autobiographies also largely disappear. The late post-Amarna era and early Nineteenth Dynasty have also been described as a time of "personal piety." Cf. Gardiner (1961), 247; Assmann (1995); Vandersleyen (1997), 508-510 with references; Teeter (1997); *infra* 6.2.3.

²² *ibid.*, Gardiner (1961), 250. Echoed by Faulkner (1966), 8.

²³ See most recently Murnane (1995a).

6.1.4 Seti I's War Record

Seti I was long credited with restoring Egypt's empire in Western Asia, which had allegedly dissolved in the wake of Akhenaten's neglect of foreign affairs.¹ This view can no longer be upheld.² Although it was toned down, Faulkner and others still maintain that he crushed major rebellions in Palestine and restored Egypt's badly damaged prestige abroad, widening the empire to the greatest extent since the palmy days of Thutmose III.³ Egypt did, in fact, face significant challenges within its sphere of influence from the Hittites, the 'Apiru and the renegade state of Amurru.⁴ Historians generally consider Seti's foreign policy to be his greatest achievement, as is reflected in the vast literature on the subject.⁵ Recently Murnane has called the wisdom of Seti's invasion of Amurru and Kadesh into question, suggesting that Seti abrogated a treaty with the Hittites negotiated by Horemheb in order to pursue a military venture aimed at distracting attention from internal political difficulties.⁶

6.1.5 Seti "the Pious"

Seti I has often been characterized as an exceptionally pious, even modest, ruler – especially in comparison with his boastful son Ramesses II – and the literature is shot through with references to his piety and religious devotion. The fervor and in Breasted's words, "admirable piety" with which he set out to restore monuments vandalized in the Amarna regime is a case in point.⁷ Gardiner considered this to be a political move, and while Faulkner concurred that such a motive played

¹ E.g. Breasted (1905), 3, 9–333 on the dissolution of the empire and 342–347 on Seti's wars; Faulkner (1947); Steindorff & Seiler (1957), 248; Gardiner (1961), 252–255; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 16.

² Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 68–71; Redford (1992), 179, both with references.

³ E.g. Faulkner, *Ati II*, chpt. 21. It is true that the old notion of the total loss of all Egyptian influence in Palestine can no longer be held.

⁴ Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, chpt. 1; Redford (1992), 177–181.

⁵ See most recently Spälinger (1979a); Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 20–25 & 224; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*; Grimal (1992), 247; Vandersleyen (1997), 498–504.

⁶ Murnane (1995a), 497–498. This interpretation has been questioned by Marek in a review for being overly modern. *JEA* 83 (1997), 227–228.

⁷ E.g., Breasted (1905), 347; Oren, Sery & El-Zem, *Holy City*, 42.

a part, he averred that "in the case of Sethos I, however, we get the impression that will marched with necessity, and that he looked on it as a pious duty to restore the monuments of his predecessors"¹¹

Another example of royal piety was Seti's provisions for the cult of the royal ancestors and, more personally, that of his family, especially for Ramesses I.¹² Despite the obvious political motivations for and benefits of such a policy, the monarch's personal devotion to his father is often stressed, and filial piety is claimed as a genuine quality of the Ramessides, especially Seti I and Ramesses II.¹³ The dedicatory inscriptions of Seti I in his father's Abydos chapel and of Ramesses II in Seti's Abydos temple attest to the care with which their respective fathers educated and prepared them for kingship. Likewise, effusive language is used to describe their feelings for their relations. Thus Ramesses I is said to have rejoiced because he was surrounded by his "beloved brother" and other relatives (*AR* I, 113 5-7), while we are treated to the spectacle of Seti I shedding tears at the sight of Ramesses II's coronation in his fictional account of the same (*AR* II, 328 1-6).¹⁴ The monarch's interest in the cult of the royal ancestors marches in step with the view that the Ramessides had a particular interest in Egypt's past.¹⁵

Seti's devotion to the Egyptian pantheon in general and to individual deities in particular has frequently been commented upon. His special affinity for Seth, the god of his home town in the region of Avaris, is reflected in his personal name Seti "he of the god Seth," in his works on behalf of this deity at Avaris,¹⁶ Nubt and elsewhere, and in his naming of a division of the army after him.¹⁷ Likewise, attention is called to his extraordinary benefactions towards Osiris, the brother murdered by Seth. Seti changed the orthography of his nomen to disguise its reference to Seth and to honor Osiris in monuments

¹¹ E.g., Gardiner (1961), 250; Faulkner (1966), 8.

¹² E.g., Vandersleyen (1997), 495.

¹³ E.g., Schott (1964), Ling (1992), Vandersleyen (1997), 493 & 495.

¹⁴ As expressed in king lists of Seti I and Ramesses II at Abydos, the *Turin Royal Canon* dating to the latter's reign and in several private king lists of the period. See now Redford (1986b), chpts. 1 & 3, especially 8-24 on the most important Ramesside lists & 90-20 on the Ramesside sense of history. On the Abydos list, see *RITANC*, 1-7, 125 with references, & for the *Turin Canon*, *RITANC* II, 531-548.

¹⁵ Habachi (1974), Te Velde (1977).

¹⁶ Sauneron (1958), 183-185, Te Velde (1977), 129-130.

associated with the latter, such as Seti's tomb in the Valley of the Kings and his splendid temple at Abydos, built, according to Sauneron and Gardiner, to placate the Osirian clergy.³⁷

Seti's piety is also exemplified by his great building program on behalf of the gods at Memphis, Heliopolis and especially Thebes. Concurrent with this, some see the king as performing a subtle balancing act aimed at counterbalancing the power of Amen-Re's clergy through his promotion of the cults of Ptah, Re-Horakhty and Seth, while maintaining the Theban divinity's paramount status.³⁸ The tendency to portray himself in a humble attitude in the presence of the gods—bowing, kneeling or prostrate—is a most telling mark of the king's reverence.³⁹

6.1.6 Art of Seti I

Seti I's regal tenure represents one of the pinnacles of artistic achievement in Egypt's long history. Given the paucity of sculpture in the round, the attention of art historians has focused on relief sculpture, especially those in his Abydos temple and his war scenes on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. The king himself is often described as a connoisseur directly responsible for the consistently high quality of the work of his sculptors, painters and other artisans. Winlock credits him with "a certain discrimination in the selection of master-workmen." He views the monarch—based on the appearance of his mummy—as being intellectual and aesthetic in his tastes and founder of "one of the greatest schools of Egyptian art," blending the best of the orthodoxy of traditional forms with traces of the Amarna style.⁴⁰

Scholars universally praise the excellence of Seti's art in comparison with the crude and shoddy work of his descendants, especially that of Ramesses II.⁴¹ According to Gardiner, the reliefs in Seti's Abydos temple "display a delicacy and a perfection of craftsmanship surprising

³⁷ Sauneron (1958), 184; Gardiner (1961), 250.

³⁸ E.g. Yoyotte (1950); Wilson (1956), 239-240; *ibid.* Sauneron, 183-184; Hornung (1982), 219-220; Kitchin, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 174-175; Grima (1992), 246-247.

³⁹ Nelson (1949b), *Epigraphic Survey: Baile Reliefs*, 77-78; Stadelmann (1988), *passim*; Vandersleyen (1997), 506-507.

⁴⁰ Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs*, 46-47.

⁴¹ E.g., Aldred (1980), 191-194; Gaballa (1976), 97-98.

on the threshold of a period of undisputed decadence."⁴² For Groenewegen-Frankfort, this applies not only to the quality of execution of Seti's reliefs, but also, in the case of his war scenes, to the excellence of their composition. She sees his reign as the first and last "truly monumental art in Egypt," conveying dramatic tension, realism and deftness of compositional arrangement lacking in all subsequent Ramesside battle reliefs.⁴³

If Seti's reliefs compare favorably with those of his successors, they often fare worse in the eyes of some scholars when viewed alongside those of the preceding era. While Breasted saw the Abydos art as being "hardly less strong, virile and beautiful than that prevailing during the Eighteenth Dynasty,"⁴⁴ Groenewegen-Frankfort complains that "an air of frigid solemnity pervades the scenes and not even the delicacy of the work can atone for its utter lifelessness."⁴⁵ Stevenson Smith's reactions are somewhat mixed:

It must be admitted that the craftsmen of Sety I had not themselves been entirely successful in recapturing the fresher spirit of the earlier New Kingdom. Beautiful though these reliefs are, they have lost something of the spontaneous vitality so richly expressed in the best of their graceful models. Somewhat too coldly perfect in their overall effect, they lack in detail, a little of the technical dexterity to be found at the height of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴⁶

Such comparisons are grossly unfair to Seti and his craftsmen, and show a modern bias in favor of active compositions over static ones. Groenewegen-Frankfort's comments are particularly dated and offensive in this regard. The more "spontaneous vitality" of the Eighteenth Dynasty art that she cites is found in "historical" tableaux and scenes of daily life, especially the Punt reliefs of Hatshepsut, private tomb scenes from throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty and the innovative art of the Amarna and Post-Amarna periods, all depicting events that happen in the "real world." There was no place for such activity in the eternal

⁴² Gardiner (1961), 250.

⁴³ Groenewegen-Frankfort (1951), 120ff.

⁴⁴ Breasted (1905), 349.

⁴⁵ Groenewegen-Frankfort (1951), 121.

⁴⁶ Stevenson Smith (1958), 366-367.

realm of the gods, and the "static" composure of ritual scenes is meant to convey a timeless stability. Seen in this context, it is unfair to compare the vitality of historical scenes with ritual ones, and Seti's reliefs are no more "lifeless" or "static" than the most accomplished ritual vignettes of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The claim that they are inferior to the best Eighteenth Dynasty output also rings false for they are the equal of the finest reliefs of the reign of Amenhotep III.⁴⁷ Breasted lauds the Abydos carvings for their "rare combination of softness and refinement with bold and sinuous lines and exquisite modeling," and from most scholars, Seti's art receives the same unqualified praise.⁴⁸

6.2 Synthesis: Aspects of the Reign of Seti I

Seti I's reign remains something of a paradox. It seems well known in outline for the king's wars in Western Asia and elsewhere, for its colossal building program left unfinished and for the tutelage of his son Ramesses II. Yet upon closer examination, the details are often hazy, and much essential information is wholly absent.

6.2.1 Horemheb and Ramesses I

After two unorthodox successions, a shadow hung over Egypt's throne through much if not all of Horemheb's reign, as it was clear that his lack of a bodily heir made the third consecutive appointment of a non-royal candidate to the hereditary office of pharaoh unavoidable. At some point he designated his military colleague General Pramesseu as the official heir presumptive (*supra*, 48). It is often assumed that this promotion was made late in the reign and that the birth of Pramesseu's like-named grandson, the future Ramesses II, was influential, offering the old king the prospect of selecting a dynasty encompassing three generations.⁴⁹ Yet there is no evidence for this, and one suspects that the lack of a successor was a long-standing problem requiring the

⁴⁷ Cf. Seti's Abydos reliefs with the marvelous limestone reliefs of Amenhotep III from his memorial temple reused by Merneptah. Bickel (1997).

⁴⁸ Breasted (1905), 350. Cf. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 25-26; Gardiner (1961), 250; Aldred (1980), 187-189.

⁴⁹ E.g., *ibid.*, Kitchen, 17-18; Mumane (1995a), 191-192.

designation of an heir before the closing years of Horemheb's tenure. Moreover, we know so little of the future Ramesses I's family that it is now impossible to say whether his son Seti had any brothers—who might have had sons of their own—to further ensure the line beyond Pramesseu. It has also been assumed that Ramesses I was quite old when he took the throne, but this too is largely speculative, as his mortal remains were not included among the cache of New Kingdom royal mummies. He might very well have been of middle age when he died as was Seti I himself.

Certainly, the new royal house lacked any connection by blood or marriage to the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴⁰ This deficit of legitimacy was aggravated by the old family's mythic connection to Amen-Re. Ahmose's successors had based their right to rule on the dogma of the king's divine birth and the theology of the mutual regeneration of the royal *k3* and Amen-Kamutef of Luxor Temple through their mystic union during the annual Feast of Opet.⁴¹ Horemheb, in his *Coronation Decree*, had adapted this doctrine by claiming that Amen-Re had secretly designated him heir to the throne at birth and finally "adopted" him publicly during Opet in his first regnal year.⁴² The first two Ramessides largely did without any of these political and ideological fig leaves. Although they still made the usual claims of divine parentage, no such elaborate, and historical, accounts as that given in Horemheb's *Coronation Decree* were offered. After the Amarna episode and a series of irregular successions, the Eighteenth Dynasty had been so thoroughly discredited that association by marriage—assuming there were any eligible female candidates left—was deemed counterproductive. Although Ramesses I associated himself with the memory of Horemheb in a minor way,⁴³ this did not stop him from usurping his old master's cartouches in completing the latter's decoration on the Second Pylon.⁴⁴ Beyond this, Ramesses, and following him Seti I, made a complete break with the defunct Eighteenth Dynasty, opting for a fresh start.

Ramesses had a very short reign, of probably less than two full years, and did not have time to accomplish much. His chosen titulary is the

⁴⁰ Ibid., Murnane, 191.

⁴¹ Bell (1985b), *ibid.*, Murnane, 187–188.

⁴² Gardiner (1953), *ibid.*, Murnane, 189–190; *idem* (1995b), 230–233.

⁴³ With a small obelisk giving both their titularies. *ARV* VII, 6. Aidred (1968b).

⁴⁴ Seele, *Coregency*, 7–11, Murnane (1994); *idem* (1995c).

clearest evidence that he intended his reign to be a new chapter in Egypt's history.⁵⁵ Consciously modeling himself on Ahmose, traditional founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, he adopted the prenomen *Men-pehty-Re*, a variant of Ahmose's *Neb-pehty-Re*. To any that might doubt his vigor or right to rule, his Horus name proclaimed him "Flourishing of Kingship," his Nebty name "Ascending as King like Atum," and his Golden Horus to be "Making Maat Effective (*smnh mst*) throughout the Two Lands." *Smnh mst* may also be construed as "Restoring Maat." In its very simplicity, his protocol echoed that of Ahmose, for it lacked the large accumulation of epithets acquired by successive pharaohs over the course of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Despite the brevity of his tenure, and the paucity of contemporary sources touching on it, enough remains to get a rough idea of what the political situation was like from Ramesses I's larger Sinai stela.⁵⁶ Although it certainly does not match Horemheb's great *Coronation Decree*, the stela touches, however briefly, on the new pharaoh's divine right to the throne:

Good god, Son of Amen, born of Mut-Mistress-of-Heaven, to rule all that the sun disk (*im*) encircles, he who came forth from the body, victories having been decreed for him, who establishes (*grg*) the Two Lands again, who increases the festivals of the gods. His father Atum reared him as a child <to> act with a loving heart, renewing monuments which had fallen into ruin (*KRI* I, 1-8-10).

Here Ramesses claims divine birth through Amen and Mut and to have been predestined to become pharaoh. Although his non-royal origins are passed over in silence, he is clearly establishing his birthright. Ignoring Horemheb, the new king also claims to have restored order in the land, the statement "establishing the Two Lands again" (*grg Tswy m whmw*) resembling the epithet "Renaissance" (*whm nswt*) of Horemheb and Seti I. He calls himself a "restorer of monuments" (*smi mnw*), a politically charged statement in the wake of Amarna. We also possess a fragmentary coronation statement found reused as a column base at Medinet Habu.⁵⁷ What is preserved of the text is a purely rhetorical encomium

⁵⁵ Kitchen (1987), 132.

⁵⁶ *KRI* I, 1, §1, *RTA* I, 1, §1, *RTANC* I, 1-2, §1.

⁵⁷ Van Siclen (1987); *KRI* VII, 403-404.

of the king and his abilities. One of the statements describes Amen as the "creator of his beauty, who establishes him as ruler." Also mentioned is "his (Ramesses') appointment as king on the throne of his beloved father (=Amen)." This might be consistent with a text in honor of his coronation. There is, sadly, no evidence that it was as candid as that of Horemheb in touching on his pre-royal career. Instead, Ramesses' text might be considered more akin to two of his son's from early in his own reign, the Karnak Alabaster Stela and Elephantine "Nilometer Stela," which make ideological statements only (*supra* 371 & 3115). After so many unorthodox accessions and with the makings of a new dynastic line at hand in the persons of Ramesses' son and grandson—he may have decided not to draw further attention to his obviously common ancestry by trying to explain it away.³⁸

In the dedicatory stela for Ramesses I's memorial chapel at Abydos, Seti I claims that his father relied heavily on him during his short reign, especially in military affairs. As crown prince, Seti led the army into battle in Djahy, a vague geographical term corresponding to an area of Palestine. This, as Murnane has argued, may have later been considered to be King Seti I's "first campaign of victory."³⁹ Seti claims to have been instructed by his father "while he (Ramesses I) was Re effulgent, I being with him like a star at his side" (*AR/1* 111 9). As Crown Prince, he seems to have been in command of the army in particular, along with some domestic responsibilities. "I organized his kingship for him" and "I sought out the condition of the Two Lands" (*AR/1*, 111 13). These statements are quite vague and stem from Seti's memorial to his deceased father, and we need not assume that Ramesses leaned so heavily on his son in every sphere of the government as historians have often assumed.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Seti I found himself mounting the Horus throne of the living less than two years after his father had acceded to that same office.

³⁸ Murnane (1995a), 191.

³⁹ *Road to Hades*², 45-50 & appendix 2.

⁴⁰ Christophe (1951), 353-354.

6.2.2 The Accession of Seti I

Graced with a vigor his father had lacked, the new pharaoh embarked on an ambitious series of military campaigns matched by an equally splendid program of construction at home. In the battle reliefs of Seti, we see a brave and victorious warrior triumphing over his foes. Here is a monarch, as Kitchen has noted, consciously modeling himself on two of his most illustrious predecessors, Thutmose III and Amenhotep III. His titulary blends elements of both these role models, and follows many traditions of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶¹ Like his father, however, he proclaims his intention to start anew. Doubtless inspired by Amenemhet I the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, who first employed the term, Seti marked his reign as a new era, *whm mswt*, literally a "Renaissance."⁶² This same epithet had appeared occasionally under Tutankhamen and Horemheb, but Seti firmly enshrined it in his "Two Ladies" name. A standard variant of his Golden Horus name is "Repeating of Appearances," *whm-h'w*. A similar epithet occasionally found is "Repeater of Eternity," *whm-hh*, also marking Seti's intention to begin anew.

Aspiring to match Thutmose in war, he largely succeeded. His battle reliefs and related monuments boast of triumph after unmitigated triumph over his enemies. There is none of the prevaricating and equivocation found in Ramesses II's account of the battle of Kadesh here: only encomiums of royal valor. Indeed, to modern scholars, such rhetoric is Seti's only fault in connection with his war record, for it supplants the historical detail and specific information about the events described which they crave.⁶³

The monarch's other great model was Amenhotep III, the mighty builder.⁶⁴ Here Seti came closer to matching or even surpassing the achievements of his paragon. This observation, however, raises the question: what was the *object* of his vast construction program? A sense of ideological tension runs through the reign of Seti I, and is reflected in his monuments. It is as though pharaoh was being pulled in two directions. On the one hand, the monuments project the image of a great

⁶¹ Kitchen (1987), 131-132.

⁶² See R. Gundlach, *LA* VI, 1261-1264.

⁶³ Redford (1992), 180-181.

⁶⁴ Kitchen (1987), 133; idem, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 25.

king imbued with all the confidence, splendor and sacred potency of his office, and the approbation of the gods to be ruler of Egypt. Yet we also see an exceptionally pious king, restoring the monuments of the gods vandalized by the heretic and building new and ever larger ones in a frenzy of construction. These are embellished with reliefs of the very highest standards of quality, in glaring contrast to the often shoddy work of his successors. Everywhere we look, Seti takes extraordinary measures to honor, and it seems to placate, the gods. The unprecedentedly colossal Hypostyle Hall at Karnak in honor of Amen-Re is paralleled by similar projects in honor of Ptah at Memphis, of Re-Horakhty in Heliopolis and probably of Seth at the new royal capital near Avaris.⁶¹

But his devotion to Osiris at Abydos seems to eclipse all of these as a measure of his pious ardor. To support the exquisite, jewel-like temple he built there, Seti created a vast and rich foundation with large holdings and estates in Nubia, as the Naarti decree informs us, and probably elsewhere too. In year nine, he established a gold mining settlement in the eastern desert with its own *speos* temple in honor of the gods worshiped in the Abydos shrine. Its great Threefold Inscription solemnly dedicates all the proceeds of the gold washers to the Abydene foundation and calls down malediction on any successor who would divert its revenues.⁶²

Contributing to this picture of an exceptionally pious monarch is, quite literally, the humble stance he takes in the reliefs decorating his monuments (*supra* 1.2.2-1.2.9). Frequently we see Seti bowing, often gravely, before his gods, and at other times he kneels, frequently with his torso inclined forward and his legs splayed apart. At times, he even crouches so low in abject humility that he is nearly prostrate, his chin almost touching the ground.⁶³

What, then, was the source of this tension that inspired Seti to present this twofold image of his own kingship, seemingly more extreme in its dichotomy than that of other pharaohs? The key to answering this question lies in the experiences of the Amarna and post-Amarna era which finally came to a close during his reign. Politically, Akhenaten's excesses, the collapse of the Eighteenth Dynasty and a series of irregular

⁶¹ Sauneron (1958), 183-184.

⁶² KRI I, 65-70, §32; RITA I, 56-60, §32; RITANC I, 60-62, §32; Schott, *Kanais*

accessions to the throne had weakened the office of pharaoh. He certainly had the support of the military, but as the scion of a new dynasty that was scarcely two years old at his succession and lacking any claim by blood or theology to the old royal house, Seti's institutional legitimacy was questionable at best. Culturally, too, he was doubtless affected by the times he lived in, the turbulent Post-Amarna age. As we shall see, all these issues weighed on Seti's mind. What follows is an examination of some of these problems and the new king's responses to them.

6.2.3 Seti and the Age of Personal Piety

A distinctive social phenomenon in the closing years of the Eighteenth Dynasty was the rise of personal piety. With Akhenaten's proscription of the old state cults, traditional religion went underground. Even after the restoration, private individuals of all social classes held on to a new form of direct communication with the gods, one not requiring the intermediary of pharaoh and the state-funded religious establishments. The engine driving this movement was fear. As even pharaoh himself admitted, the gods had abandoned Egypt and did not answer prayers.⁶⁷ Did this happen because of Akhenaten's betrayal or was the heretic himself merely a product of the gods' displeasure unleashed upon the land for their own inscrutable reasons? Our sources never say. A familiar roster of social maladies permeates the official literature, including administrative laxity and the resultant corruption, economic dislocation through the dispossession of the traditional cults, and even military setbacks abroad.⁶⁸ Some of these maladies lingered into the reign of Horemheb and beyond. Yet another calamity which may have befallen the land at this time was a plague that apparently afflicted the Near East during the Amarna period.⁶⁹ Such a pestilence must have been terrifying and many would have taken it for a sign of divine retribution. The Hittite emperor Mursilis II regarded a plague that ravaged the Hatti for twenty years as punishment for his father Suppiluliuma's violation of a peace treaty with Egypt. Unlike their

⁶⁷ In Tutankhamen's *Restoration Decree* Urk IV 13-17.

⁶⁸ Leprohon (1985).

⁶⁹ Helck (1971), 187ff; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 28-30 & 38 n. 190; Redford (1984), 187 & 205.

Hittite counterparts, the Egyptians were loathe, it seems, to mention this pestilence in their records. Still, pious literature of this age often contained a plea for forgiveness and for the redress of an illness sent as punishment for sin—often sudden blindness—and praise of the divinity upon recovery.⁷⁰

Against such a horrific background, pious devotion laden with fear inspired universal demonstrations of individual piety. Commoners now felt able, or driven, to approach the gods firsthand without pharaoh as intermediary. *Ex Votos* on stelae, tomb decoration and the like typically feature the supplicant bowing in adoration. No official was too high to abase himself in this manner, even the generalissimo and heir presumptive Horemheb on stelae from his Memphite tomb, where he genuflects in worship of Re-Horakhty and other gods.⁷¹ He also kneels with his torso inclined in adoration in similar vignettes on columns and the like.⁷² In fact, Horemheb's was one of the last great private tombs embellished with scenes of daily life. As early as Seti I, these subjects, along with the biographical texts which the modern historian craves, largely disappear from Ramesside tombs, replaced by almost exclusively ritual themes. Against this background, it is not difficult to understand why Seti I, as a commoner-made pharaoh, approached the gods in such a deferential manner.

6.2.4 Service to the Gods

Seti I's extensive repairs to vandalized monuments, his ambitious program of new constructions and his interest in the cult of his royal ancestors have long given him a reputation for piety (*supra* 6.1.5). Texts glossing his monuments reinforce this image of the devoted monarch. Everywhere, the rhetorical texts use the term *sh*, "beneficial," in

⁷⁰ Although waterborne parasites, like schistosomiasis, were quite common and might account for some of these incidents, it has been suggested that the cause in some cases might have been hysteria, blindness. Certainly eye disease was not unique to the late Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside periods, but texts of this nature were common only then.

⁷¹ Martin, *Horemheb* BM 44 (pls. 21-22) & St. Petersburg 1061 (pl. 24). Such deference is not universal, however, and he stands erect in other reliefs. *Ibid.*, pls. 138-139.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pls. 36-39.

describing his actions on behalf of the gods.⁷³ This word, familiar to us from the parallel names of Seti's temple foundations at Karnak, Gurnah and Memphis, does not mean "glorious" as it has often been translated, but "effective/beneficial" as Friedman has shown.⁷⁴ It is used to describe the actions taken by the king on behalf of the gods, especially the provision of cult offerings and production of monuments of all kinds.

Although it had often been used before in ritual and building inscriptions of earlier New Kingdom pharaohs, under Seti *ih* became an almost ubiquitous "buzz word." So on the architraves from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, we are told: "Now as for the Good God whose mind is set on making monuments, he lies awake unable to sleep while seeking to perform benefactions (*ihw ihw*); indeed, it was His Majesty who gave instructions, who guided work on his monument" (*A/R* I, 414-15-16). Here we are presented with the image of an insomniac pharaoh racking his brains through the night dreaming up ever more grandiose building projects in honor of the gods. Such rhetoric is not new, for it occurs in texts of Amenhotep III at Luxor Temple and elsewhere.⁷⁵ Yet the continual repetition of such phraseology must be significant, for pronouncements of the king's serviceability in the texts were amply backed up in his colossal building program and rich provisioning of the state cults.

6.2.5 Seti I & the Royal Cult in the Early Nineteenth Dynasty

In modeling himself on Amenhotep III, as expressed in his titulary Seti I sought to match his royal ancestor not only in the magnitude of his building program, but also by reviving a style of kingship expressed through the former's vast constructions. The ultimate aim of this must have been to reinstate the ideology of the divine monarch as practiced under Amenhotep. This would seem, logically, to be at odds with Seti's practice of royal piety, at least as reflected by the iconography of his figure in temple art. It did not, however, conflict with the notion expressed by the term *ih*, "beneficial effective action," which was

⁷³ Brand (1999a).

⁷⁴ Friedman (1982); *idem* (1984-85). Cf. Rondon, *Architraves* 136-137.

⁷⁵ *Urk.* IV, 1673-2, 1679-4-5, 1690-16-17.

fundamentally part of a *quid pro quo* relationship between mankind and the gods whereby the king was to receive the traditional benefits of a long and prosperous reign in return for his efforts on their behalf.⁷⁶ Despite the tension—apparent at least to modern eyes—between these two views of the monarch's role, Seti was successful in promoting both. By the end of his reign, the development of the royal cult and the ideology of divine kingship, as reflected in his monuments, had reached a level that would have been familiar to Amenhotep III. Sadly, the king died before any of his great projects were finished, and his son Ramesses II inherited them. Yet this style of kingship practiced by Ramesses from the very beginning of his reign, with its elaborate royal cult, had been under development throughout the reign of his father. Having examined the mechanisms for expressing the divine aspect of pharaoh in the later New Kingdom (*supra* 3.5), we may now examine the royal cult under Seti I more closely.

The ubiquitous cult which Ramesses II developed for himself is well known. It seems to have grown in intensity over the course of his reign, so that after the first jubilee, he was transformed into a living embodiment of the solar deity.⁷⁷ In this he consciously followed a model laid down by Amenhotep.⁷⁸ It is now apparent that Amenhotep's cult was an expansion of an ideology developed by his father Thutmose IV.⁷⁹ The same may now be said for Seti I and Ramesses II: for several aspects of the royal cult were being developed later in Seti's reign as some of his great projects neared completion. Although, as we shall see, he too consciously modeled himself on Amenhotep III's ideology, he also brought in new developments which foreshadow practices found under Ramesses II.

At Karnak, his alabaster cult statue, embellished with inlays and gold foil, was dedicated early in the reign.⁸⁰ Work on the Great Hypostyle Hall probably began in year two. This multi-functional structure,

⁷⁶ Friedman (1982); idem (1984-85); Brund (1999a).

⁷⁷ He was called during the last decades of his reign the "Great At of Re-Horakhty." Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 206.

⁷⁸ Johnson (1990); idem in *Pharaohs of the Sun*, 42-45; Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, chpts. 5 & 7.

⁷⁹ Bryan (1991), 350-352; idem (1998), 50-52.

⁸⁰ Sourouzian (1993), 244-246; *supra* 3.75.

considered a temple (*hwt-ntr*)⁴¹ in itself, served not only as a vast way station (*st htp*)⁴² and *reposoir* (*hwt*)⁴³ for the barques of the Theban Triad and as a festival hall (*wšht "st / st h'w*).⁴⁴ but also as "Mansion of Millions of Years" (*hwt-ntr nt hh m rnpwt*) dedicated to the cult of the royal *k3*.⁴⁵ As Rondot has shown, this latter function is expressed by the programmatic use of multiple variants of Seti I's Horus name, probably fourteen, corresponding in number to those of the sun god Re.⁴⁶ The Alabaster Statue may have eventually resided here as a focus of this *k3*-cult,⁴⁷ but it certainly predates the Hall itself by a number of years. Rondot also demonstrates that, as with the west bank memorial temples, the king partakes of the divinity of Amen-Re, especially via the medium of his processional barque.⁴⁸

It has long been understood that in his Gurnah Temple, the divine aspect of Seti I was manifest in his assimilation with the local form of the god Amen-Re.⁴⁹ Both during his life and after his death, Seti, through the medium of the royal *k3*, became a localized manifestation of Amen.⁵⁰ The king's death in the early stages of decorating the temple left his original scheme incomplete. When work resumed early in Ramesses II's reign, the emphasis on Seti's divine nature was expressed through his role as a royal ancestor, along with Ramesses I, in the vestibule to the latter's suite. Here both were displayed as eminences of the royal *k3*, deceased beneficiaries of Ramesses II's final devotion.

Seti's specs at Kanais is typical of other temples of this kind. Often found in remote venues such as the eastern desert or in Nubia, they typically house a royal cult.⁵¹ At Kanais, Seti is worshiped alongside

⁴¹ Spencer *Egyptian Temple* 50; Rondot, *Architraves*, 140-141.

⁴² *Ibid.* Rondot, 141-142.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 143-144.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 141-142 & 144.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 144; Arnold (1962), 62-63; Haeny (1982) & (1997).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Rondot, 16-17 & 149-50. On the plurality of royal *k3*s, see Bell (1985b), 288 & n. 207 with references.

⁴⁷ Sourouzian (1993), 244-246.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 150-151.

⁴⁹ Nelson (1942), Christophe (1950), Arnold (1962), 62-63 & 66-67; Haeny (1997), 88-89 & 110-112.


⁵⁰ Bell (1985b), 280-281, n. 146.

⁵¹ Desroches-Noblecourt (1999).

Amen-Re, Re-Horakhty, Osiris and other deities, and the shrine is a miniature version of the king's Abydos temple.

Seti I's Abydos temple, with its seven divine chapels, is unique among Ancient Egyptian shrines. Its cultic functions were several: it served as a shrine to the Abydene triad of Osiris, Isis and Horus and a venue for the celebration of local festivals such as *Khoriakh*. With chapels for the "imperial triad" of Amen-Re, Re-Horakhty and Ptah,⁹² it has also been called a "national shrine."⁹³ Osiris' northern counterpart, the Memphite funerary deity Sokar, possessed a suite of his own. The cult of the royal ancestors also had a place, and by extension, so had the nascent Ramesside house, which was explicitly stated in the Gallery of Kings and Corridor of the Bull, with their reliefs of Seti and Prince Ramesses and the latter as king with his own eldest son Amenirkhopshef. Ramesses I and his wife are depicted only once as cult statues beneath Seti's royal barque.

The royal cult in the temple is quite elaborate. David calls it Seti's mortuary temple, averring that only the deceased king was worshiped there, not the living monarch.⁹⁴ Certainly, the king's divine aspect was expressed through his assimilation with Osiris in the temple, but he is clearly associated with the textual and iconographic attributes of Amen-Re and the royal *k3*. Just as the temple itself is not merely dedicated to Osiris, so too the dogma of royal godliness is expressed through various means as well.

Of the three chapels joined to the north wall of the larger Osiris hall, two are dedicated to Horus and Isis, while in the central one, where Osiris is expected, the texts proclaim that it belongs to Seti I. Still, it is clear from the iconography that the king is manifest as a hypostasis of Osiris. In several of the tableaux, he is mummiform and usually holds the crook and flail, and, in one case, the long shepherd's crook specific to the god. Further Osirian attributes include the *nemes* head cloth or tripartite wig often surmounted by the -crown.

A closer examination of the decorative scheme shows that this *chapelle royale* is not dedicated solely to the deceased king merged with Osiris, nor is its function limited to the maintenance of the daily offering

⁹² Hornung (1982), 219.

⁹³ David, *Guide*, 7.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

cult, as is the case in the adjoining chapels of Horus and Isis. Instead, the cult of the divine aspect of the living king was also celebrated here. In three of the tableaux, Seti wears the curved ram's horns which express his divinity as a hypostasis of Amen-Re (*Abidos* III, pls. 35, 38 & 40). In two of these, he is mummiform and the recipient of cult, in the third, he appears in the *shenwt* kilt and an elaborate form of the *khepresh* crown sporting the curved horns and extra uraei being led towards Osiris, whom he embraces and who extends life to him. In scene 35 Seti appears as a syncretic form of Amen-Re and Osiris with clear attributes of both deities. Thus he wears an elaborate version of Amen's tail-plumed crown with the addition of both curved and long ram's horns, with no less than eight large uraei surmounting or dangling from the latter. Behind him is the plumed staff associated with the Theban god. As Osiris, he is mummiform and before him stands a table supporting the four sons of Horus. The divine Seti also wears a double *shwy*-collar and two falcon decorations on his shoulders.

The king is understood to be alive in at least some of the scenes, as when he is inducted before Osiris by Horus (scene 38) and when he stands before Wepwawet, who proffers the crook and flail along with an intricate *'nh-gd-w* staff to Seti. The king wears the double crown embellished with a circlet of uraei and a corslet in the form of two falcons whose wings are crossed over his chest. The apron of his belt has a frieze of uraei and long streamers and he also wears the *shwy*-collar and holds an *'nh* and *hwt*-mace. Although he appears in the guise of Osiris in scene 36, he is accompanied by a personified *k3*-standard indicating that he is to be understood as a hypostasis of the 'living royal *k3*'. Moreover, there is no clear-cut textual evidence that he has been assimilated by this god or that he is dead. He is not called an 'Osiris-king,' and epithets like *mt'-hrw* and *ntr'3* are entirely absent. Instead his cartouches are glossed with the usual titles *ntr nfr nsw-bity* and *s3 R'* and followed by the *dt 'nh mt R'* formula. Thus despite his assimilation with Osiris, Seti is also linked to Amen-Re and the royal *k3*. In the absence of textual markers used for the mortuary service, it is clear that the cult of Seti's divine aspect was equally valid during his lifetime and after his death.⁹³

⁹³ On the deification rites in this chapel, see Bell (1985b), 284.

The decorative schemes of two royal chapels, in the Osiris complex and adjoining the inner hypostyle hall, are as much concerned with the divine aspect of the king and the confirmation of his kingly status by the gods as they are with his offering cult. Many of the scenes have parallels in temple reliefs which obviously show the living king. So from the outer royal chapel on the lower register, the king is enthroned between Nekhbet and Wadjet. The dais upon which their thrones rest is composed of *sm3-Tm3* glyphs while Thoth and Horus perform this rite and Seshet inscribes regnal years on a *rnpt*-staff (*Abvdus* II, pl. 30). This vignette is a combination of two others found on the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle featuring Ramesses II (*GHHK* I I, pls. 69 & 74). Another parallel, this time in the inner chapel (scene 36) has Thoth extending lotus and papyrus staves, with intertwined cobras wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt as found in a relief of Set I on the east wall of the Karnak Hypostyle where Mut appears (*GHHK* I I, pl. 213). Two scenes from the outer chapel (*Abvdus* II, pl. 36) show the king being carried in a palanquin shaped like the *h3*-sign by the souls of Nekhen and Pe preceded by personified *h3* and *det* signs with eight standards, and above this the king is surrounded by Nekhbet, Wadjet, Horus and Thoth extending cobra and *rnpt*-staves towards him. It has been suggested that these tableaux reflect the coronation ceremonies and Sed-festivals of the living king, although David denies this, maintaining that the reliefs are strictly funereal.⁹⁶

In the palanquin scene, the goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet appear over the king in the form of cobras. They extend *hm* fans towards his head. These fans are specifically associated with the cult of the king in temples during his lifetime and this iconography is not found in funereal contexts.⁹⁷ In the scene above, two falcons hover over him, with a sun disk festooned with two pendant uraei sandwiched between them. This iconography functions in much the same way as the fans do, indicating that the shadow (*swt*) of the god or gods has fallen on the king, transforming him into a hypostasis. In this case of Horus and Re-Seti wears the *shw*-collar and belt with elaborate apron, which has also been connected with the divine aspect of royalty in the New Kingdom.⁹⁸


⁹⁶ David, *Guide*, 87-88.

⁹⁷ Bell (1985a).

⁹⁸ Johnson (1990).

The function of both these chapels was to service the cult of Seti I, during his lifetime and after his death, as a hypostasis of various gods, including Osiris, Amen-Re, Re and the royal *k3*.

On the south wall of the second hypostyle hall, two manifestations of the divine Seti I appear (*Abydos* IV, pl. 42). In the first vignette, the monarch, inside a shrine, is purified by Horus with Thoth in attendance. He sports an elaborate kilt with an apron decorated with a leopard's head and a long pleated garment. He holds a crook and flail folded across his chest in one hand and an *'nh* and *h3*-mace in the other. He bears a conventional protocol with cartouches and the epithet *dl 'nh ml R'*.

The royal avatar in the second panel is called "Menmaatre the Great God who is in His Mansion which is in Abydos," *Mn-m3't-R' ntr 3 h3ry-lh hwt f lmyt sbdw*. The prenomen is not enclosed in a cartouche. He wears a divine kilt and corslet and holds an *'nh* and *w3s*-scepter. He also sports a curving divine beard and a tripartite wig surmounted by . Here the king is in the guise of Osiris, and similar examples occur in the Gurnah Temple (*supra* 3.84.3.4.1 & fig. 119), except that there, in the preserved example, the cartouche is given.⁹⁹

This same form of the deified Seti I appears in the main Osiris hall (*Abydos* III, pl. 13), where he is called simply *Mn-m3't-R' ntr 3*. He accompanies Osiris in a shrine wearing the White Crown, a *shendyt*-kilt and divine corslet, and he holds an *'nh*.

Deities such as "Menmaatre-the-Great-God" are avatars of the king's individual *k3*, and not cult statues for the generic royal *k3* shared by every pharaoh. They do not, however, reflect the worship of the monarch as a deity incarnate himself.¹⁰⁰ Nor are they solely funereal in nature.¹⁰¹ Rather, they are consecrated to the concept of divine kingship itself as expressed by the divine *k3* unique to the king who is possessed by it.

It is clear that towards the end of his reign, Seti I had embarked on a large program of royal colossi to be made of black granite with red

⁹⁹ The name of the divine Ramesses I in the guise of Osiris is missing from the two examples in his chapel.

¹⁰⁰ Bell (1985b), 280 with n. 142.

¹⁰¹ So contra David, *Guide*, 28. Ft-Sawi (1987a) Menmaatre-the-Great-God is similar to the royal avatars of Amenhotep III worshiped at Soleb and of Ramesses II in various temples throughout Nubia: *supra* 1.5.1.

granite crowns extracted from a new quarry the king is said to have discovered (*KRI* I, 74, *supra* 3 120). Hetepohts and Luxor Temple were the only certain venues, and only from the latter can we identify four actual colossi, all completed in the name of Ramesses II. One of these bears the name "Ramesses II-Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands." The rest are distinguished by various epithets appended to the king's name. In the smaller year nine inscription of Seti from Aswan, the statue quarry is named "the Quarry of Menmaatre-Ruler-of-the-Two-Lands." Although other large statues were produced by the post-Amarna kings,¹⁰² Seti's were to be the first named "great colossi" (*ḥwt ḥt*),¹⁰³ which were of a type last produced by Amenhotep III and common under Ramesses II.¹⁰⁴ These were dedicated to the cult of the royal *k3* as giant cult statues. Unlike the common sort of "generic" royal cult statues,¹⁰⁵ however, these seem to have represented specific manifestations of the deified king resident in the colossi themselves.¹⁰⁶ Their names served to distinguish each one as an individual manifestation, i.e. *k3*, of the divine aspect of the king. Habachi opined that the king had not yet been "deified" when the facade of the Abu Simbel temple was dedicated because the names of all the statues were formed on the model "Ramesses II-beloved-of Divine-Name."¹⁰⁷ While it may be true that the king had not here been identified with the gods so named, these colossi surely represent a manifestation of the divine royal *k3*. Indeed, the Luxor colossi, also from the beginning of the reign, bear names such as "Ruler of the Two Lands" and the "Re of Rulers."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² E.g. the two stuccoed sandstone colossi from the memorial temple of Ay/Horemheb (*PM* II², 458-459).

¹⁰³ *ARI* I, 73 11 & 74 13.

¹⁰⁴ Both the colossi of Memnon and the four seated colossi of Ramesses II in the Luxor Temple are called "great colossi" (*ḥwt ḥt*) Bell (1985b), 27 n. 97 *ARI* I 692 7.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. the common form of statue with the crook, flail and *ḥt* where the king's names are given in cartouches without distinctive epithets or qualifiers other than *mr* *ḥt* or *ḥt* *ḥt*, but lacking distinctive names or epithets identifying them as unique manifestations of an individual king's divine aspect. Bell, *ibid.* 280 & nn. 145-146, distinguishes between the cult of the generic royal *k3*, shared by every king in succession, and that unique to the deceased king himself.

¹⁰⁶ Habachi (1969), *ibid.*, Bell, 271 & 280, n. 146.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Habachi, 8. Followed by Kitchen, *ATAC* II, 481.

¹⁰⁸ Habachi, 18.

Like most of his predecessors, Seti did not aim to have himself "deified" in the literal sense of being considered deity incarnate. Rather, his objective was to emphasize as loudly and clearly as possible that, in Bell's words, "he is in full possession of the (royal) *ka* and it in full possession of him."¹⁰⁴ He consciously modeled his own cult on that of his illustrious predecessor Amenhotep III, as, indeed, had his more recent predecessor Tutankhamen.¹⁰⁵ But Seti carried it further, building a series of "Mansions of Millions of Years" which expressed the divine aspect of his kingship through the worship of a multiplicity of royal *k3*'s, as in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall and Abydos temples, royal cult statues including projected colossi in numbers and on a scale previously envisaged only by Amenhotep III and special avatars of the divine nature of his personal *k3*-aspect such as "Menmaatre-the-Great-God-in-Abydos." He also laid the foundations for the royal cult in an array of temples in Nubia at sites including Aksha, Amara West and perhaps Beit el-Wali. Thus we have, in embryonic form, the host of temples dedicated to the royal cult as found under Ramesses II.

Seti never took the further step taken by Amenhotep III late in his reign, and by Akhenaten after him, of declaring himself to be a god incarnate. As Redford observed, this step held great risks, ones which Amenhotep III succeeded in overcoming, but which ultimately were Akhenaten's undoing in the minds of his successors.¹⁰⁶ Ultimately, Ramesses II did transform himself into a living manifestation of the divine and was called the "great living *k3* of Re-Horakhty" during the second half of his long reign. But Ramesses II became increasingly remote to his subjects as he retreated into his ceremonial and cultic roles, leaving his numerous sons, led by the Crown Prince, to perform the task of running the government and to function as intermediaries between himself and his subjects. Despite the stagnation of the later years, Egypt was prosperous and at peace both domestically and abroad. For the old king, increasingly frail and tired, the role of deity incarnate was perhaps the ideal cover for his inability to perform all the daily tasks of administering the country in his old age.

¹⁰⁴ Bell (1985b), 278.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* (1985a).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* (1985b), 291-293 & n. 237 quoting Redford, *JARCE* 17 (1980). Cf. Johnson (1990), 46; Murnane (1995b), 13-5.

¹⁰⁷ Stadelmann (1981).

The splendid royal progress that was the kingship of Ramesses II did not suddenly appear fully formed and out of a vacuum upon his succession. The way had been carefully prepared for him by Seti I. Sadly, the elder king did not live to see his spectacular plans come to fruition.

6.2.6 Epilogue

Scarcely three days after the beginning of his twelfth regnal year, Seti I died, probably unexpectedly after some illness. To his son Ramesses II he left a legacy of grand but unfinished monuments. But what if Seti had ruled longer? How different perceptions of both monarchs might have been! How, for instance, might the old king have responded to the Kadesh crisis of his son's fifth regnal year, indeed, would those events have ever taken place or would a lasting peace with the Hittites have come to pass years earlier than it did? Such "what if" questions are, perhaps, imponderable. On the home front, however, speculation on what a longer reign might have achieved rests on more solid ground.

As we have seen, the king's great monuments were largely built, and for the most part lacked only their relief decoration and statuary when he died. Had Seti I lived just a few more years, even one or two, the monumental landscape of Thebes, Abydos and elsewhere would have been quite different from what it actually became. Imagine the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, all its walls and columns graced with his exquisite bas-reliefs. So too, at Gurnah, decoration of the same high standard would pervade the building.

At Abydos, if Seti had completed all the reliefs in the temple, our understanding of the reign would have been vastly different. With the Corridor of the Bulls completed in the same manner as the Gallery of the Kings, we would see only Crown Prince Ramesses alongside his father. The *Inscription Dedicatoire* might never have been composed and the outer courts would, perhaps, be inscribed with battle reliefs shedding further light on Seti's wars abroad.

At Luxor Temple the great Ramesside court and pylon might also have been completed by Seti, for Ramesses had finished both its construction and much of the decoration by his own year three. The two obelisks and four huge seated colossi would have been inscribed by Seti. A significant portion of the reputation of Ramesses "the Great" rests on this edifice with its huge monoliths. Elsewhere, other grand monuments

would have been completed in Seti I's name, including the giant recumbent colossus at Mit Rahineh, the mate to the Flaminian obelisk and perhaps other colossi as well. In Nubia, Seti might have completed temples at Aksha, Amara West, Beit el-Wali and perhaps elsewhere.

Had some or all of these projects come to fruition before the king's death, our perceptions of Seti I, and of his son, would now be quite different. Seti the mighty builder and warrior would emerge from the now somewhat diminished shadow cast by Ramesses II. Seti would be seen as more the equal of his son and of Amenhotep III, a great builder and divine royal "superstar." Even if these events had come to pass, Ramesses II would have enjoyed one of the longest reigns in Egyptian history, and the period would still be known today as the Ramesside age.

Despite his relatively short reign and untimely death, it was Seti I who laid a secure foundation for the Nineteenth Dynasty and reestablished the principle of dynastic succession to the throne. His reign was a time of transition that saw the close of the turbulent post-Amarna and the dawn of the Ramesside age. Under Seti's leadership, Egypt regained the initiative in Western Asia, reasserting Egypt's authority in its own Syro-Palestinian bailiwick and wresting control, however temporarily, of Kadesh and the country of Amurru from the Hittites. Through his grandiose building program and revival of the royal cult, he also restored the dignity of the pharaonic office to the prestige it had enjoyed at the height of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Alongside his great role models Thutmose III and Amenhotep III and his illustrious son Ramesses, Seti I was truly one of the greatest of all pharaohs. Yet the vagaries of history, accidents of preservation and the shadow cast by his successor have ill served the king; he remains something of an enigma deserving of further examination and, it is hoped, fresh discoveries.

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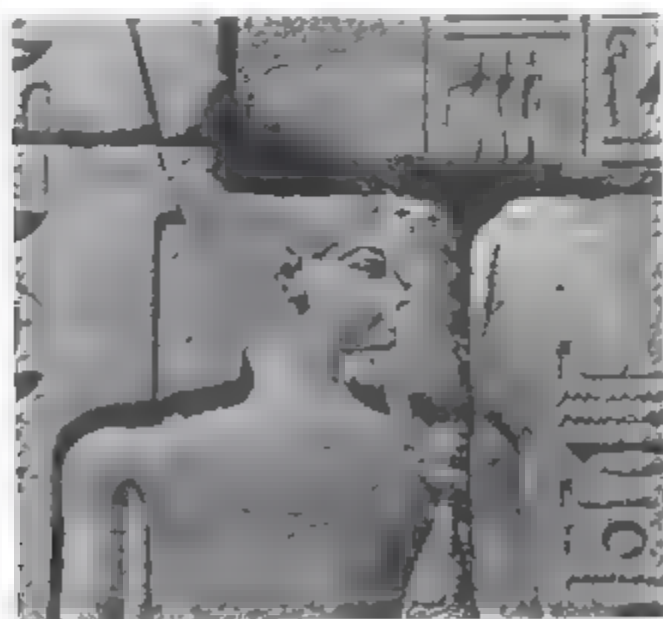
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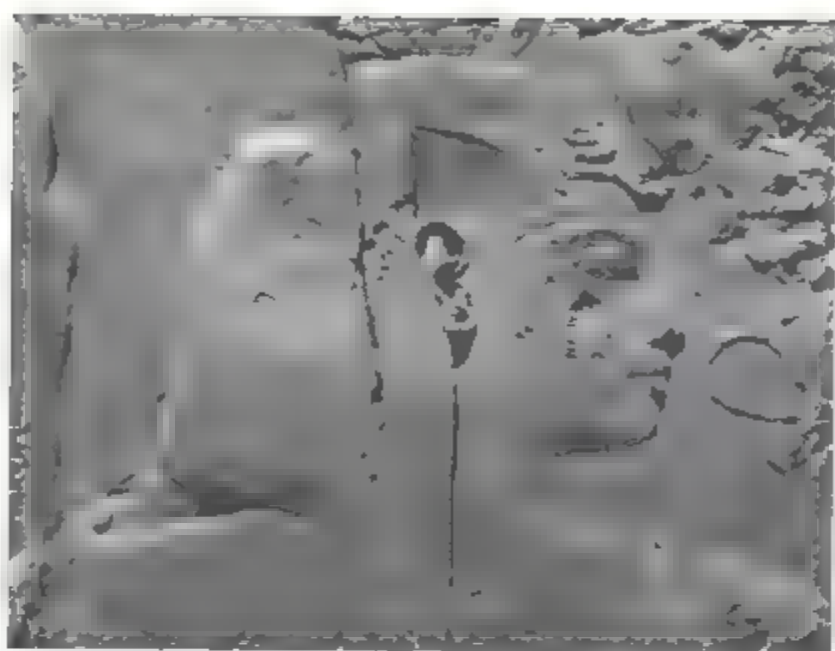




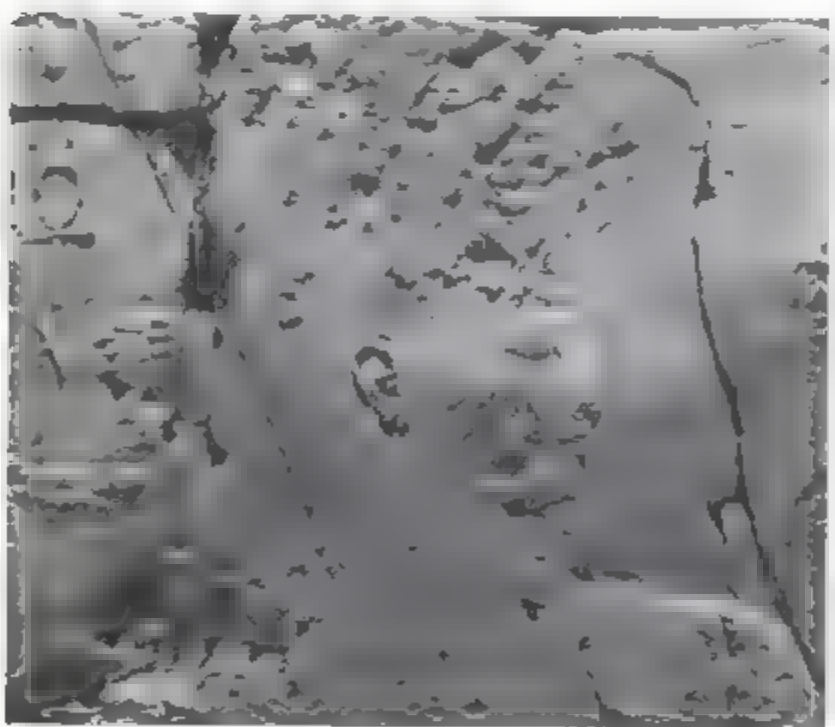
1 Amenhotep III of Egypt from the Tenth Pylon at Karnak. Loose block.



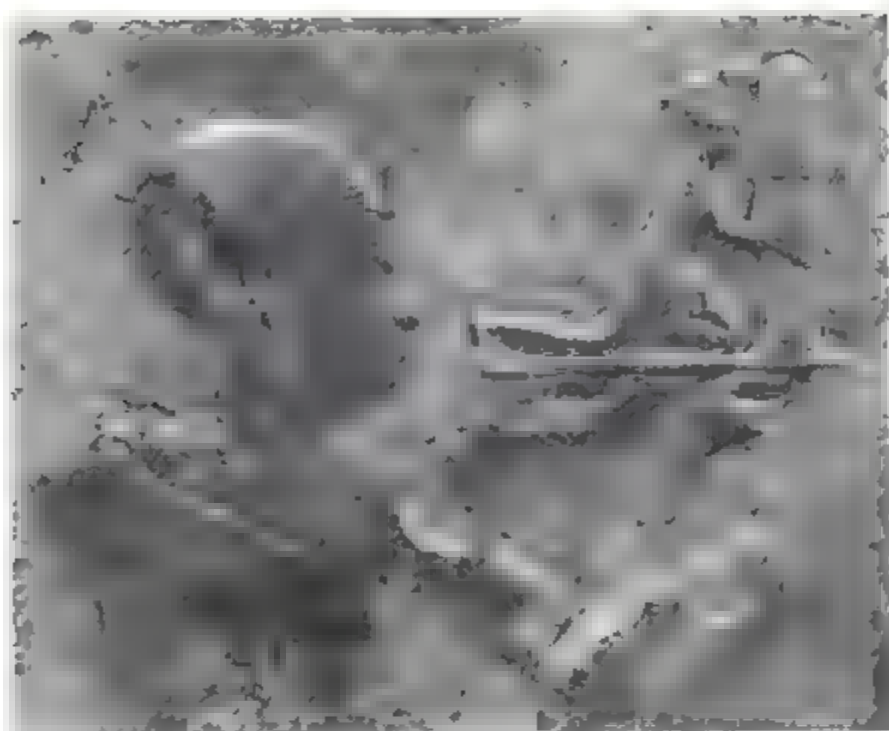
2 Amenhotep III of Egypt from the Tenth Pylon at Karnak.



3. Head of Ramesses I from the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak. Key Plans KA 187



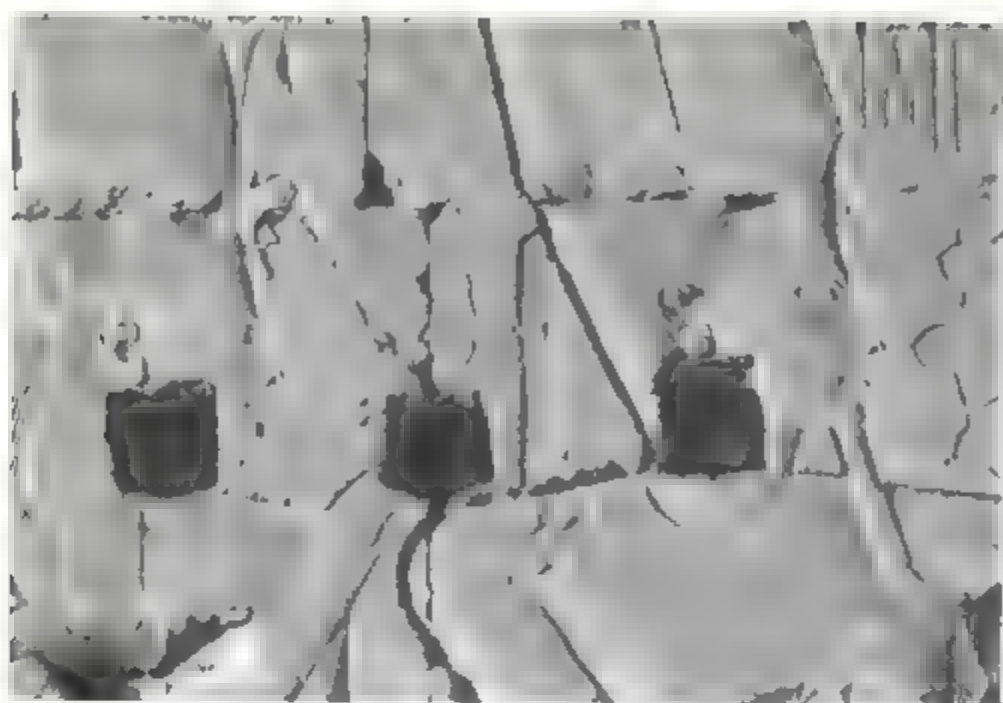
4. Anam. relief of Ramesses I from the vestibule of the Second Pylon at Karnak. Key Plans KA 187



5. Seti relief from the Abydos chapel of Ramesses I (photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)



6. Amen relief of Seti I, Edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak
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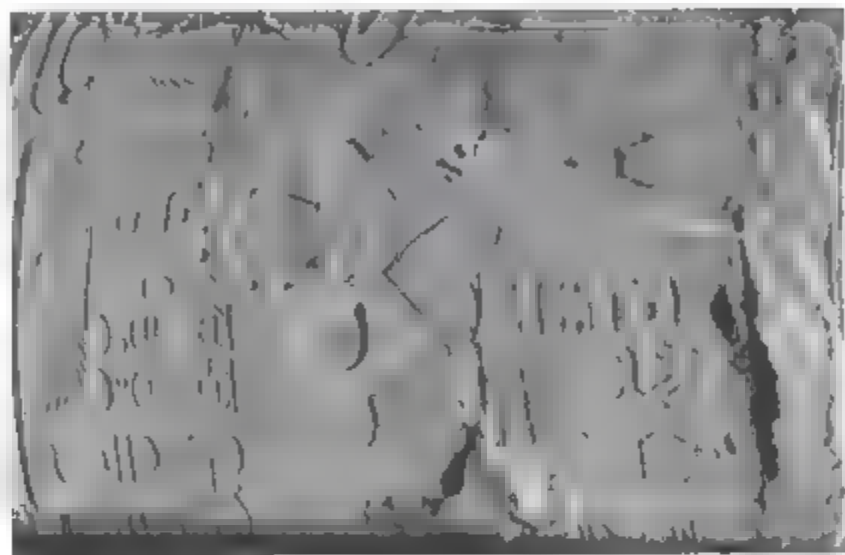
7. Amen & Mut, relief of Seti, Karnak Eighth Pylon, north face. *As Plans KB 105.*



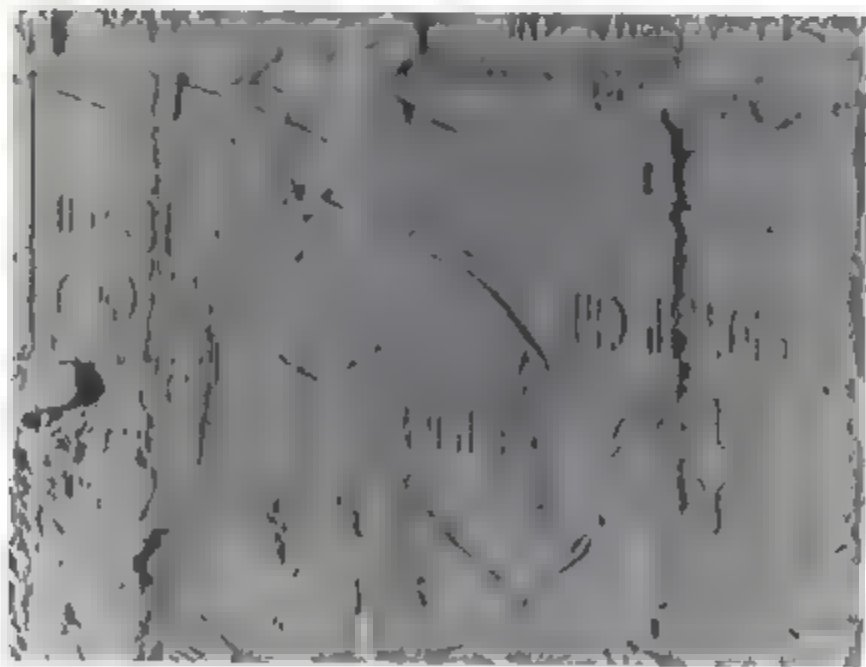
8. Relief of Seti I, Karnak Hypostyle Hall, west wall. *CHFA I, pl. 169. As Plans KB 253.*



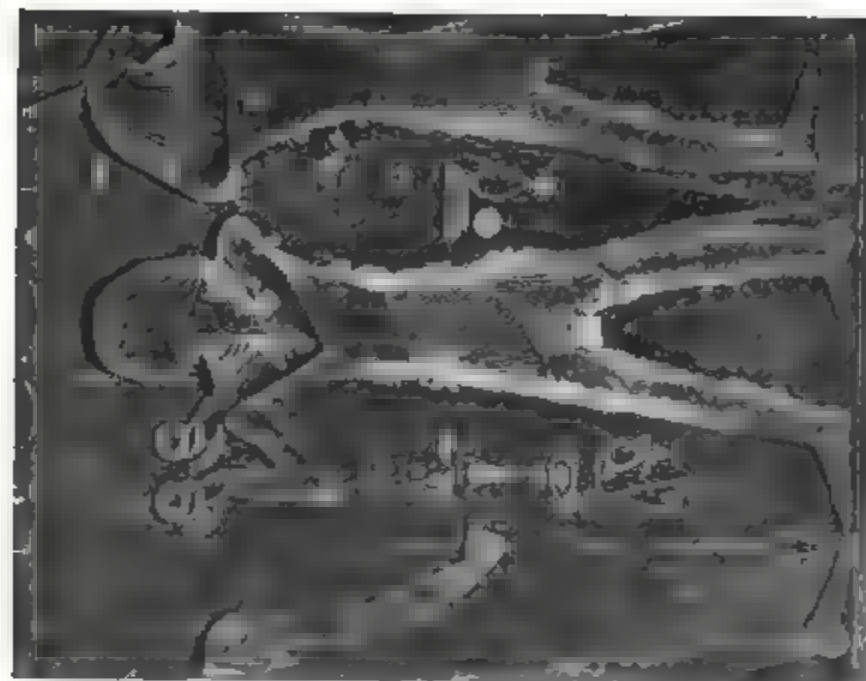
3 Face of Amenhotep III, Karnak, Egypt
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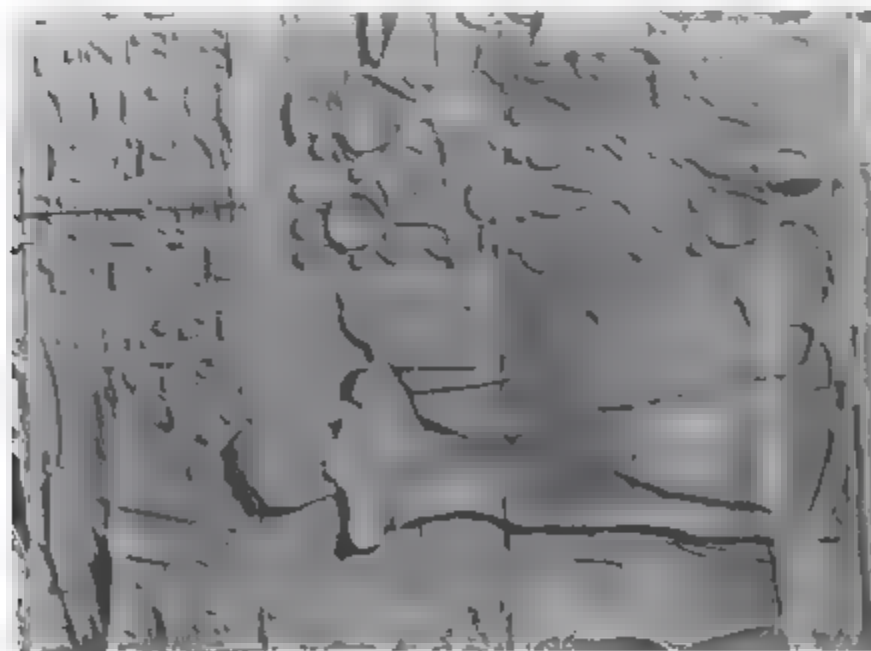
10 Relief of Seti I on a column of the Karnak
 Hypostyle Hall



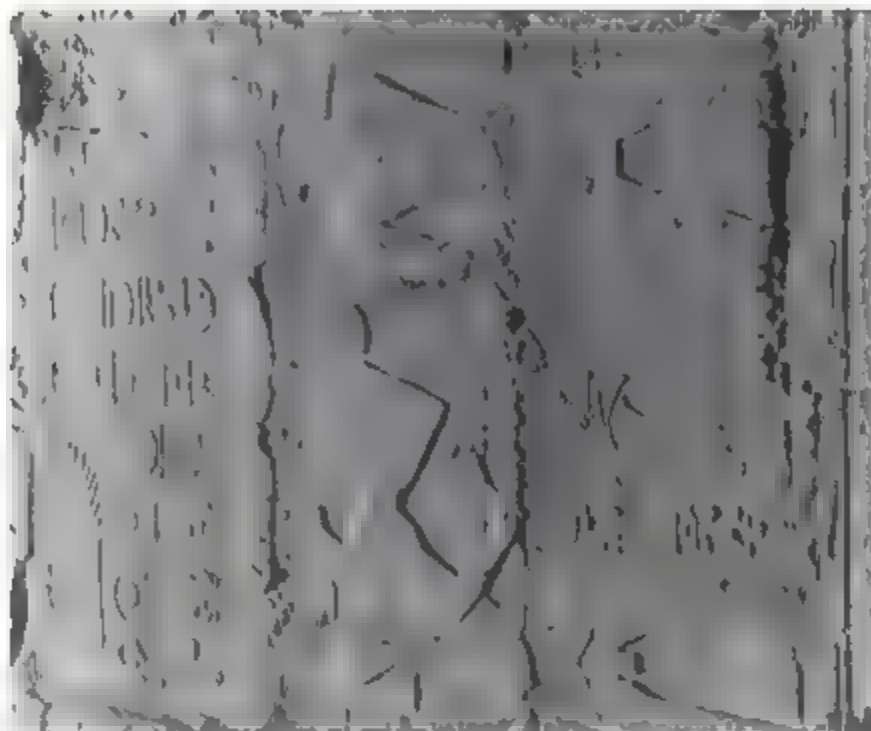
1. Relief of Seti I, Karnak Hypostyle Hall, west wall, CHH 11
pl. 145 *Kon Platts* KB 226.



12. Detail of former Brussels E 407 Relief of Seti I on a line, from
Heliopolis (courtesy Institut royal du patrimoine artistique,
Belgium)



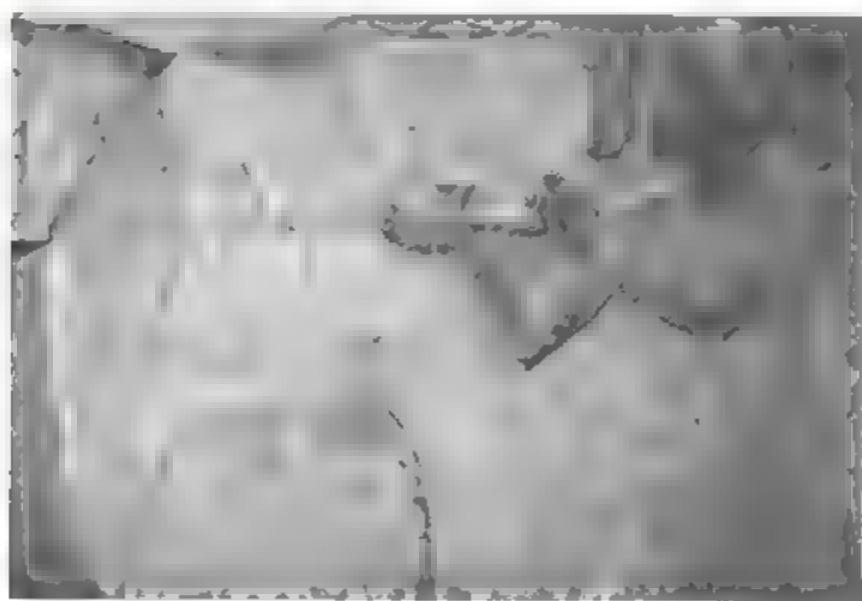
13 Relief of Seti I from his battle reliefs on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle. Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 14



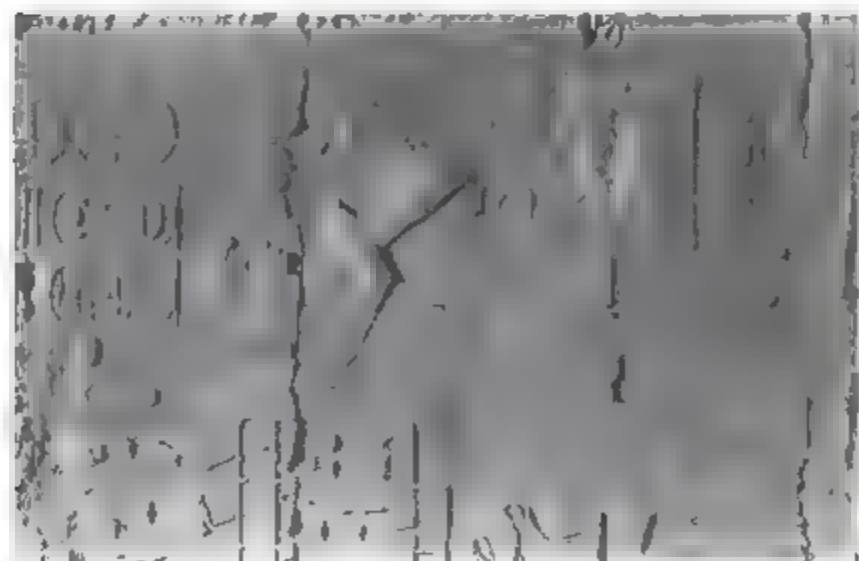
14. Ramesses I before Monthu relief of Seti I from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall west wall. *CHAI* 11 pl. 139. *Key Plans* KB 217



15. Cairo JdF 32001. Relief of Seti I on a grazing land from Abydos.



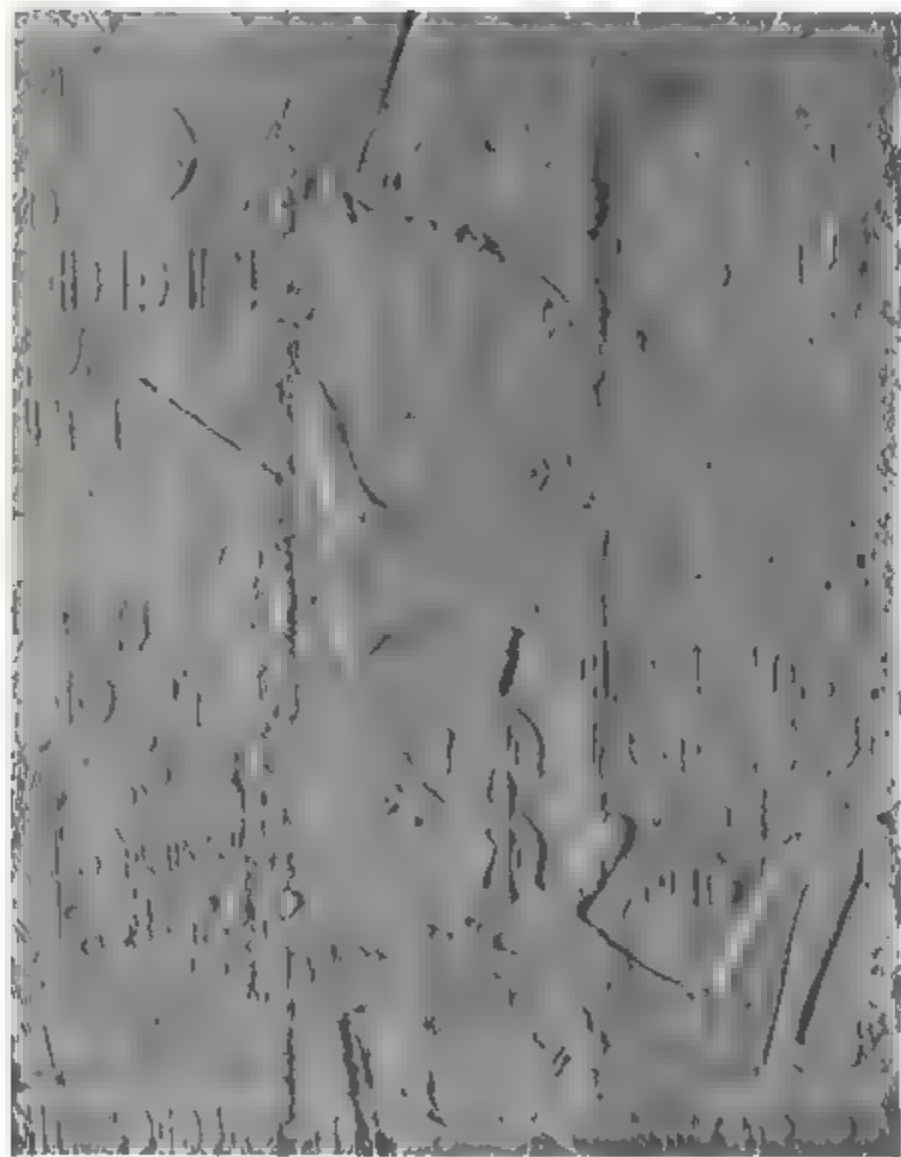
16. Baroque relief of Amenhotep III from a karnak granary



17 Revet figure of Amenhotep III from Luxor
Temple PMH 324 (138)



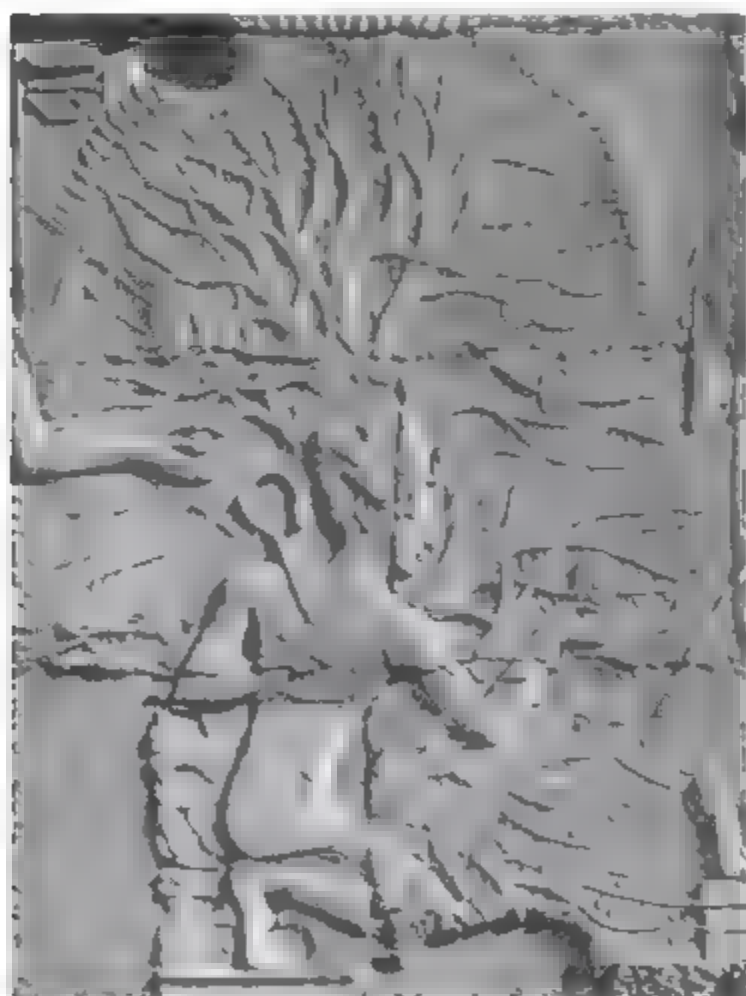
18 Relief of Ramesses II from Karnak Hypostyle Hall south gate exterior Key
Plans KO 45



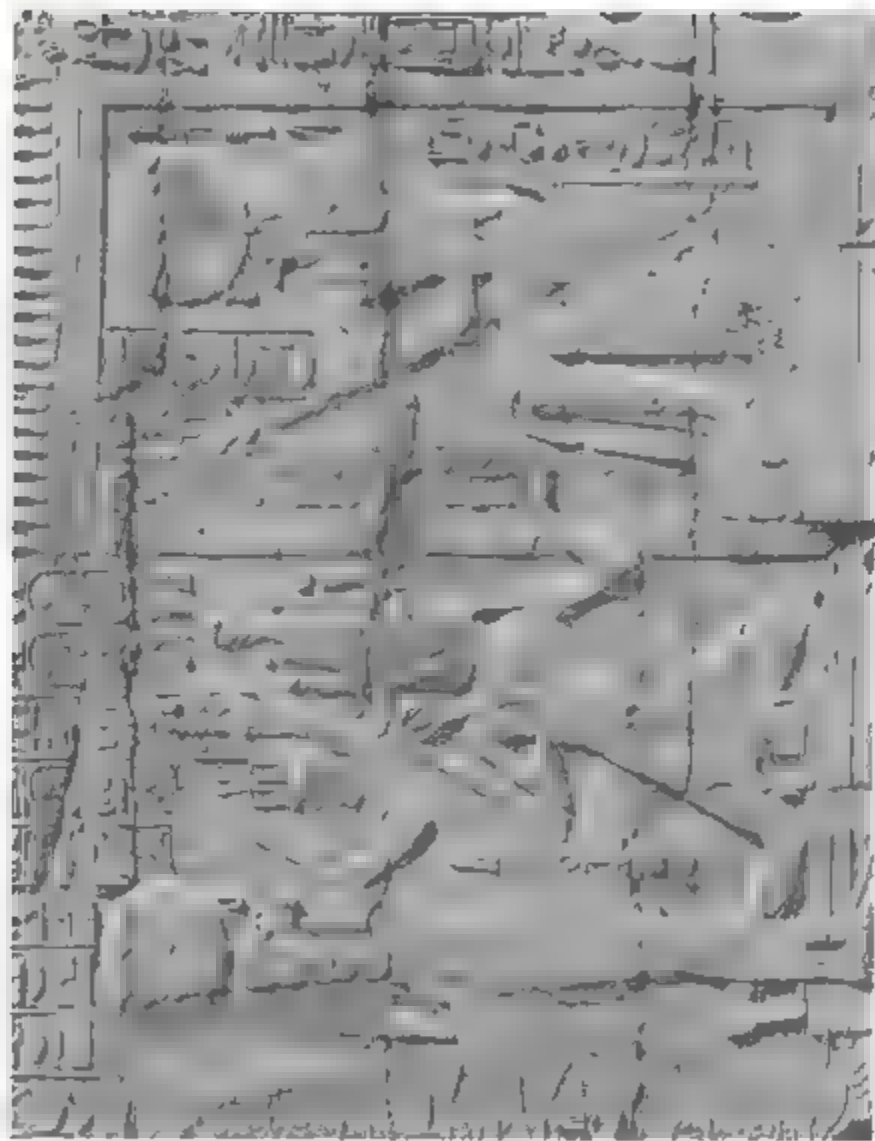
19 Relief of Sea I from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, west wall (HHAI 1 pl 133 *Ka Pylon* NB 235. Courtesy A. Cheze, CHETK.



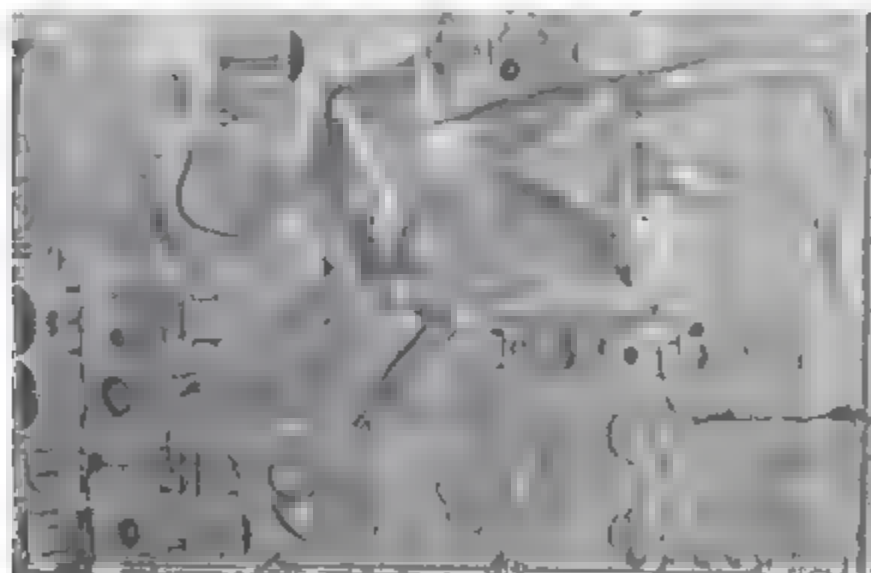
20. Detail of Copenhagen F 115, AFIN 44. Sen, kneeling before Horus. Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek



21. Relief of Sen I, Karnak Hypostyle Hall, north wall. CHHKL 1, pl. 192; *Asy Plans* KB 285. Courtesy A. Chené (CEETH)



22 Relief of Sen I, Karnak Hypostyle Hall, north wall (JEA 11, pl. 19). Cf. Piankoff 96a. Courtesy A. Chêne.



23. Relief of Ramesses IV Karnak Temple of Khonsu
As *Plan* KM 394. *Plat* II 230-40



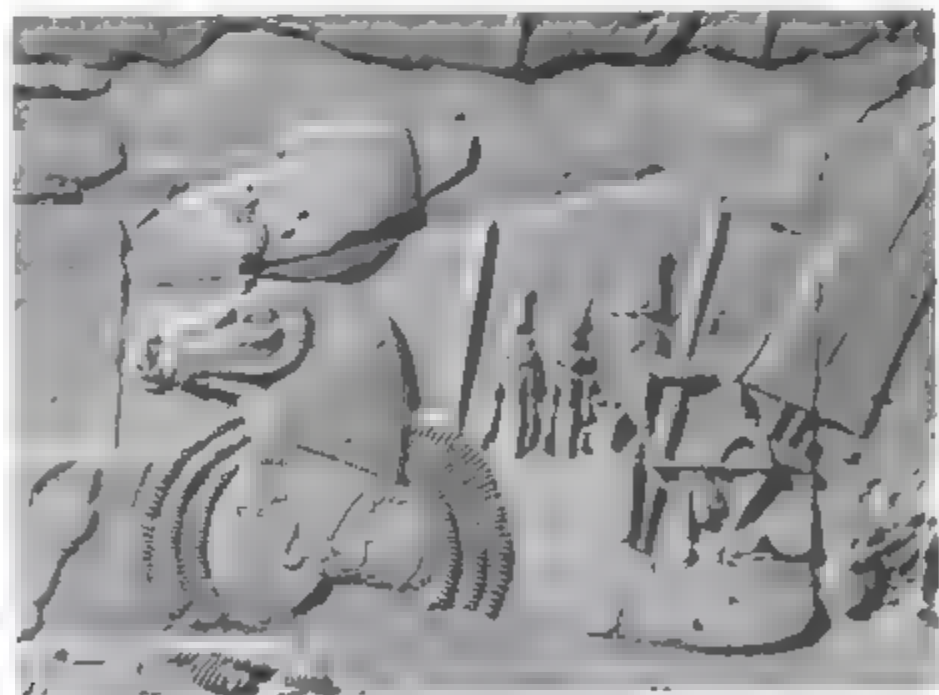
24. Restoration of Seti I on the southeast
jamb of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak As
Plan KC 56



25 Long military wig, types A, B & C.



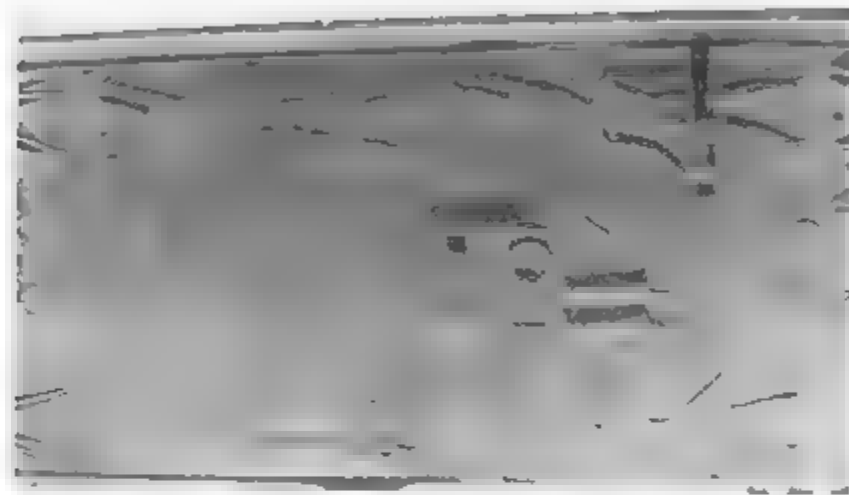
26 Detail of Brooklyn 49.83. Votive model of Seti I temple in Heliopolis. Courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art



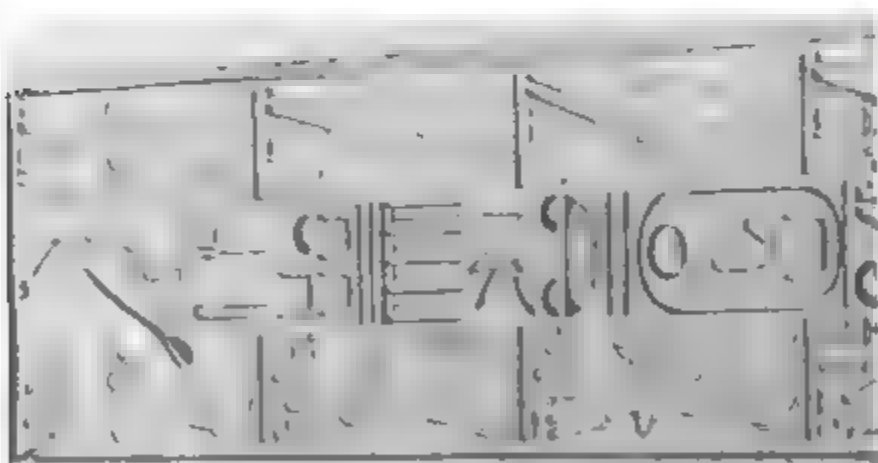
27 Prow of Amen barque relief of Seti I, Karnak Hypostyle Hall, north wall. *GHK* 11, pl. 197; *Key Plans* KB 292



28 Restored relief of Amenhotep II from the ushabti hall at Karnak. See *Plan. vol. 32*



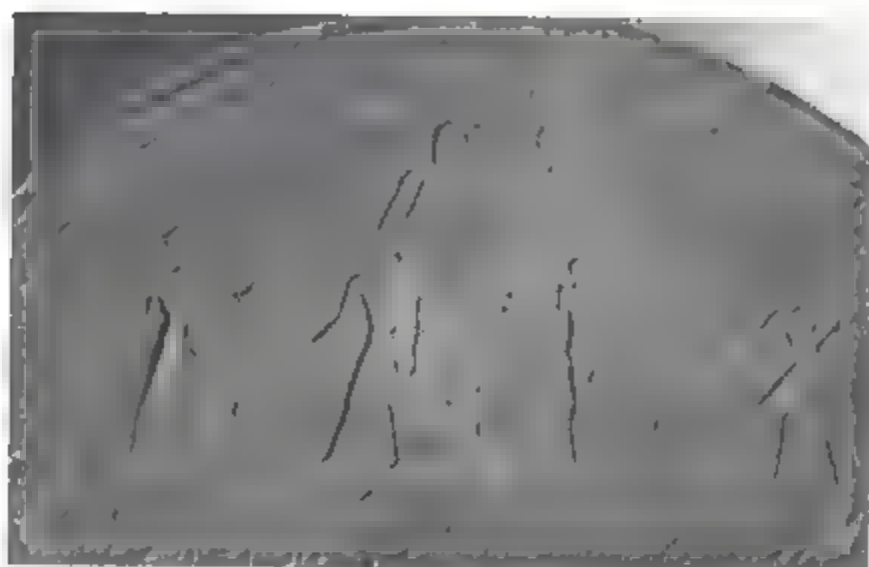
29 Scene on the upper shaft of the fallen obelisk "F" of Hatshepsut at Karnak. See *Plan. vol. 32*



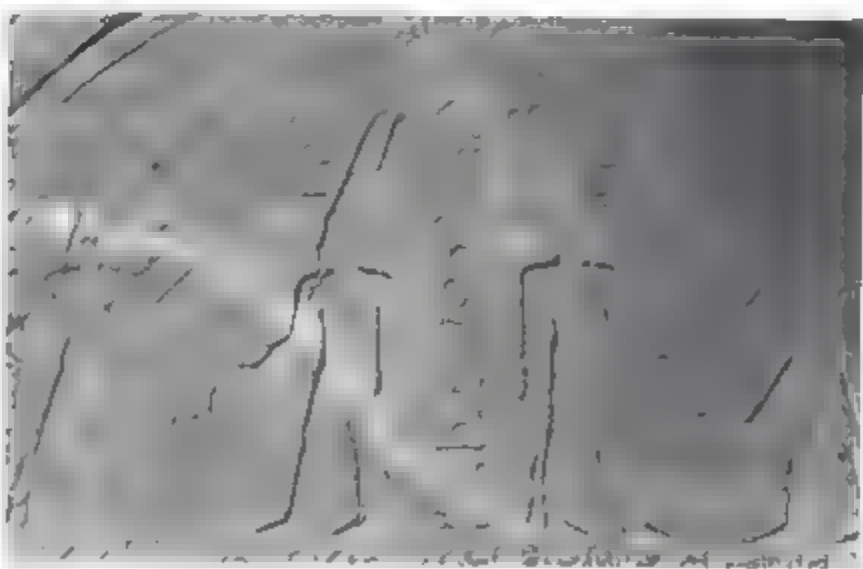
90. Shaft of the standing obelisk "F" of Hatshepsut at Karnak. PVI 11. 81-82. E.



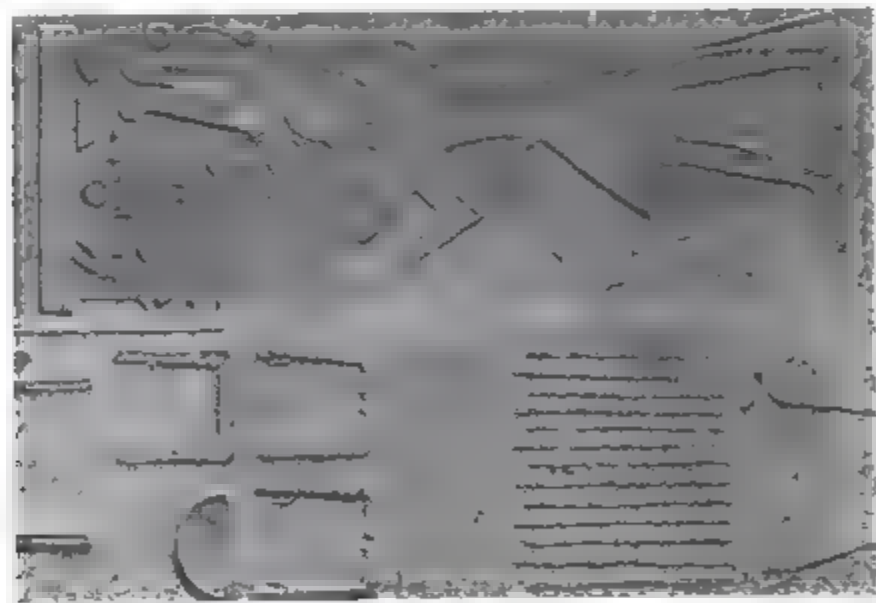
91. Shaft of the standing obelisk "F" of Hatshepsut at Karnak. PVI 11. 81-82. E.



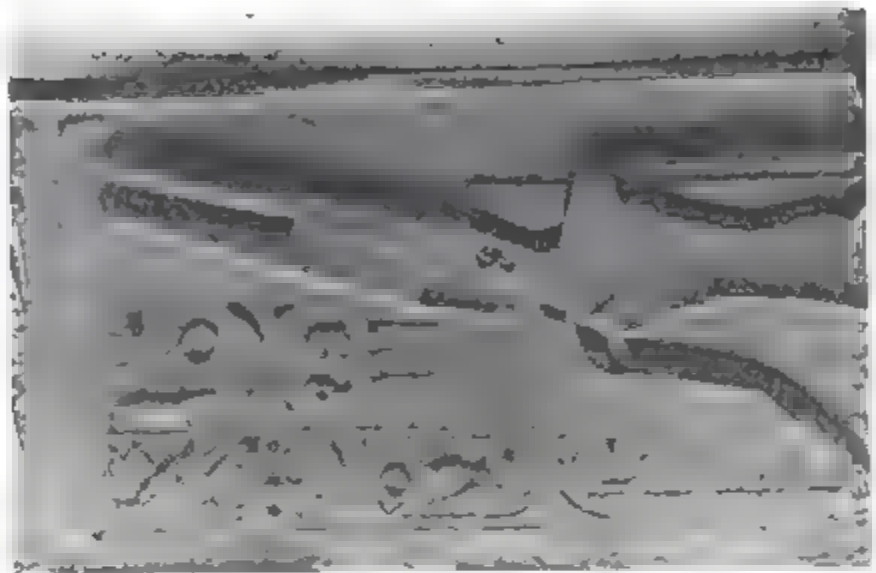
32. Cairo JdF 86763. Lunette of the Historical Stele of Amenhotep II from Memphis.



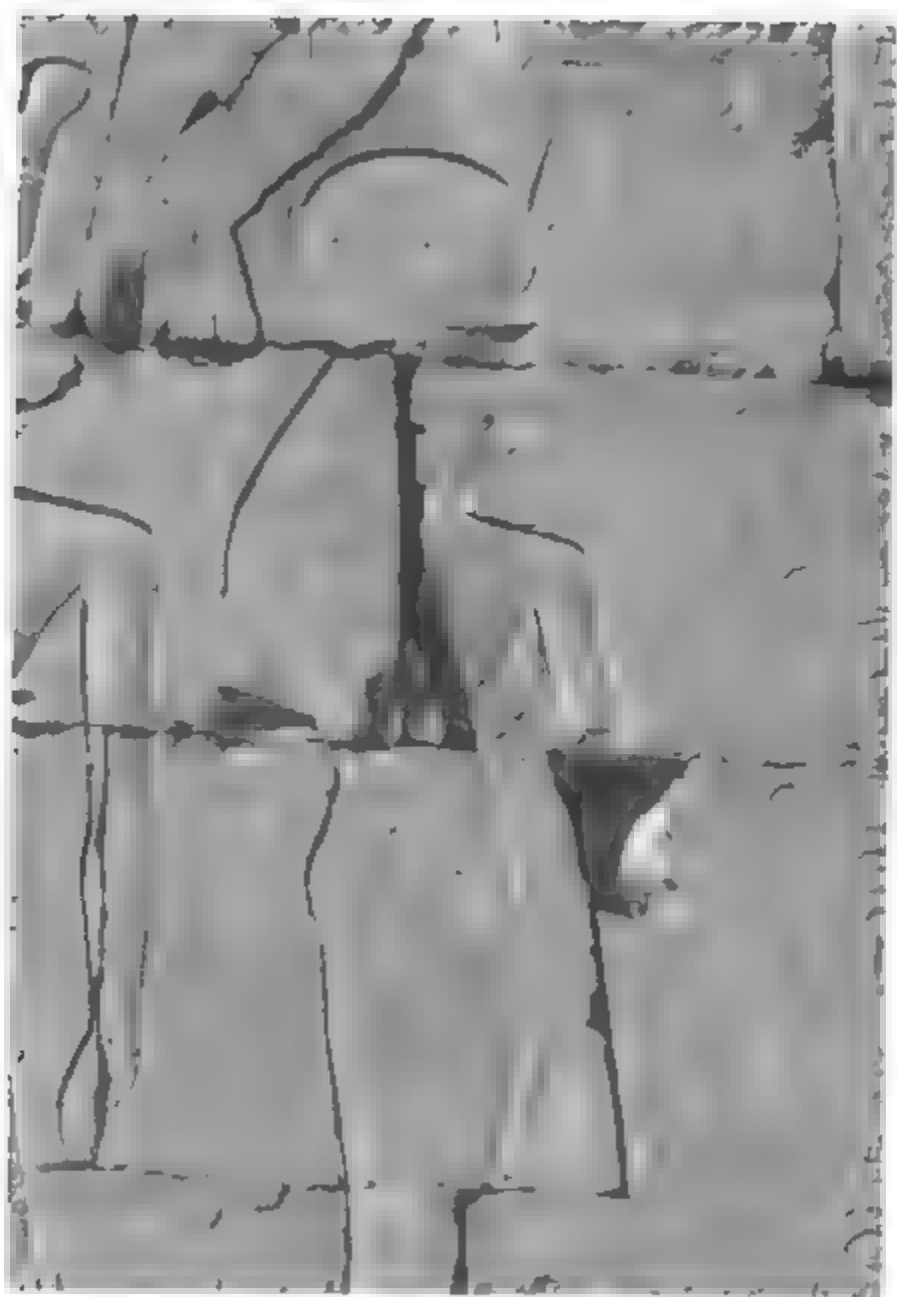
33. Cairo C.G. 94011. Lunette of a stela of Thutmose III from Kamak restored by Seti I



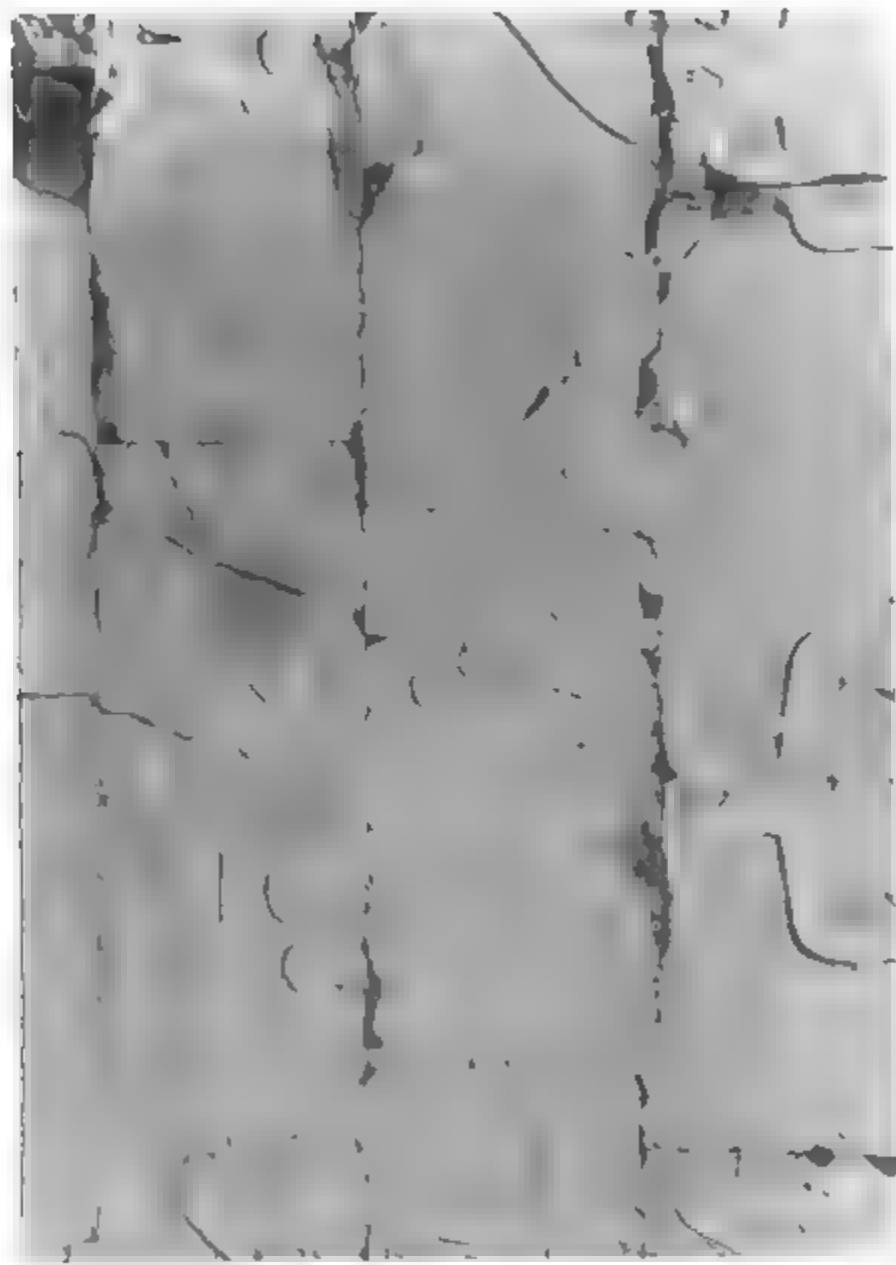
34 Scene on the upper shaft of the fallen obelisk T of
Lishepsut at Karnak PM II 81-82 et



35 Scene on the upper shaft of the fallen obelisk T of
Lishepsut at Karnak PM II 81-82 et



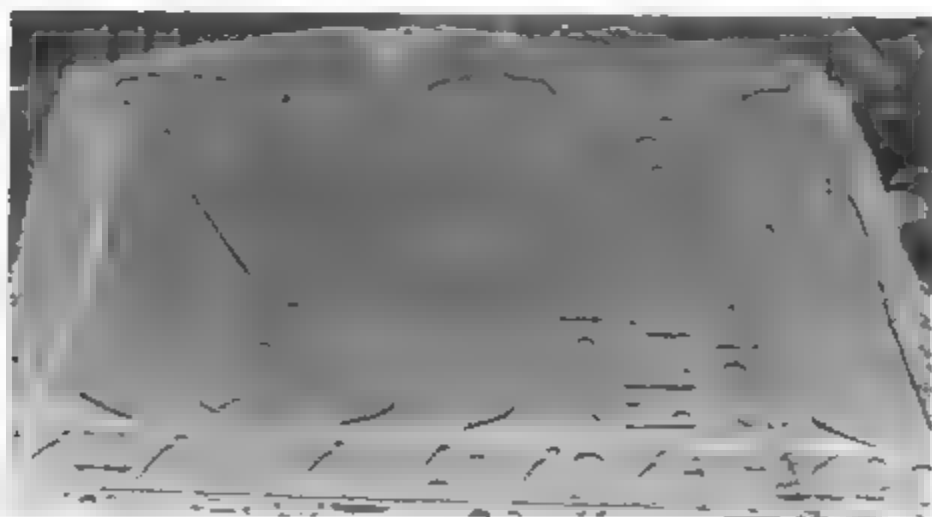
36 Hattori: secondary restoration of Seti I Kamak Eighth Pylon, north face. *Am. Plans*
80, 104



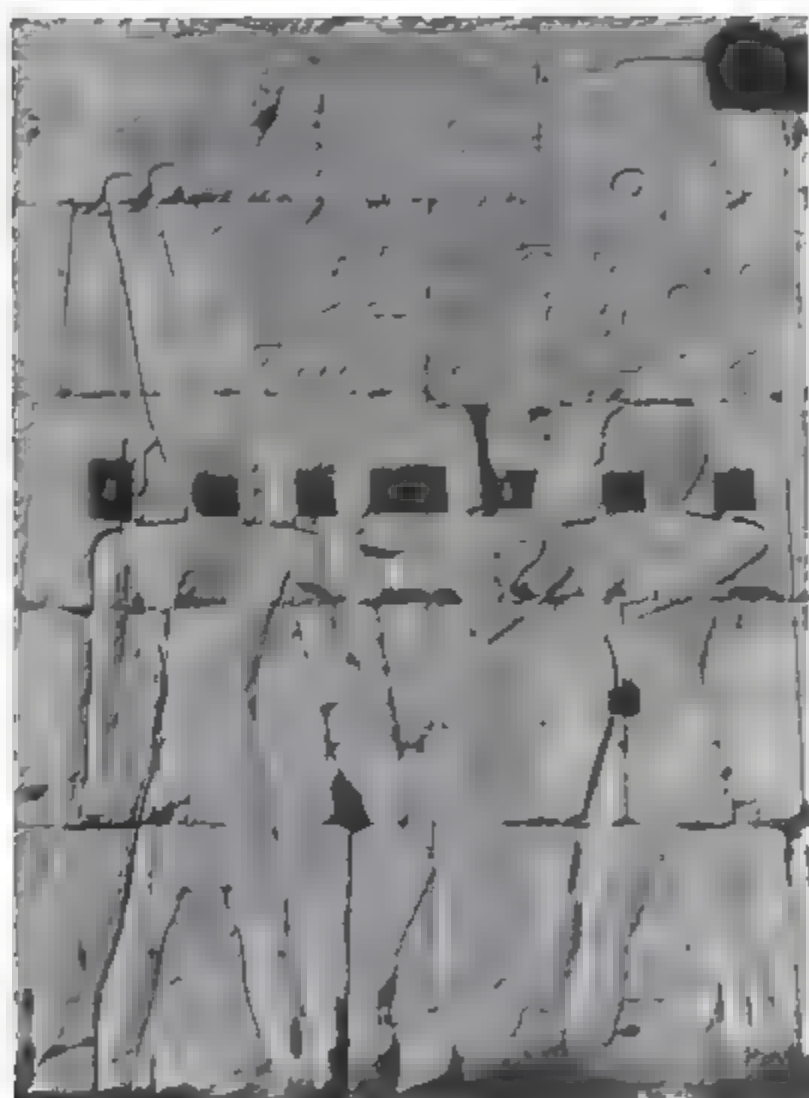
37 Amer 1 and Set 1 secondary restoration of Set 1 Karmuk Eighth Pylon north face. See Plans KC. 102



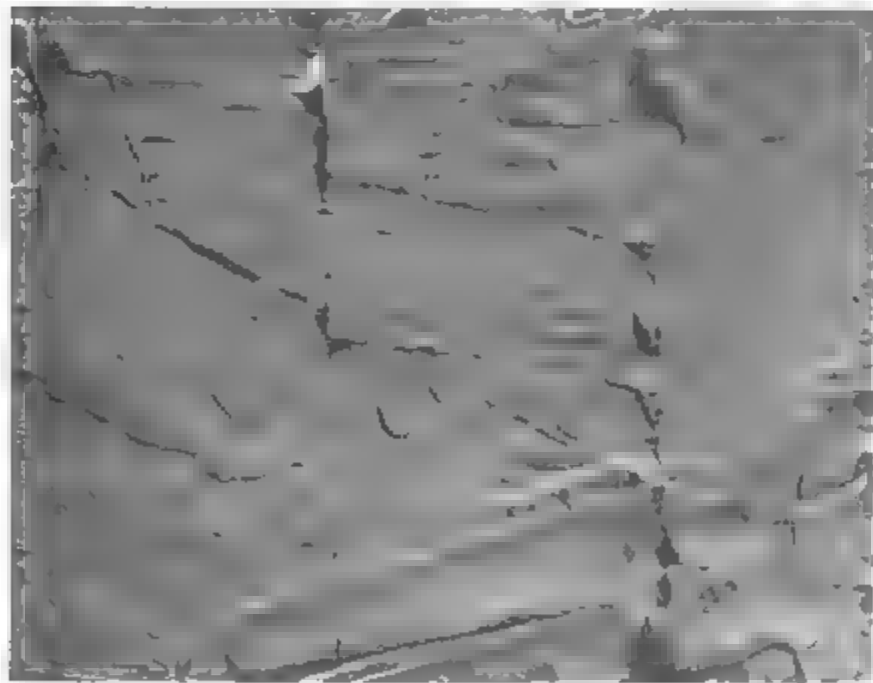
38 Detail of the prow of the barque of Amen at Kk. 104



39 Stele "R" of Amenhotep II restored by Seti I in front of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak. *PM* II, 177 (R)



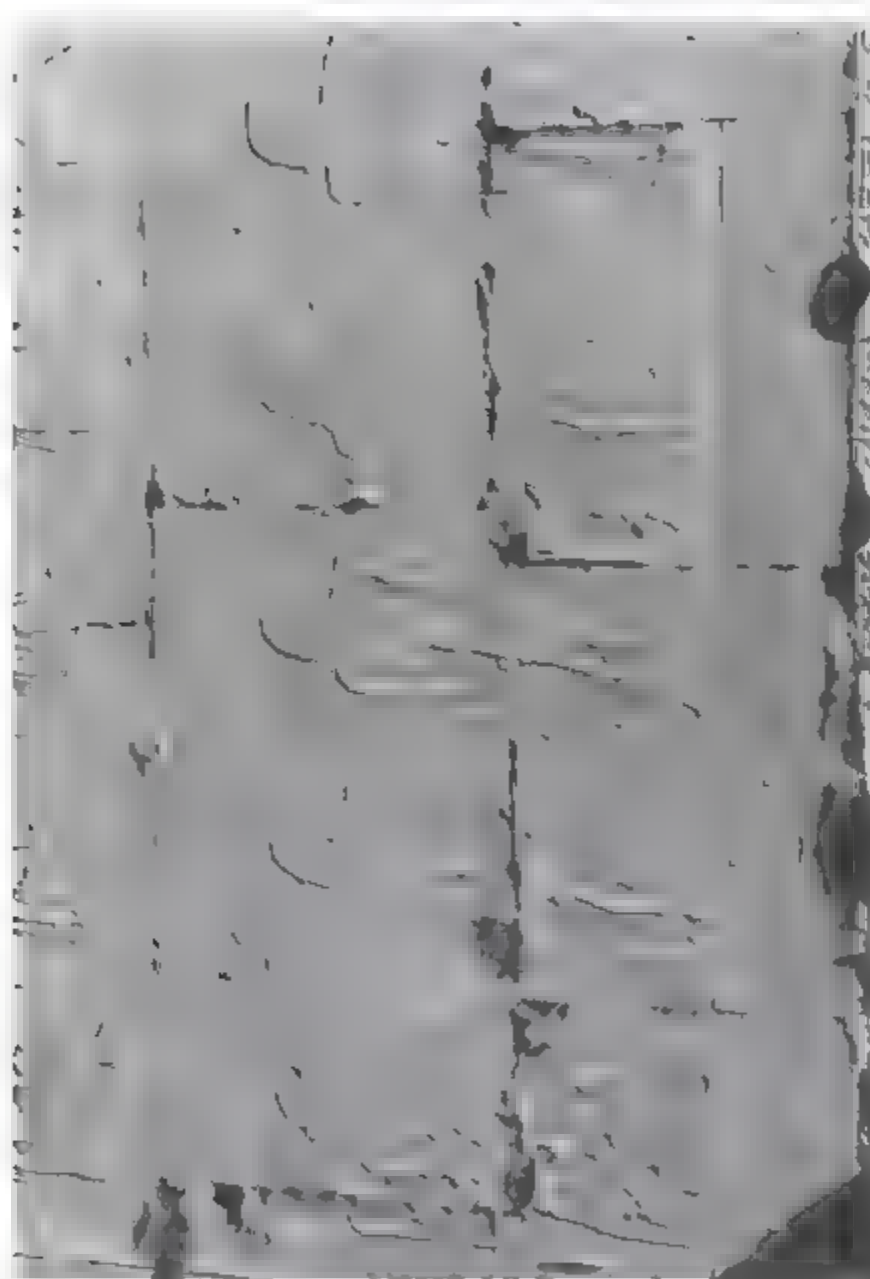
40 Amen and Set I secondary restoration of Set I. Karnak Eighth Pylon
north face. Key Plans IG 108



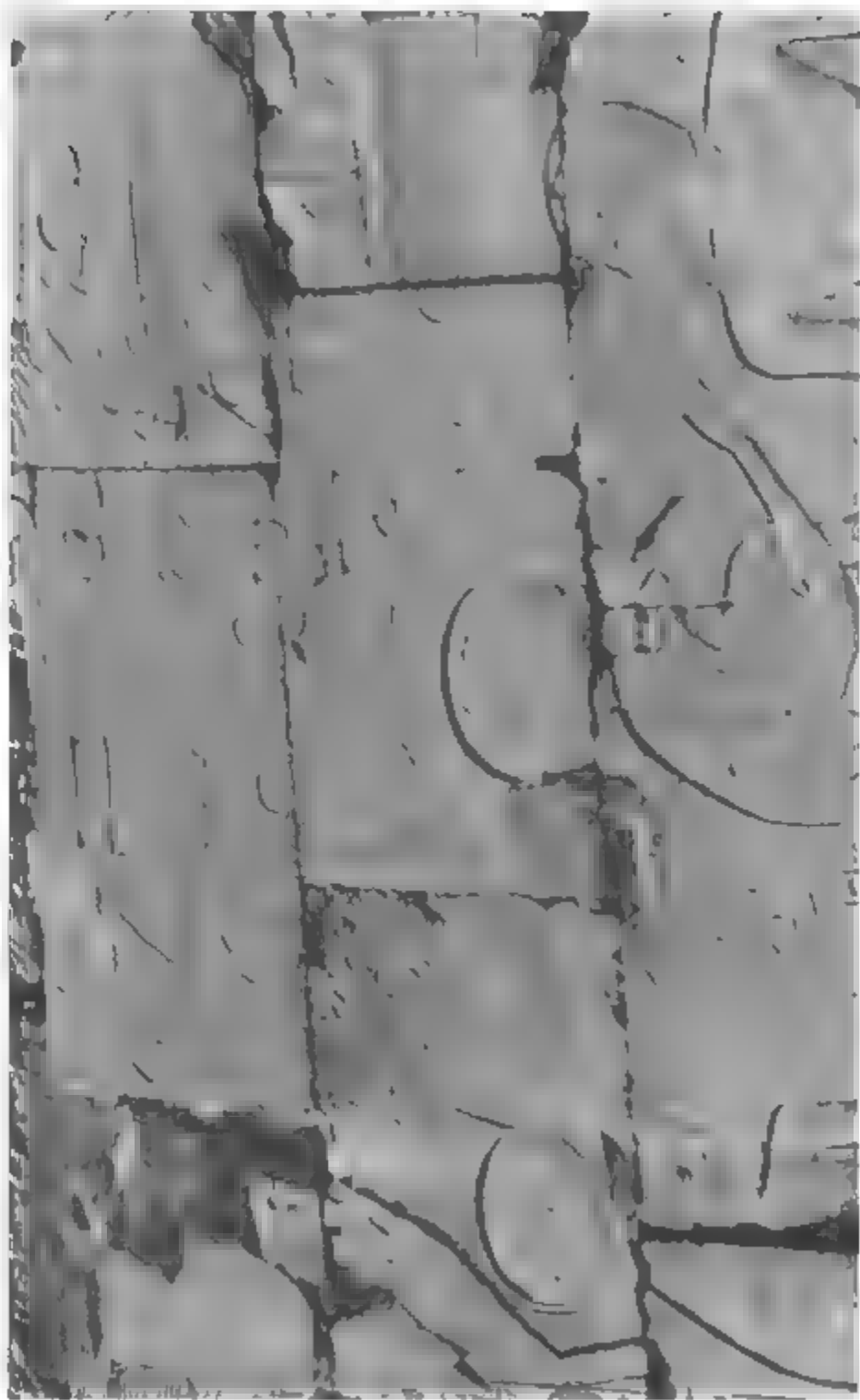
4. Relief portrait of Amen Karnak Eighteenth Pylon north face Key
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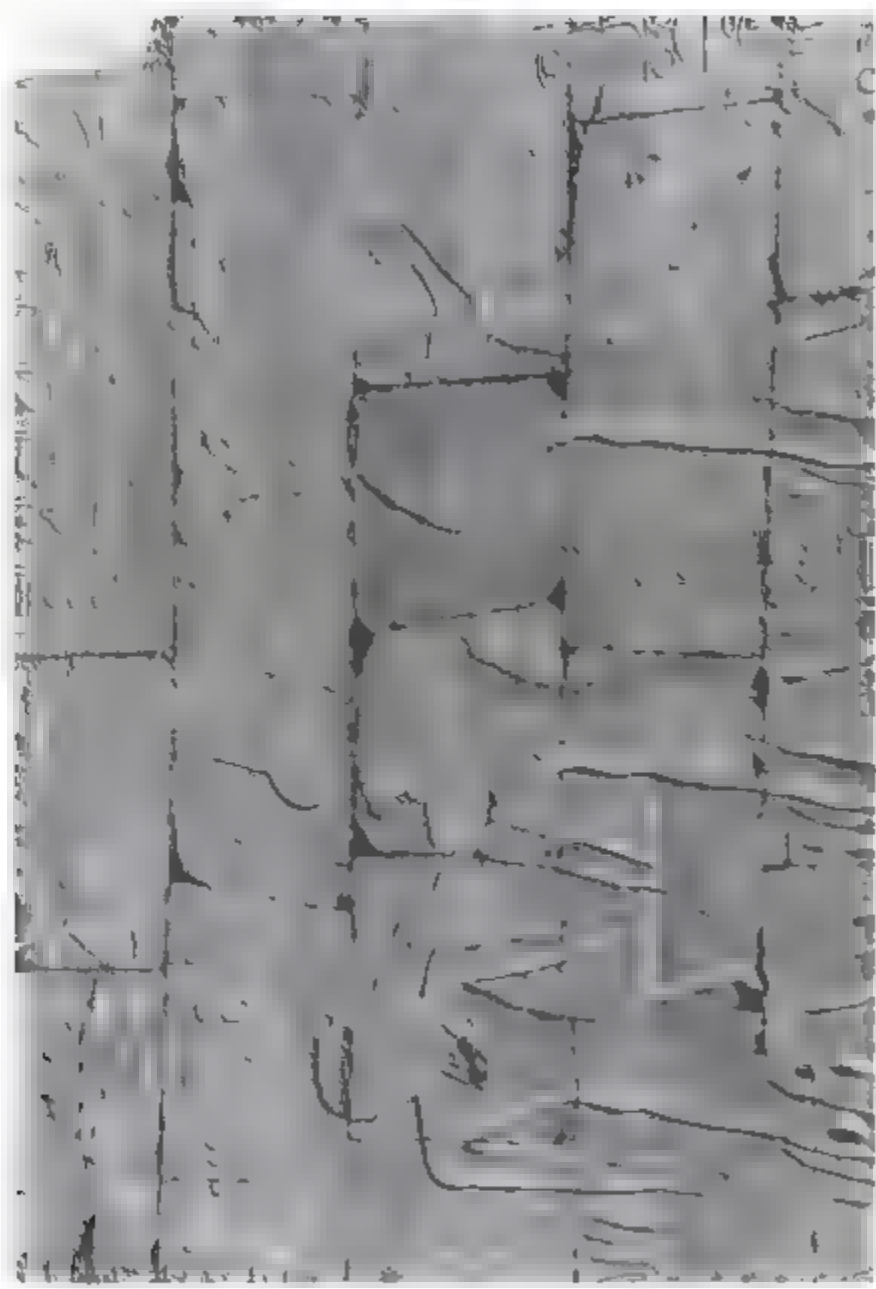
43. Relief figure of Amen Karnak Eighteenth Pylon, north
face Key Pétra M.G. 103



42 Greater Fmhead secondary testation of Set I. Karnak Eighth Pylon, north face
Key Plans KMs 103.



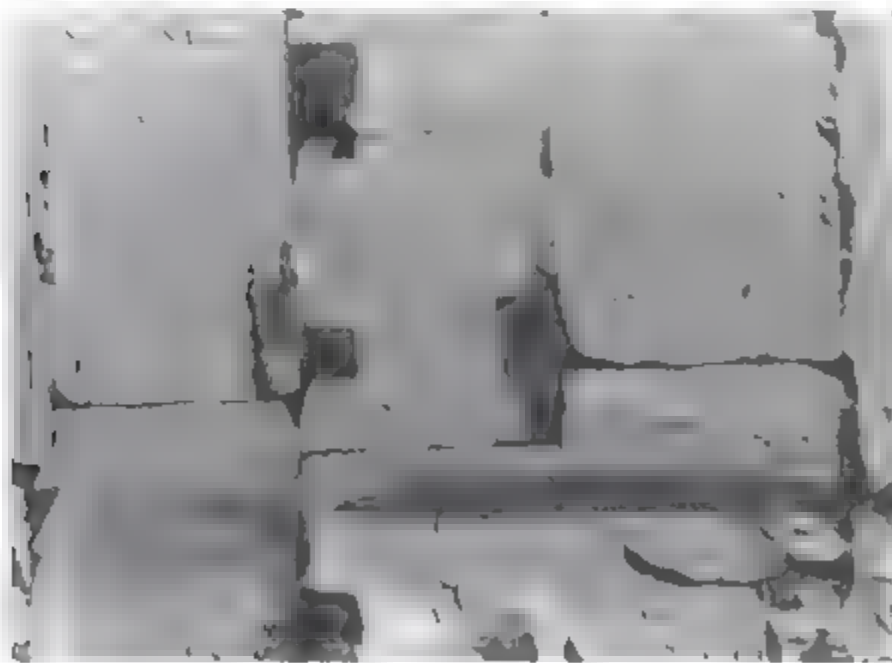
44 Hathor Weret-Hekau and Thutmose I secondary restoration of Setu I Karnak Eighth Pylon north face Key Plans KK, 104



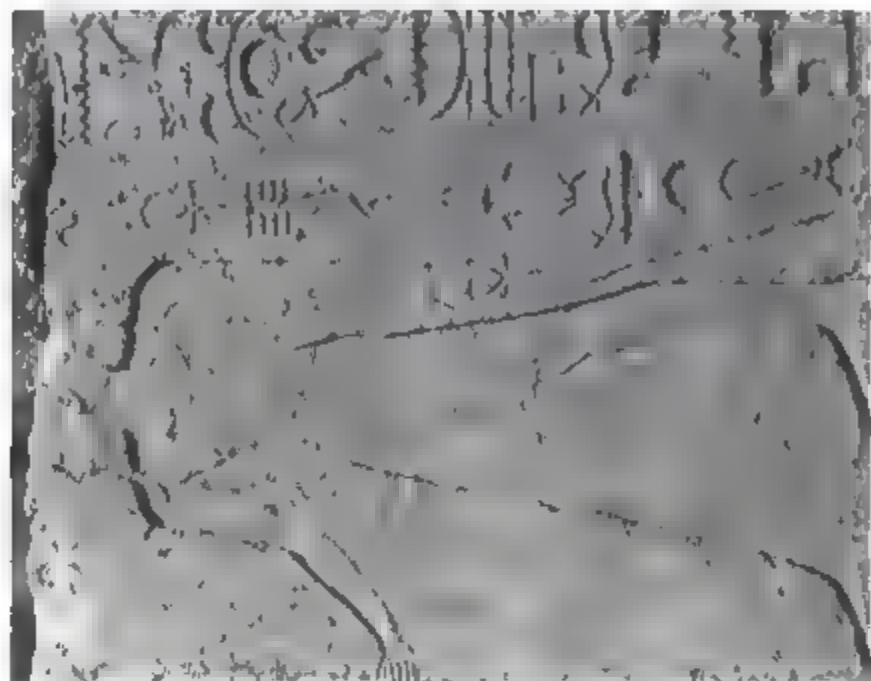
45. Seen from the north with the Thud enumerating years secondary restoration of Sen 1. Kankak Eighth Pylon north face
K. O. P. 108



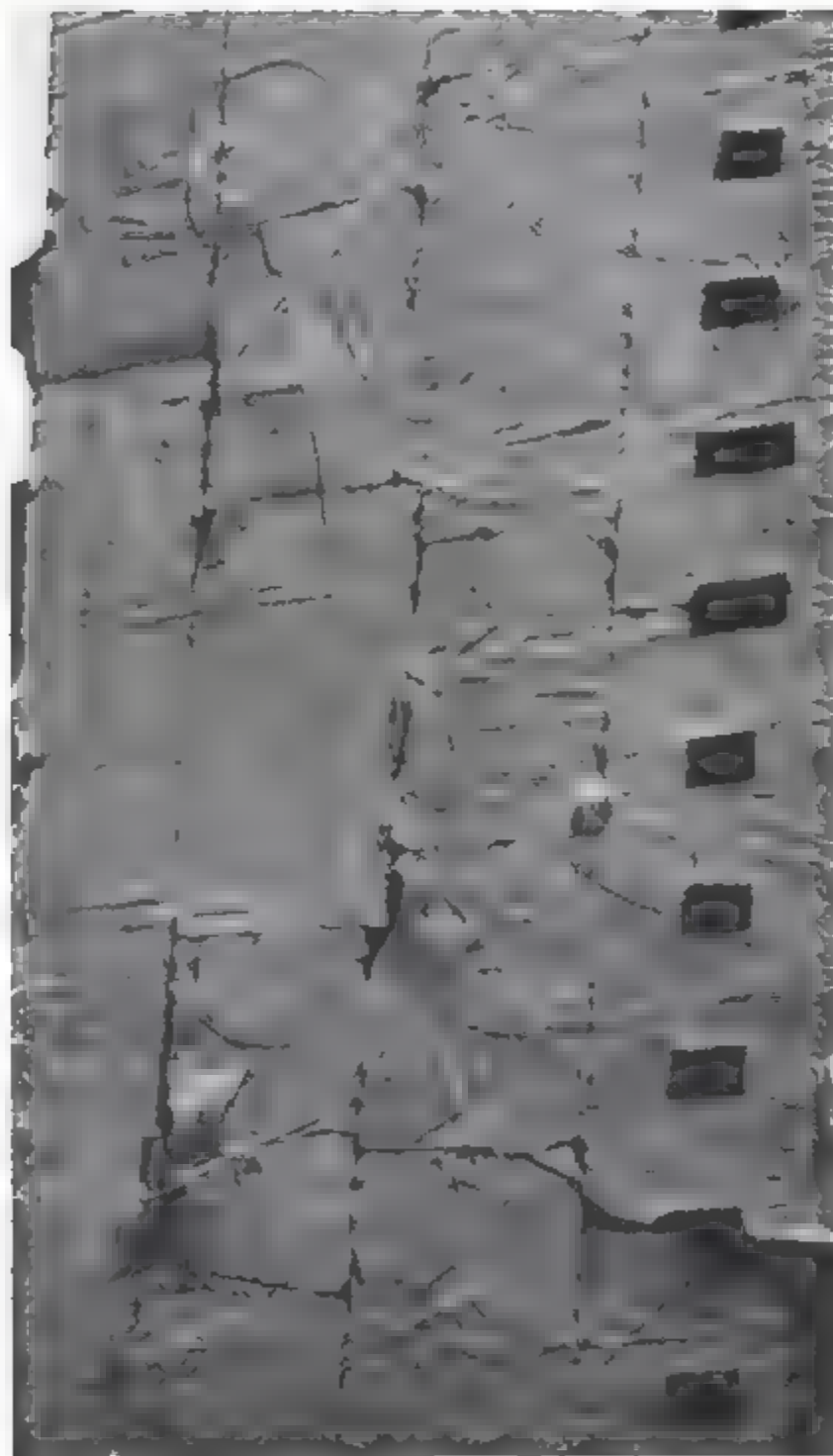
46. Wasettesau Seti I Amen and Nhonst secondary restoration of Seti I Karnak Eighth Pylon north face Key Plans K65, 09



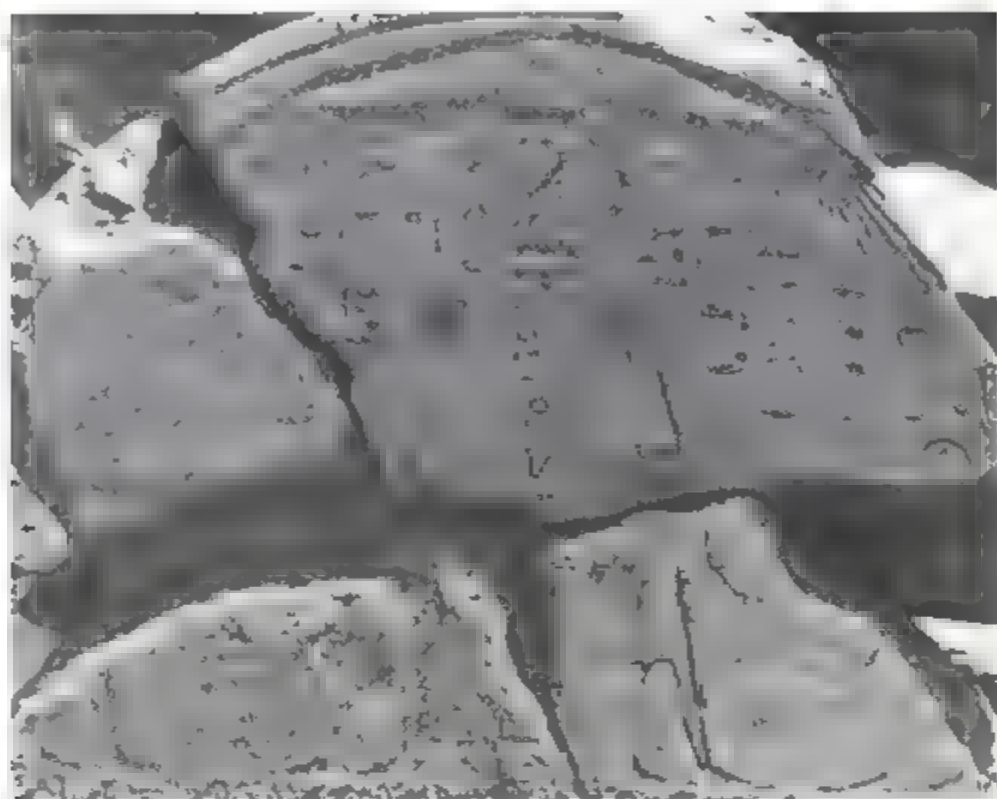
47 Re-cut figure of Amen secondary restoration of Seti I
Karnak Eighth Pylon south face *See Pl. no. 143*



48 Detail of Sella "R"



49 Barque of Amen secondary restoration of Seti I, Karnak Eighth Period, north face. *Ky Plans* KG, 104

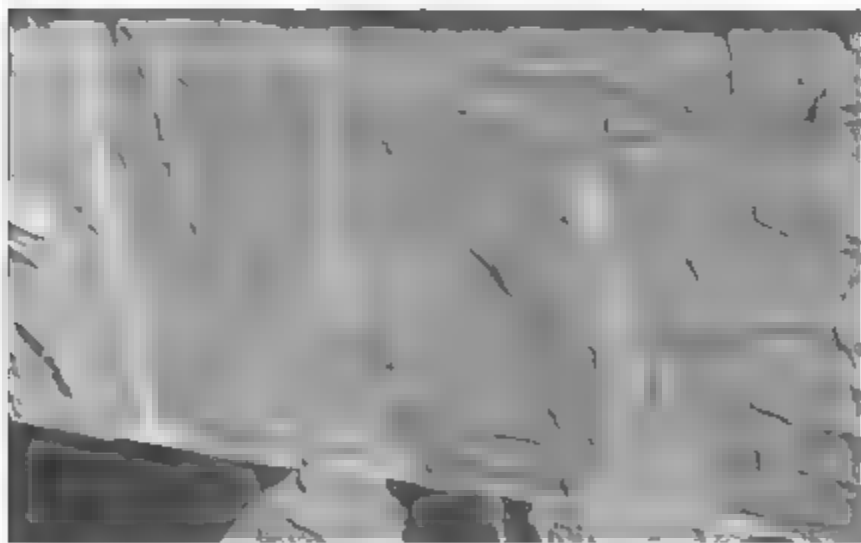


50. Stela "Q" of Amenhotep II is stored by Set 1 in front of the Eighth Pyramid at Karnak. PMH 1977

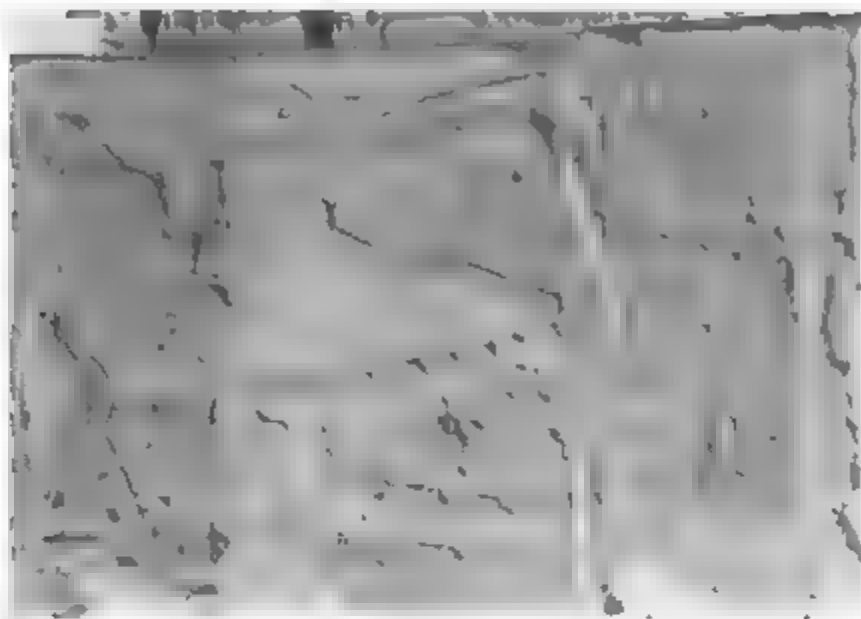
Q



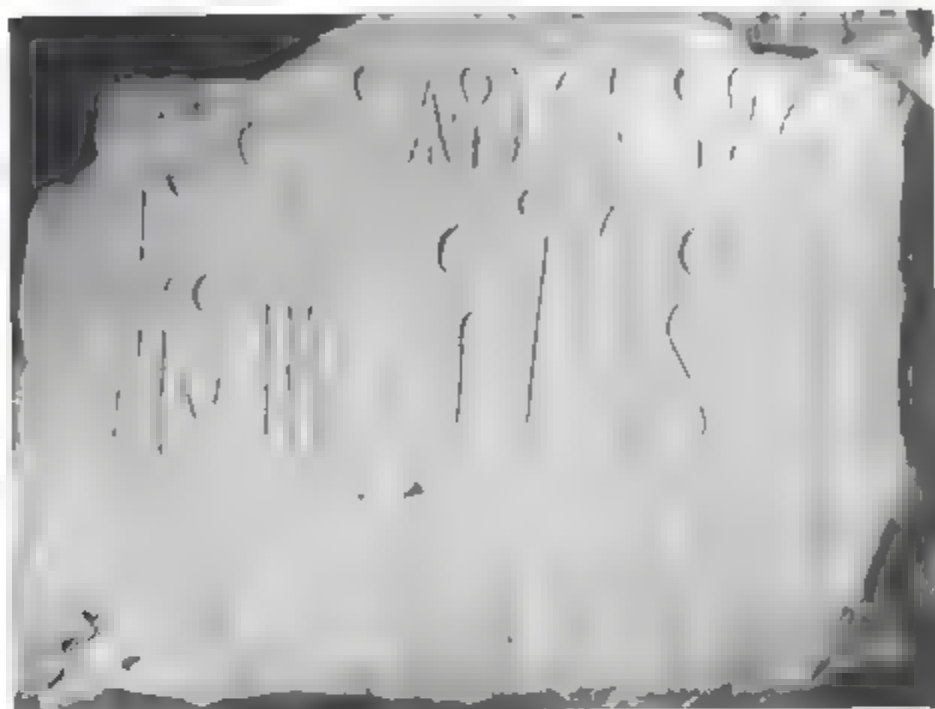
51. Cairo CG 34013. Stela of Thutmose III from Ptah temple at Karnak (restored by Set 1). PMH 198 (6)



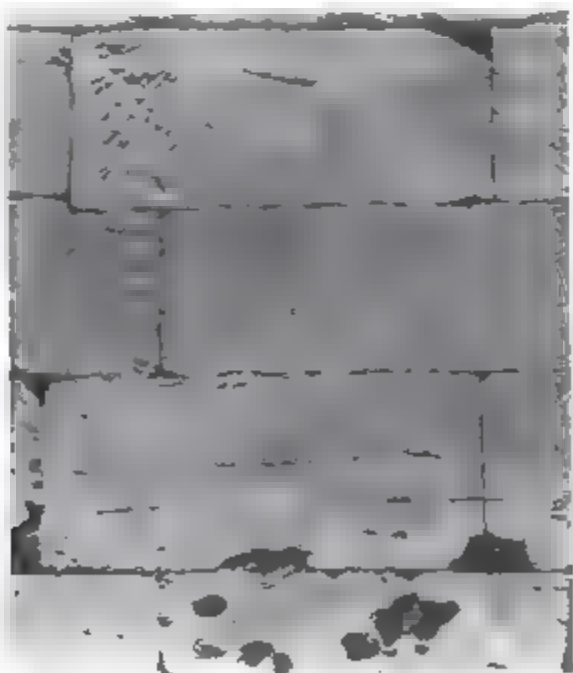
52 Secondary restoration of Seti I pillar 28 in the
Edifice of Amenhotep II barnak



53 Secondary restoration & swabbing text of Seti I pillar
36 in the Edifice of Amenhotep II barnak



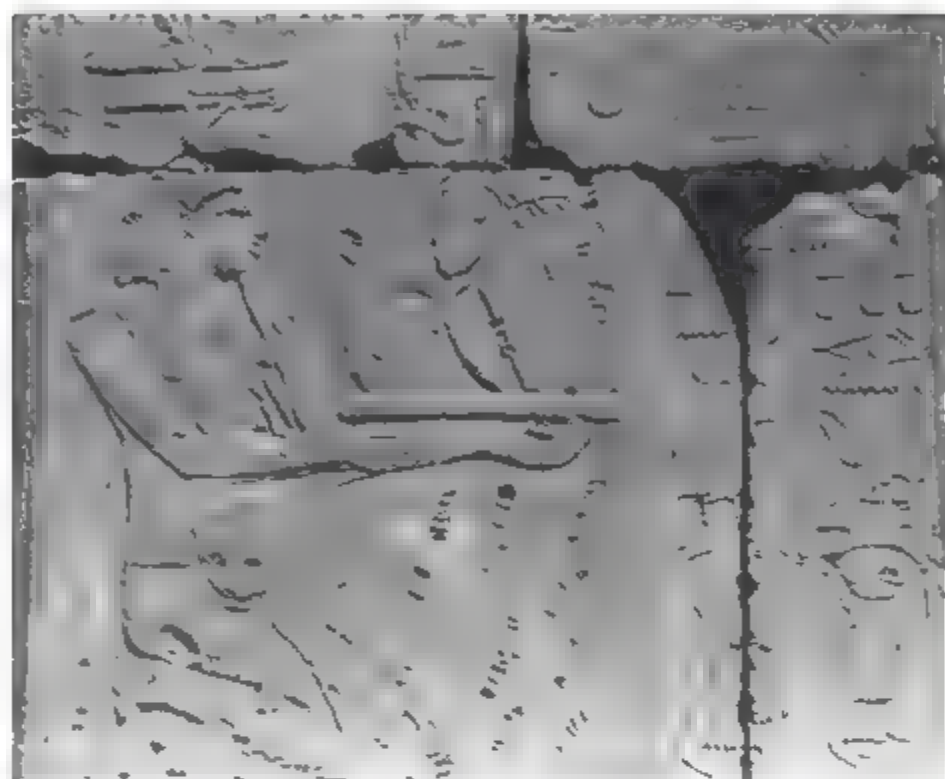
54. Relief of Amenhotep III restored by Seti I on a loose block at Karnak. Courtesy Christian Leubien



55. Amenhotep III and minor 6th c secondary restoration of Seti I. Luxor Temple hypostyle. See Plots LD 35-40.



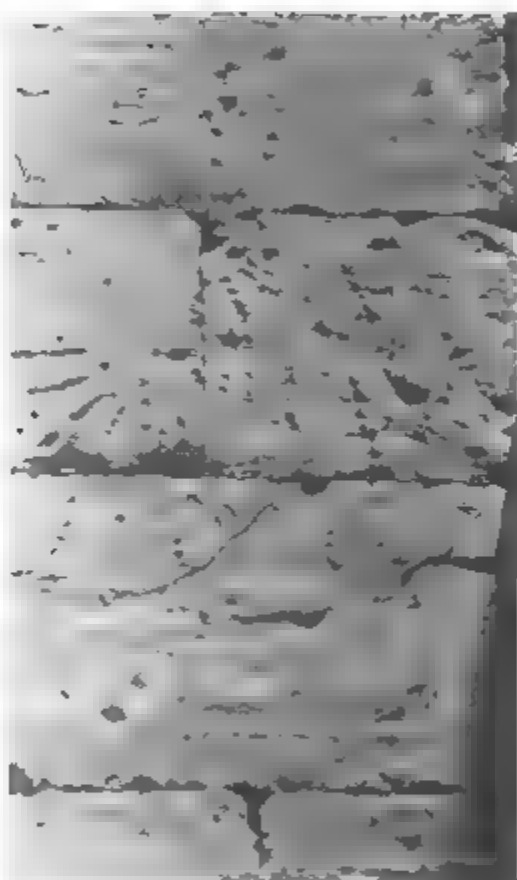
56. Amen embracing Amenhotep III secondary restoration of Sen I Luxor Temple
hypostyle *Ko Plans* LD 42



57 Reu. Hap. figure secondary restoration of Sen I Luxor Temple Hypostyle *See Pl. 1. D*
46



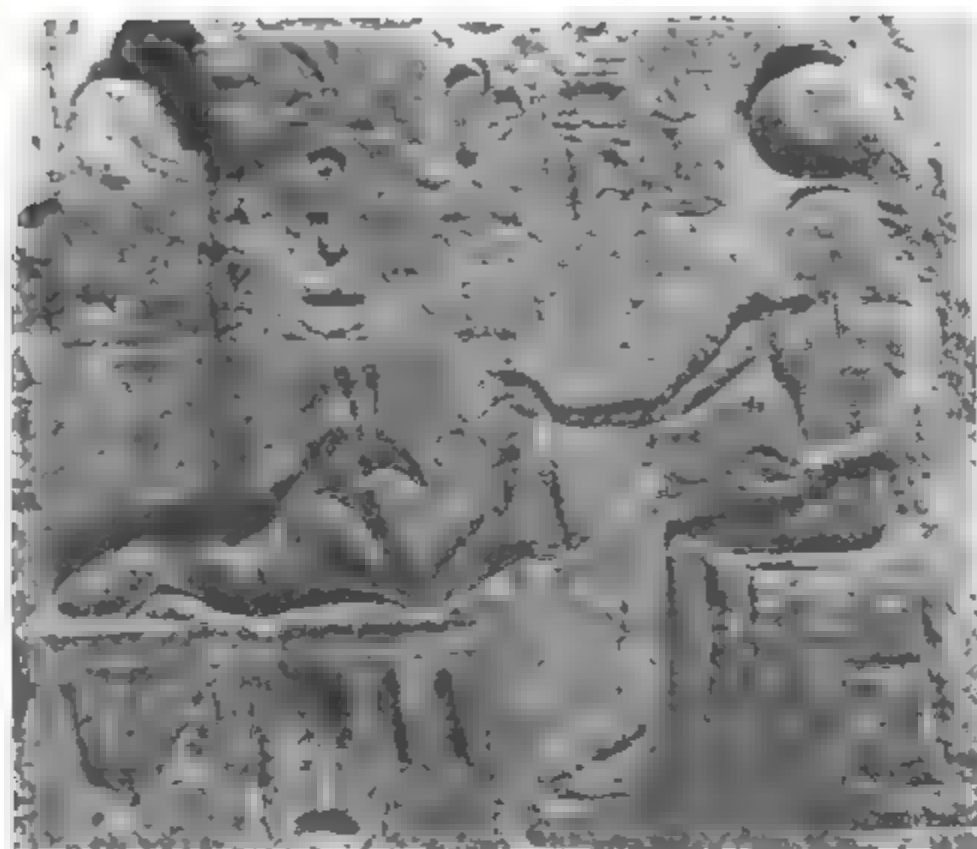
58 Inv. 2260, obelisk pedestal of Sen I from Helipolis found in the harbor at Alexandria



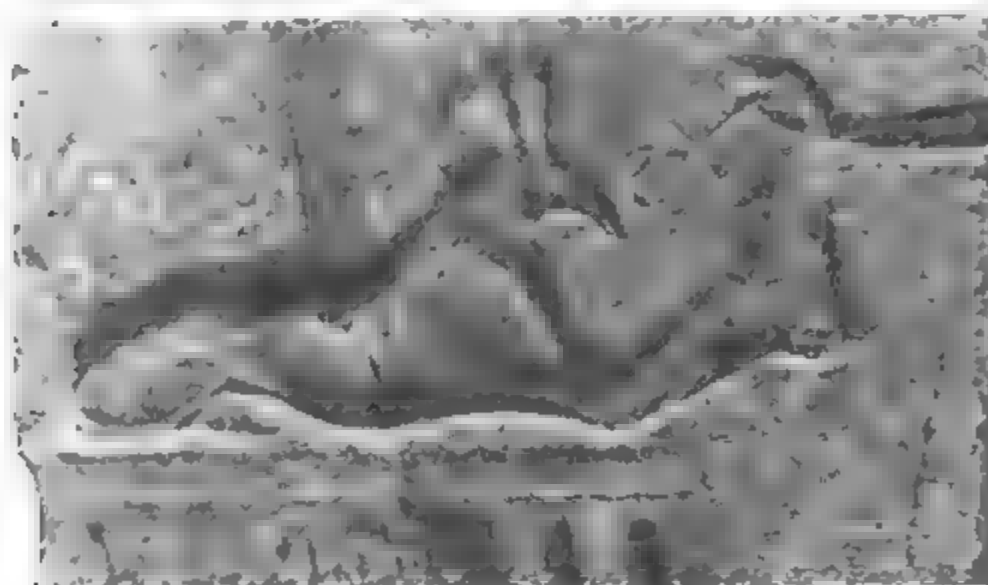
59. Recut Amen figure, secondary restoration of Seti I, Luxor Temple, hypostyle. *Kri Plans* LD 37



60. Statue pedestal for Horus of Mesen dedicated by Seti I in memory of Rameses I. *PM IV* 67



01. Seated figure at top of an obelisk fragment of Sen I found in the harbor of Alexandria



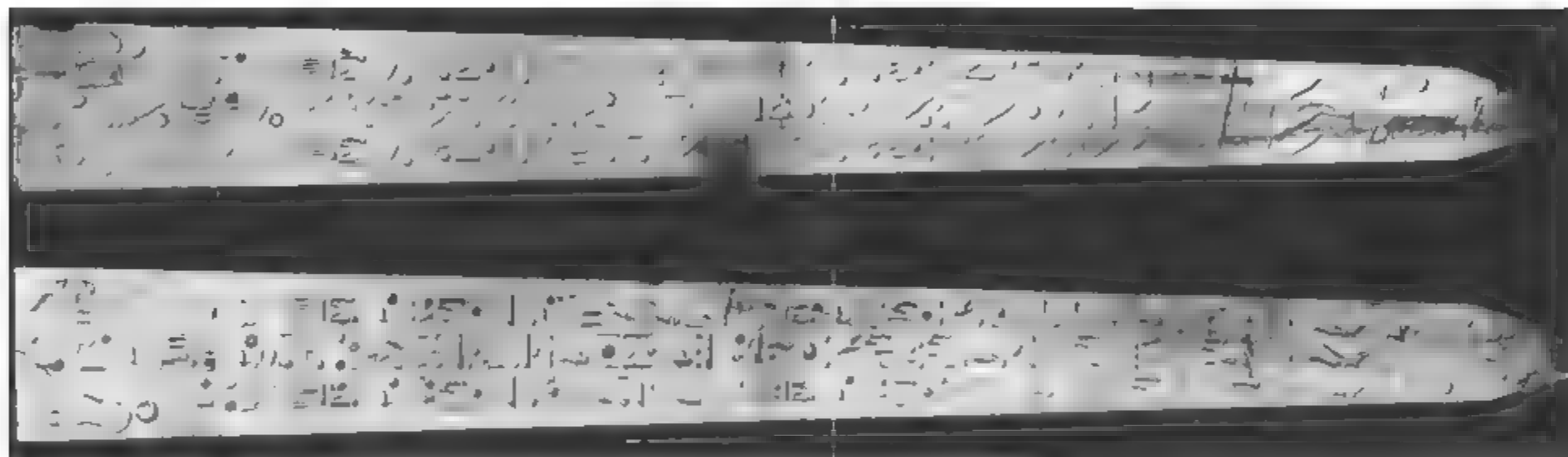
02. Detail of Sen I as Seth-headed sphinx - obelisk fragment of Sen I from Heliopolis



64 Inv. 3612 obelisk fragment of Seti I from
Heliopolis found in the harbor at Alexandria.



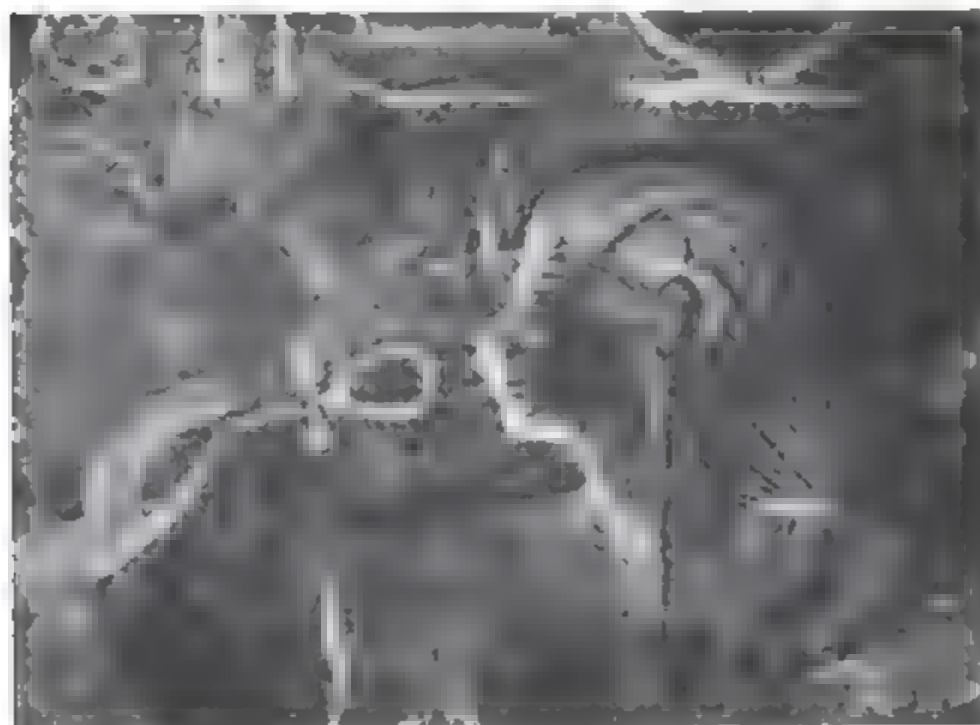
65 Inv. 2026A, B obelisk fragment of Seti
I from Heliopolis found in the harbor at
Alexandria.



63. Fragment of an ostracon of Seti I from Helwan, PM VII, 40.



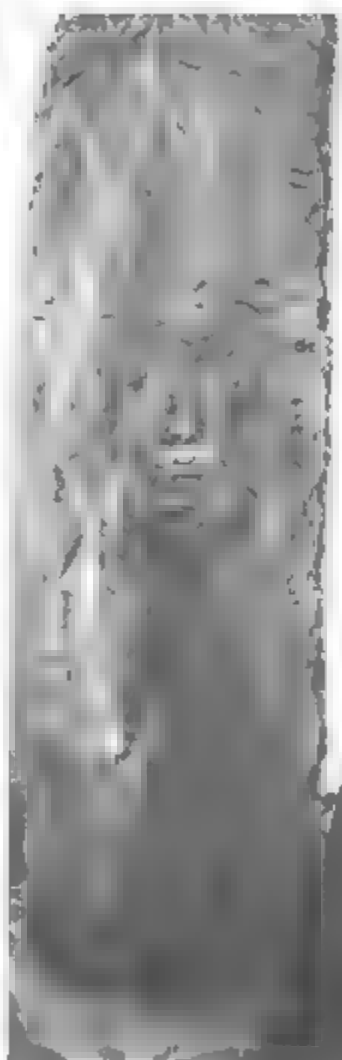
66 Seia kneeling detail of Inv. 2206, on high pedestal.



67 Face of Seia I, detail of Alexandria 420



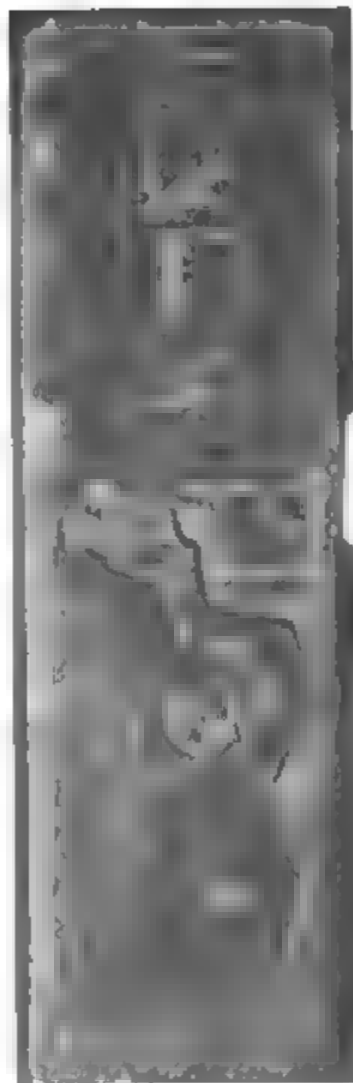
68. Antonine and Severi relief of Alexandria (20), doorway of Seti I from Thebanopolis.



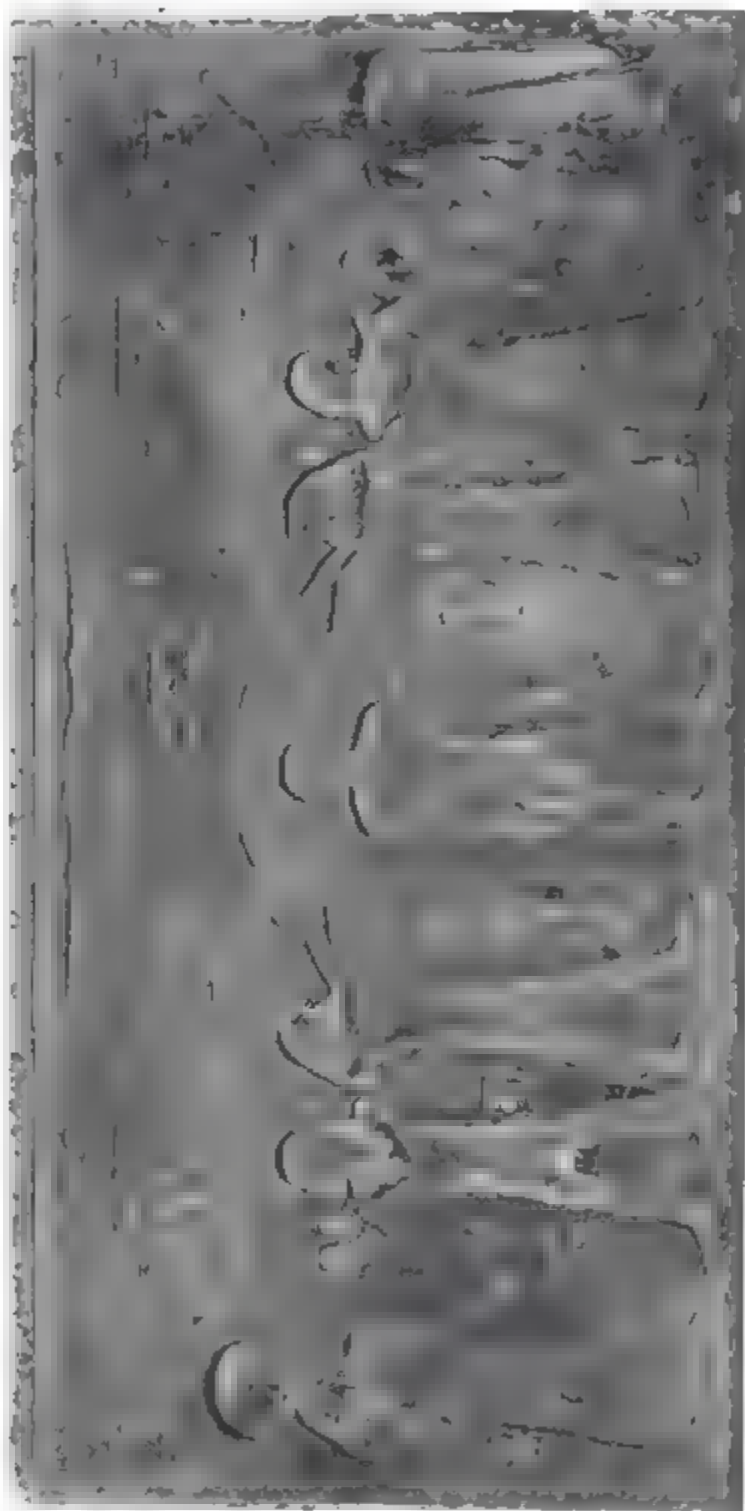
69. Alexandria (20), doorway of Seti I from Hierapolis.



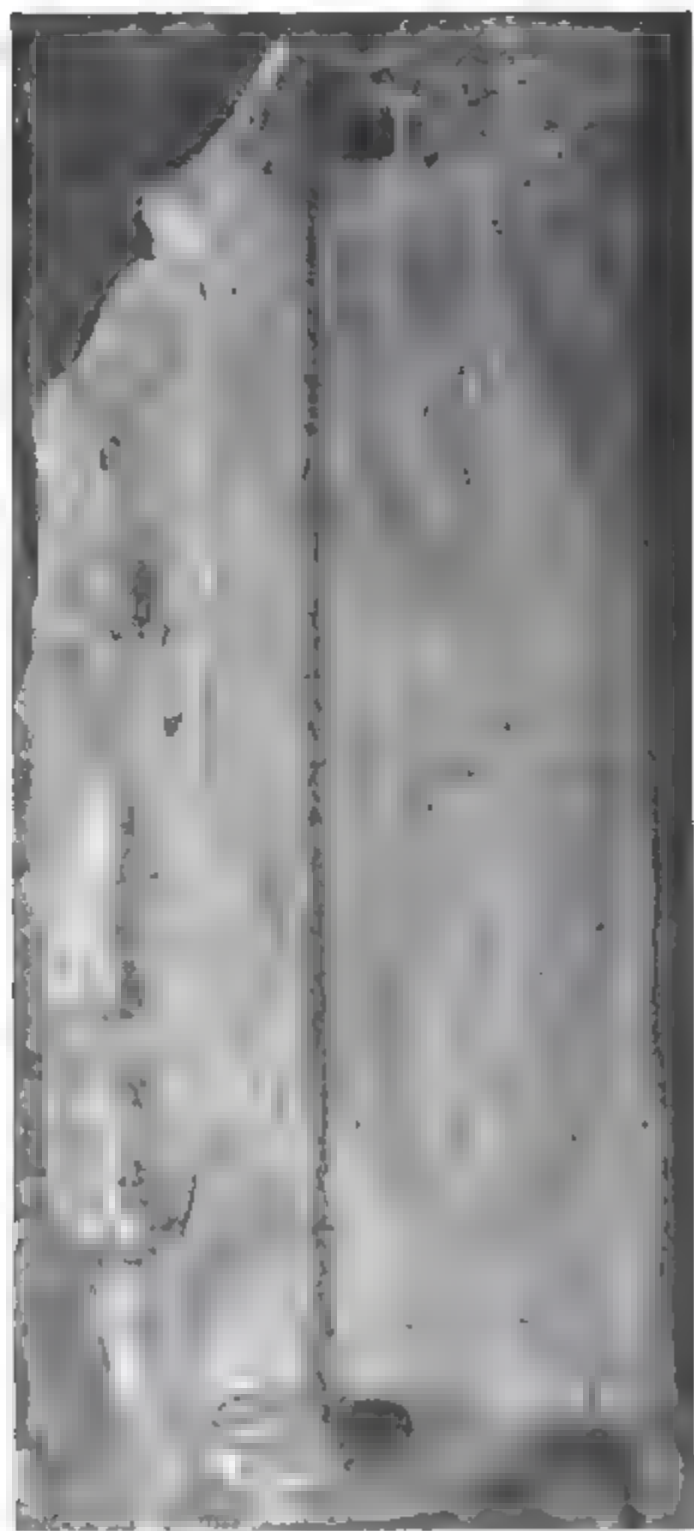
70 Copenhagen F 115 A&N 44 Steeng Cabinet Horns from Heligøsholm. Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek



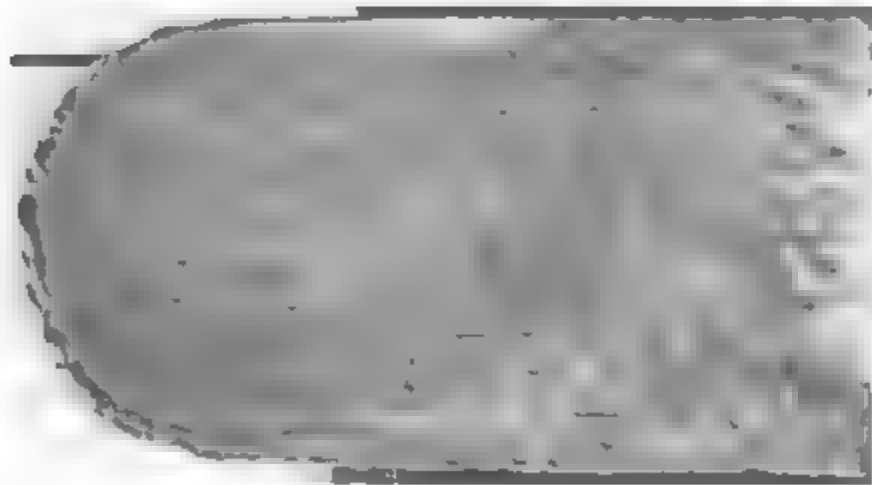
71 Vignette from Copenhagen F 115 A&N 44 Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek



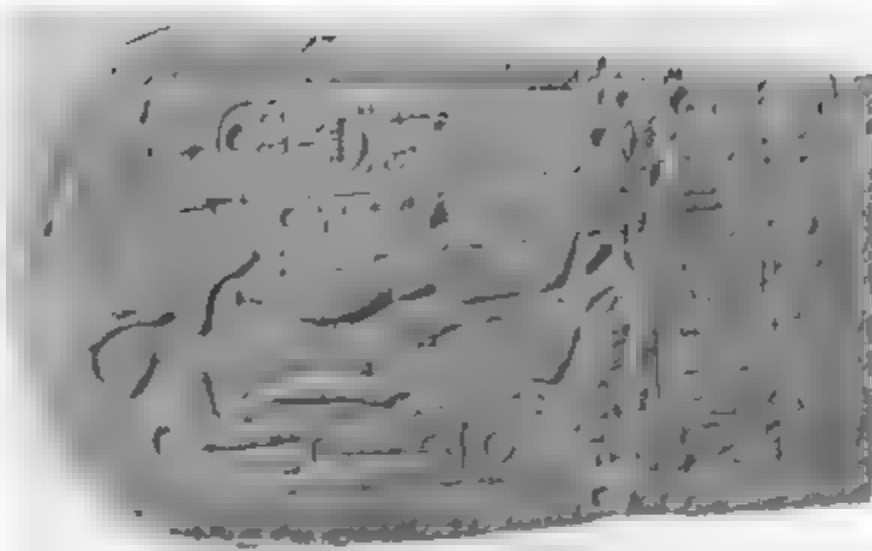
72 Former Brussels E. 407. Cartel of Seti I from Helipolis. Courtesy Institut royal du patrimoine artistique, Belgium



74 PUMF 18.73 Label of Seal from Memphis, Courtesy Pennsylvania University Museum



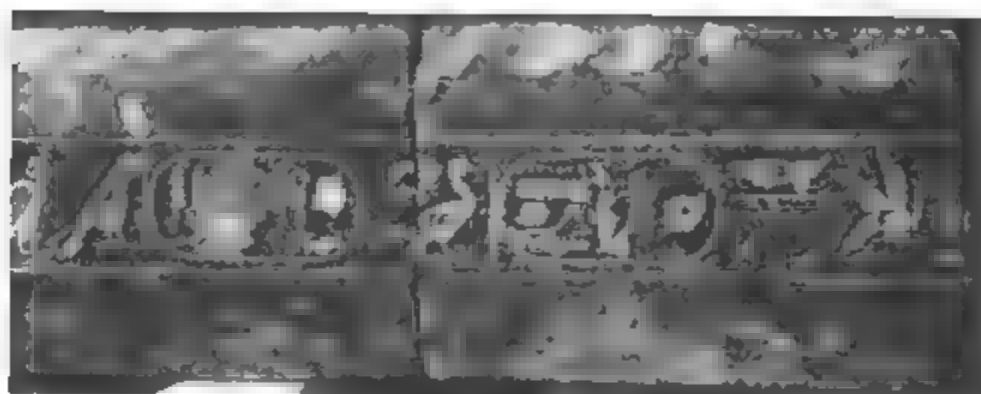
75 Cairo CG 44012 Year two boundary stela of
Seti I from the Karnak



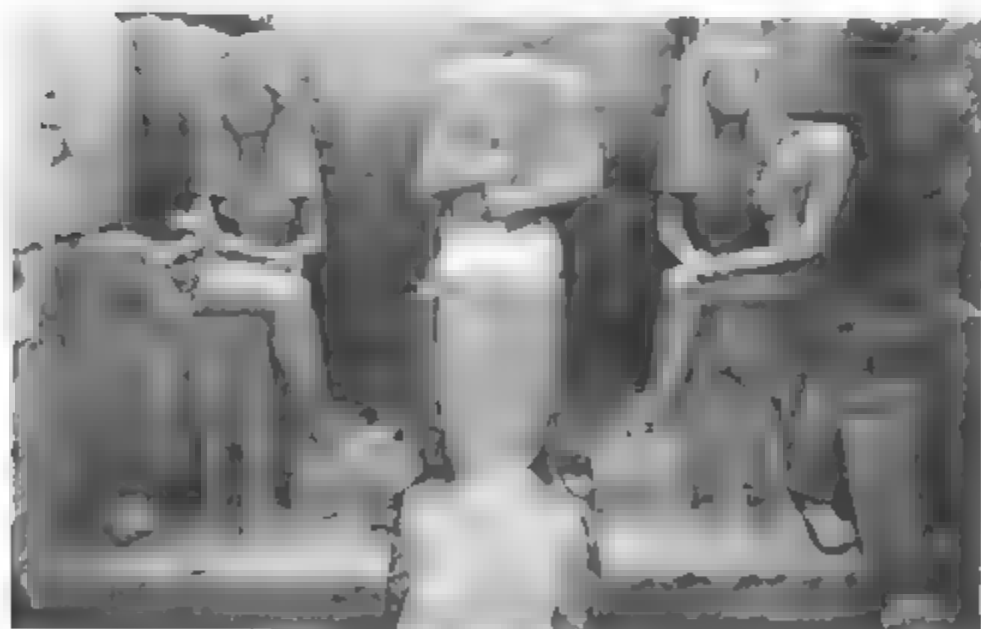
78 Brooklyn 69.116.1 Year one boundary stela of Seti
I Canities Brooklyn Museum of Art



76. Leader V. 16 Inv. # AP 61. Serekh of Sen I for Kenenwetet from Saqqara. Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.



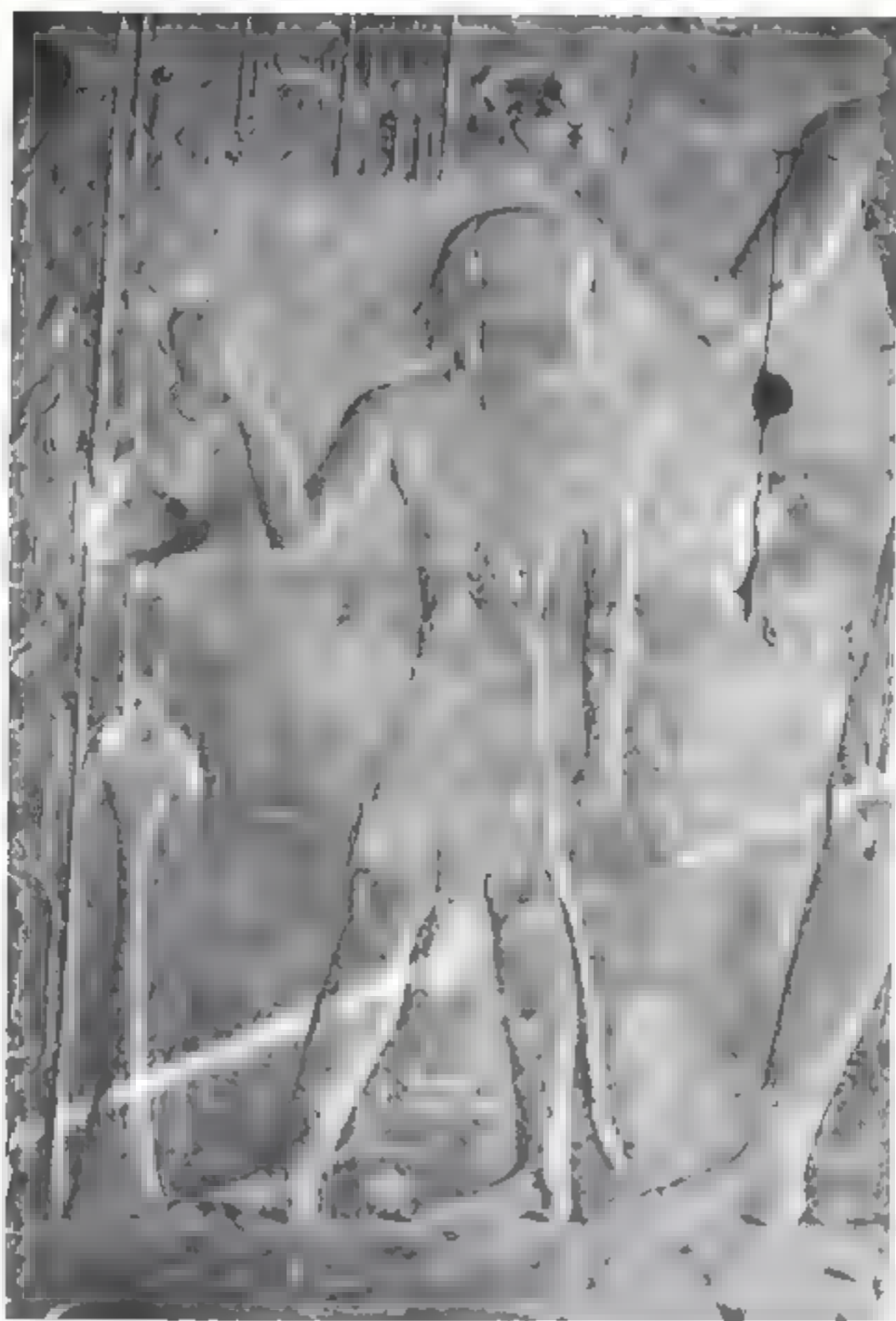
76. Bandit text: detail of Copenhagen E 115. AEIN 44. Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek



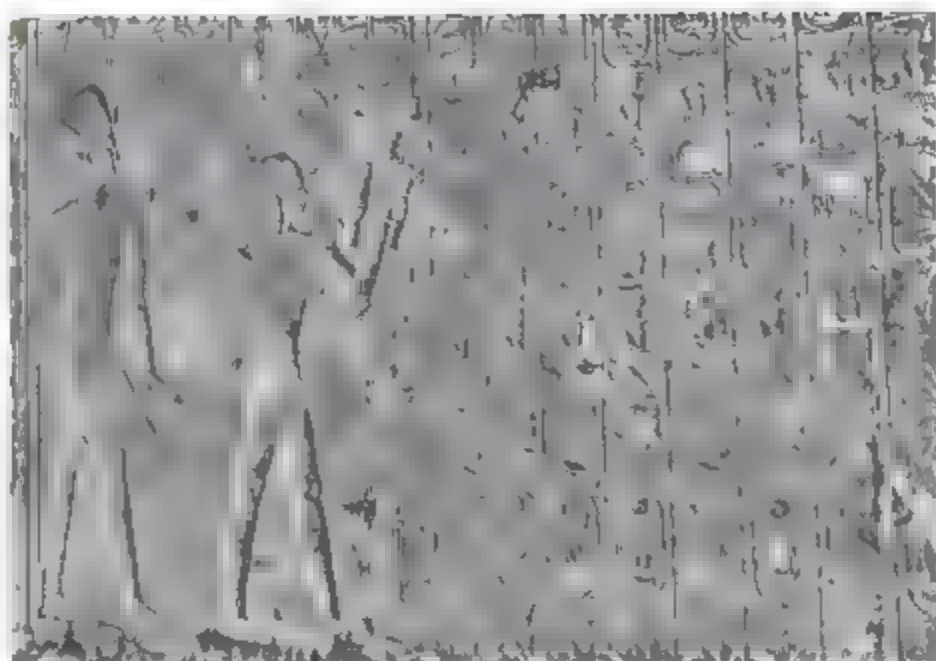
77. Ptolemaic chapel of Sen I from Memphis.



70 Relief of Seti I in the Gallery of the Kings in his Abydos temple. Courtesy Suzanne Onyiah.



80. Prince Ramesses pours libation. Relief of Seti I from the Gallery of the Kings at his temple at Abydos. Courtesy William J. Murnane



81. Seti I and Prince Rameses in the Gallery of the Kings at Abydos



82. Detail of Prince Rameses' sash with pendant bearing his cartouche. Courtesy William J. Murnane



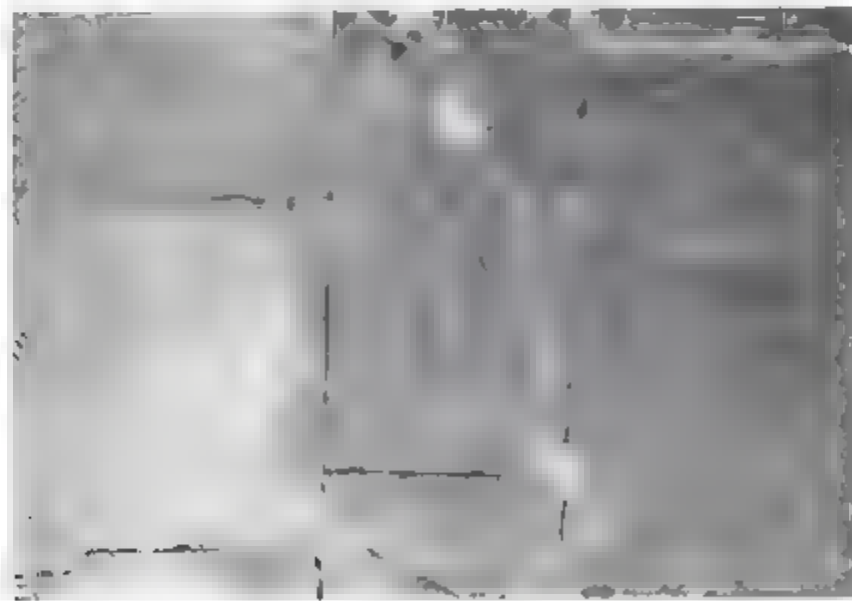
83 Rameses II and Amenirkhopshef present waterfowl, relief of Rameses II in the Corridor of the Bull in the Abydos temple of Set I. Courtesy Griffith Institute, FES.



84. Dedified Seti I relief of Rameses II in the Corridor of the Bull in the Abydos temple of Seti I.
 Courtesy Griffith Institute, EES.



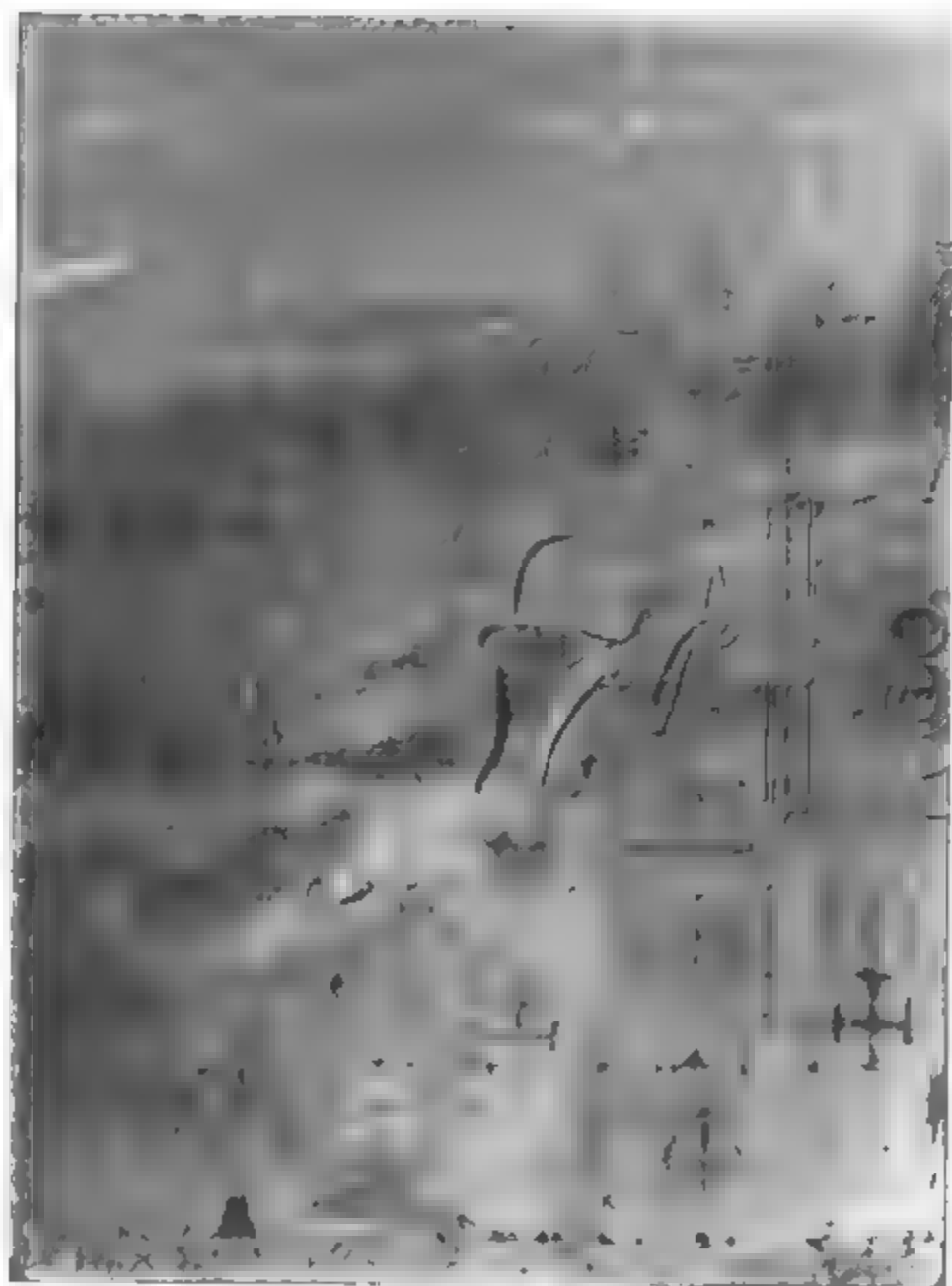
85. Truth and the defiled Seti I. relief of Ramesses II in the Corridor of the Bull in the Abydos temple of Seti I. Courtesy Griffith Institute - EES.



86) The Heh Seti I relief of Ramesses II (a seated figure) in the temple of Seti I in Abydos. Courtesy William J. Murnane



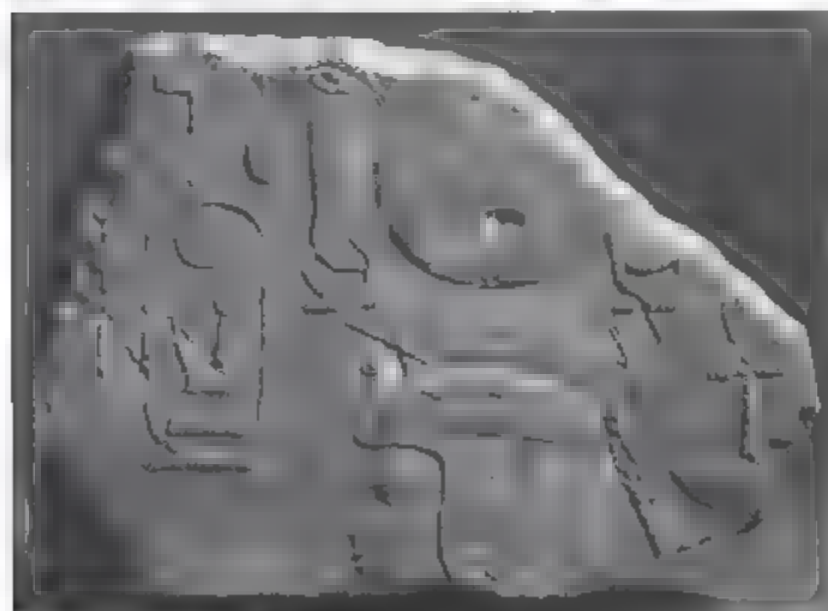
87) Ramesses II offers to deified Seti I Relief of Ramesses II in statue case Y in the temple of Seti I in Abydos. Courtesy William J. Murnane



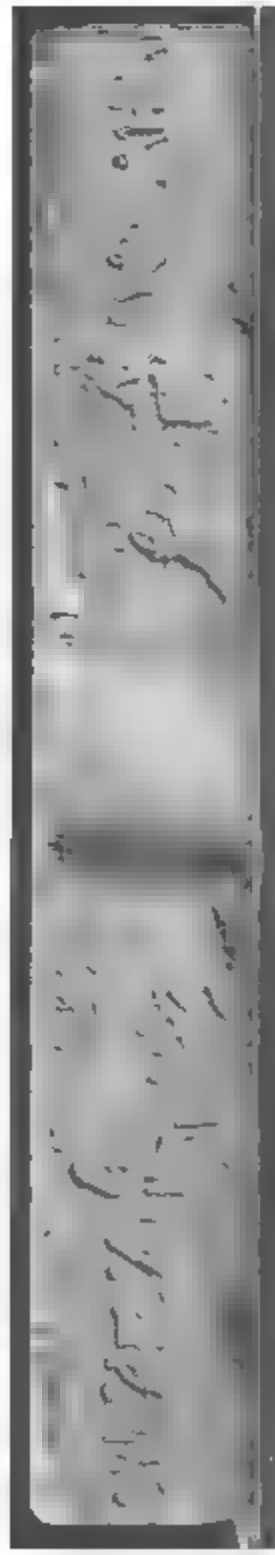
88. Unfinished relief of Ramesses II from the Hat of Baupies, temple of Seti I in Abydos.
Courtesy Griffith Institute, EES.



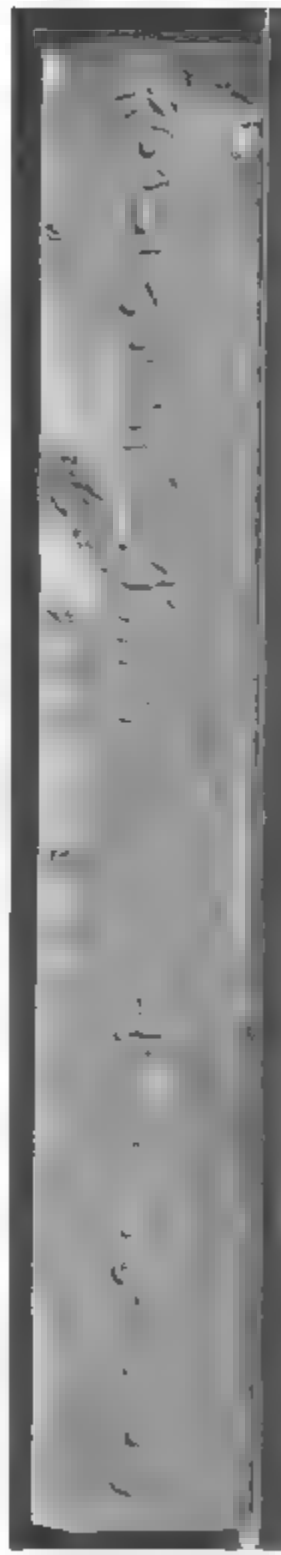
89. P. M. F. 12469 Fragment of a sphinx statue of Sen I from Abydos. Courtesy Pennsylvania University Museum



90. Copenhagen AFDN 42-A 770 Relief of Sen I from the chapel of Ramesses I at Abydos (Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)



91 New York MMA 22.2.22 Offering table of Seti I for Seth front view (Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)



92 New York MMA 22.2.22 Offering table of Seti I for Seth rear view (Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)



43. Cairo JE 32091. Lintel of Seti I from Abydos



94. Cairo JE 4743. Altar pedestal of Seti I from his Abydos temple



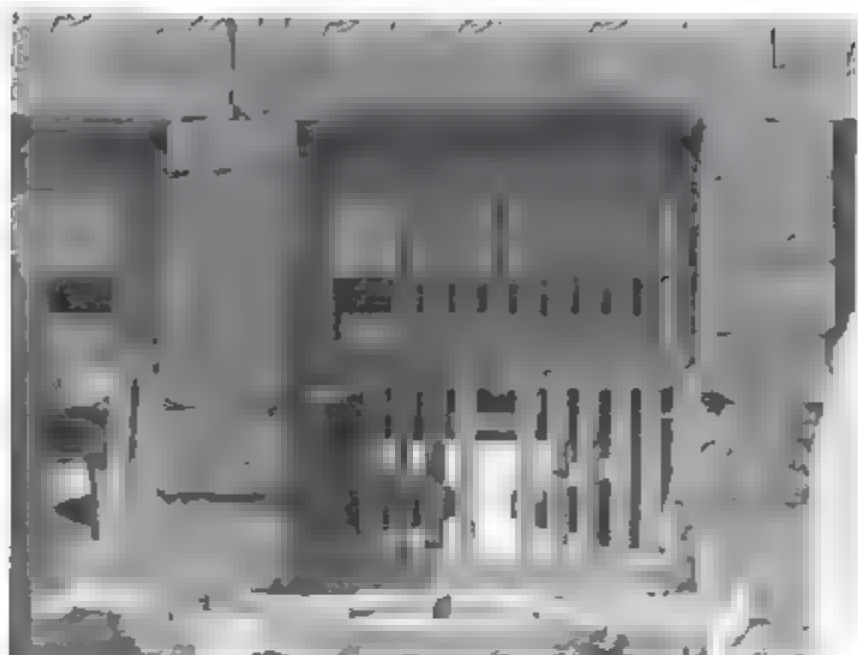
95. Relief of Seti I usurped by Ramesses II on a pier from the north aisle of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall



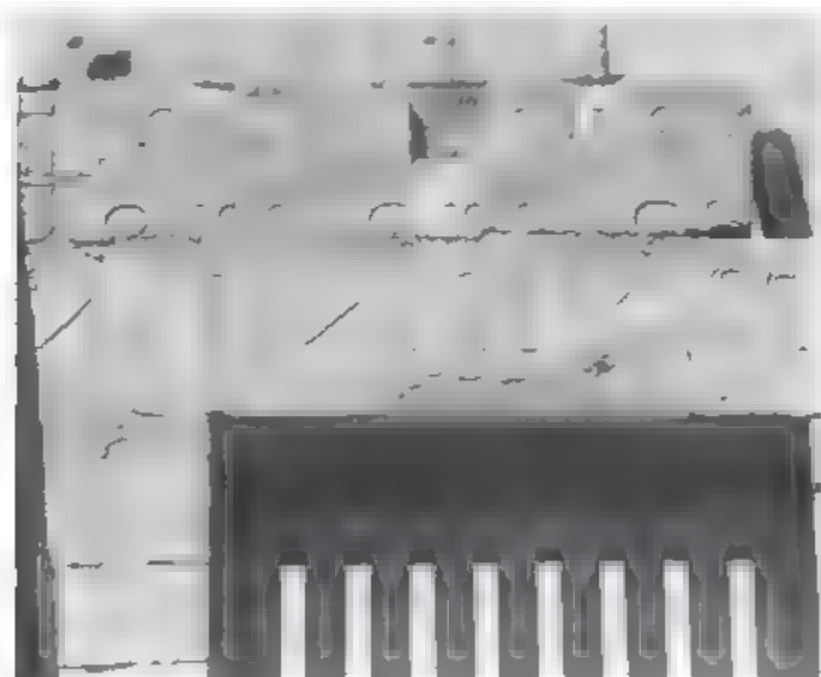
96. Relief of Seti I usurped by Ramesses II on a pier from the north aisle of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.



97. Relief of Seti I usurped by Ramesses II on a pier from the south aisle of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.



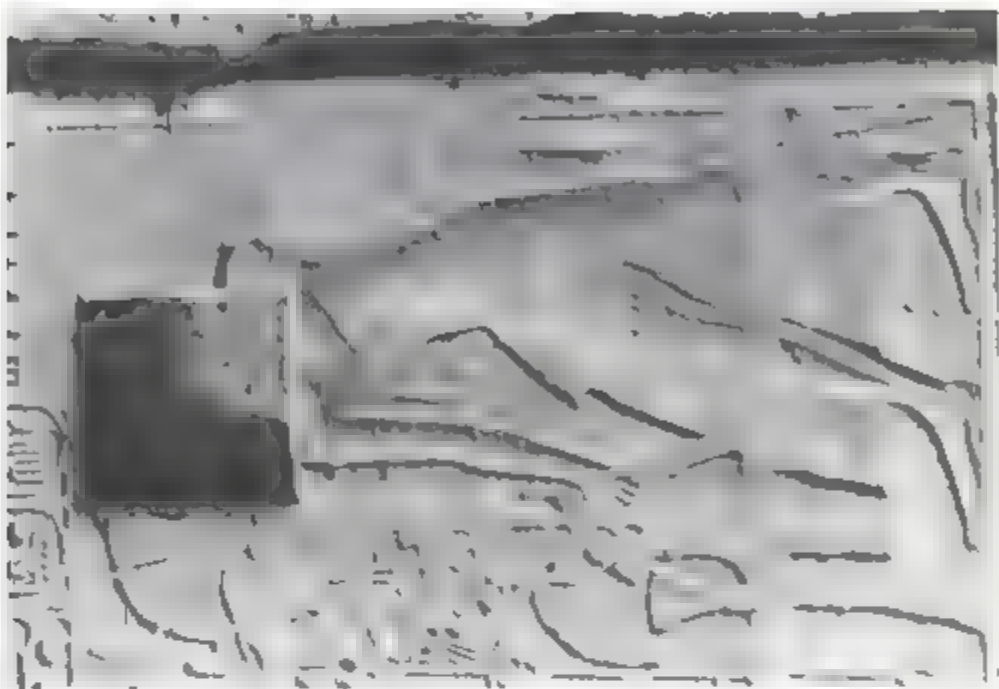
98 View of the south exterior face of the clerestory of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.



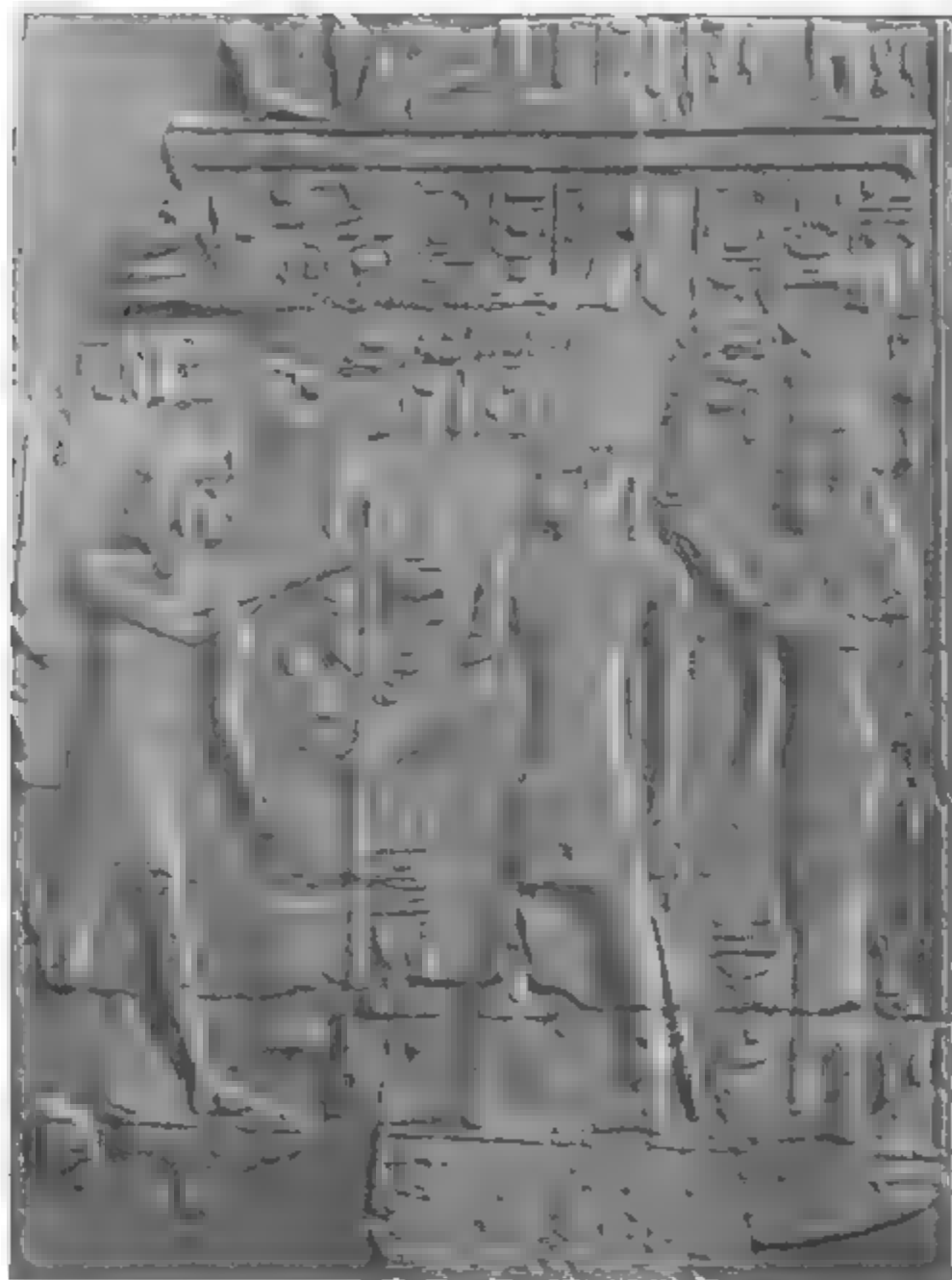
99 Detail of the north exterior face of the clerestory of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.



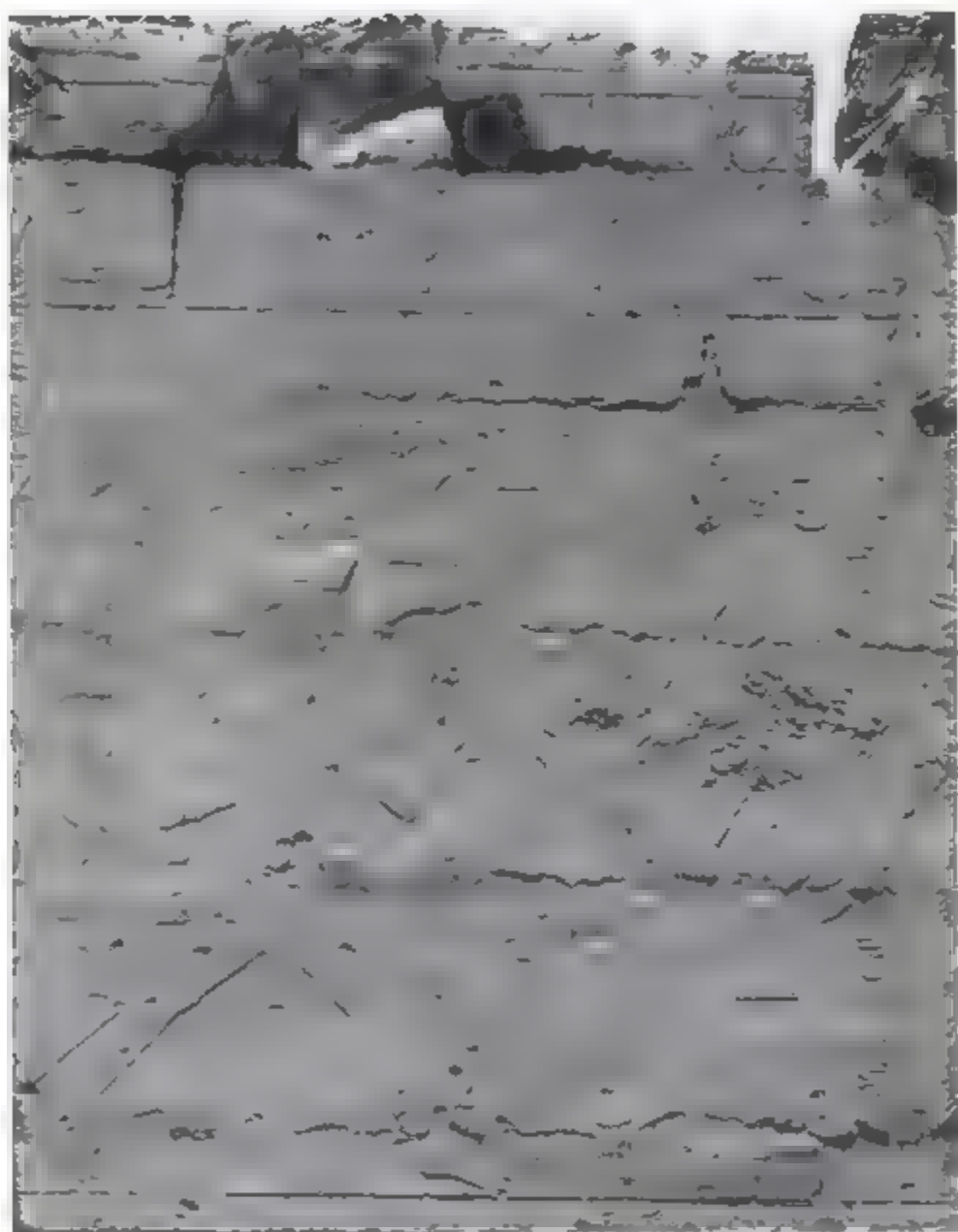
100. Raman-headed scene of the barge of Anur-Ki. Original relief on the Site of Pylus, a Kartrak sculpture. By etch of Set 1 at the west wall of the Kartrak Hypocaust Hall. *CHIAI*, p. 150. An. *Phon* Kh. 232.



103. Raman figure of Set 1 on the west exterior of the north gate of the Kartrak Hypocaust Hall. Epigraphic Survey. *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 101.



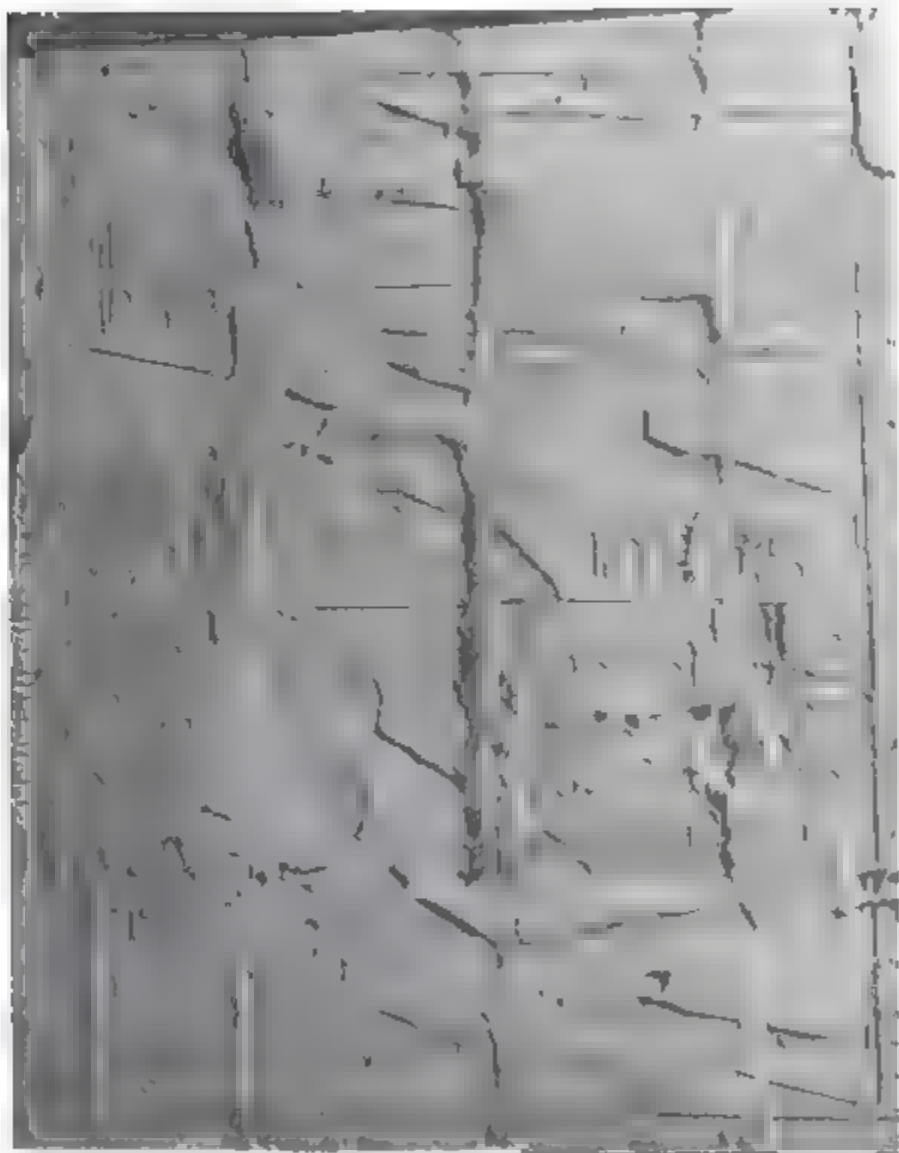
191 Recut relief of Seti I on the anterior east jamb of the north gate of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall
CHH K1.1, pl. 187, *Key Plans* KB 280



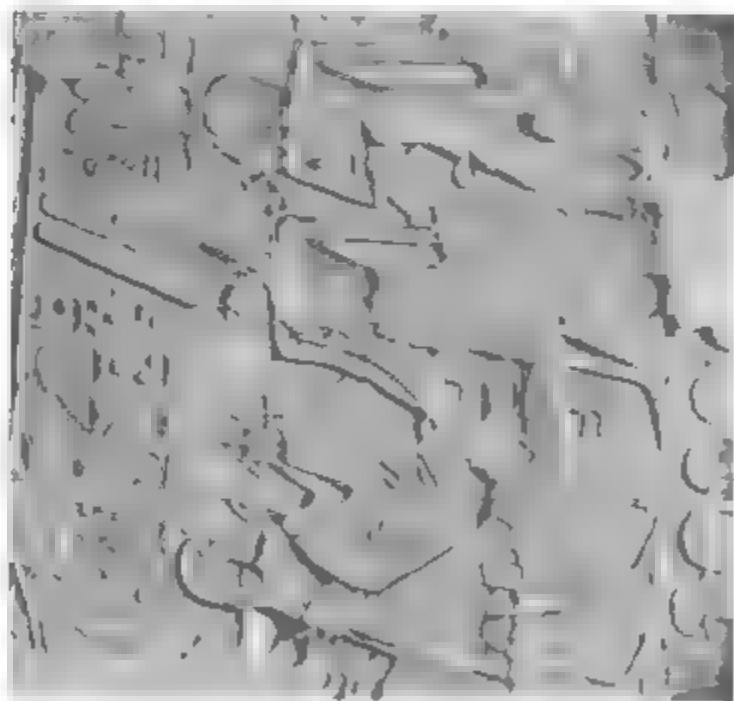
02 Ramesses I runs before Amen - relief of Seti I. Karnak Hypostyle Hall - west wall. *CDIAI* 1
pl. 141 *Key Plans* KB 221. Courtesy A. Chêne/CFEETK.



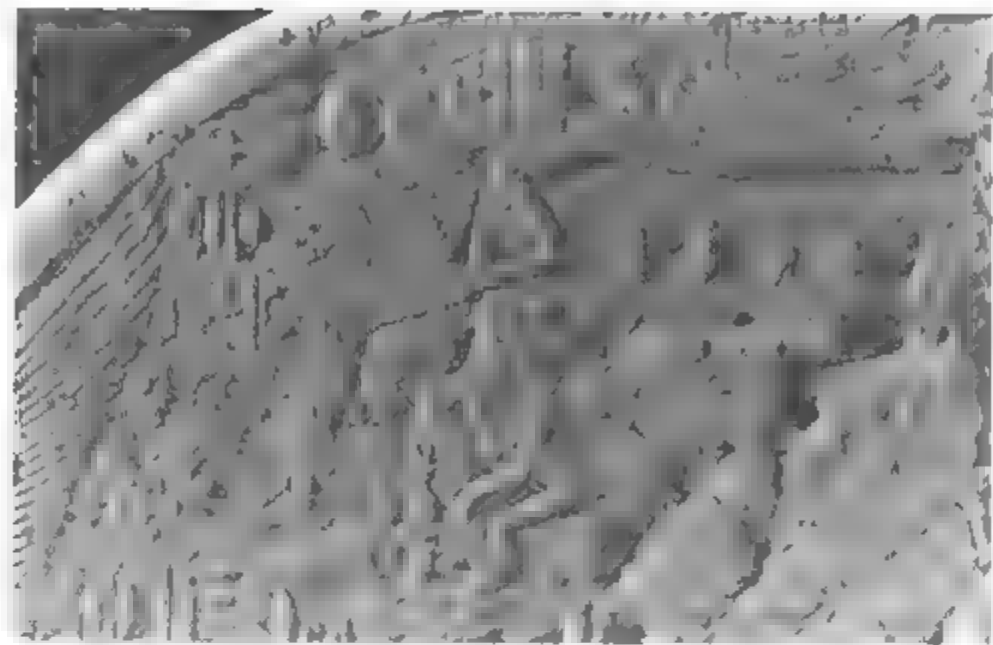
104. Dewsbury Museum. Statue fragment of Seti I. Courtesy Kirklees Community History Service.



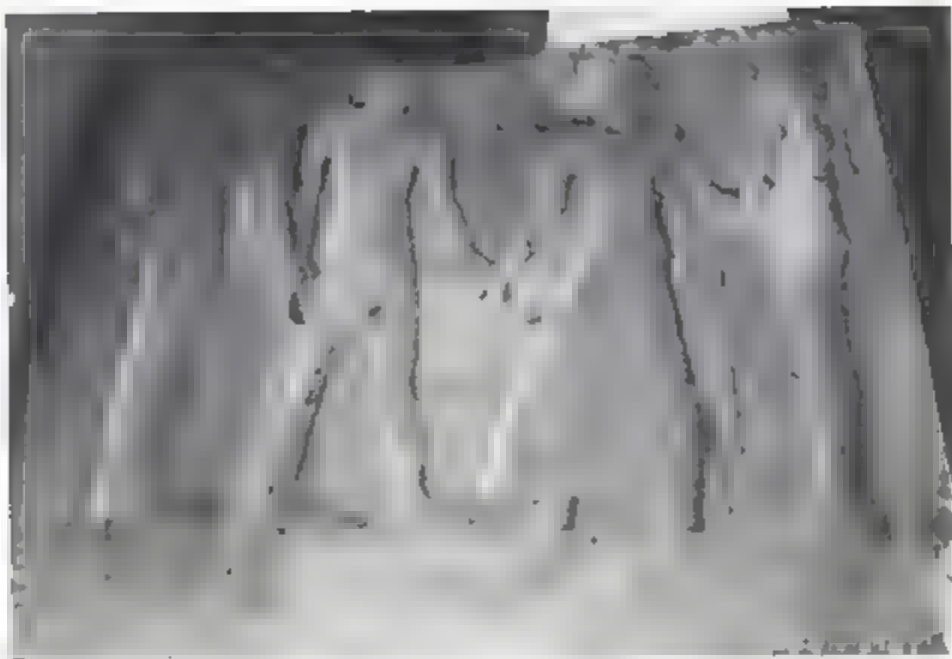
105 Rameses I (stirped by Rameses II) offers to Anet & Mut. Relief of Seti I Karnak Hypostyle Hall west
Ramesseum *GHIA* 1, p. 131 *See Plans KB 221* *Excavation A Chene* (JFFIN)



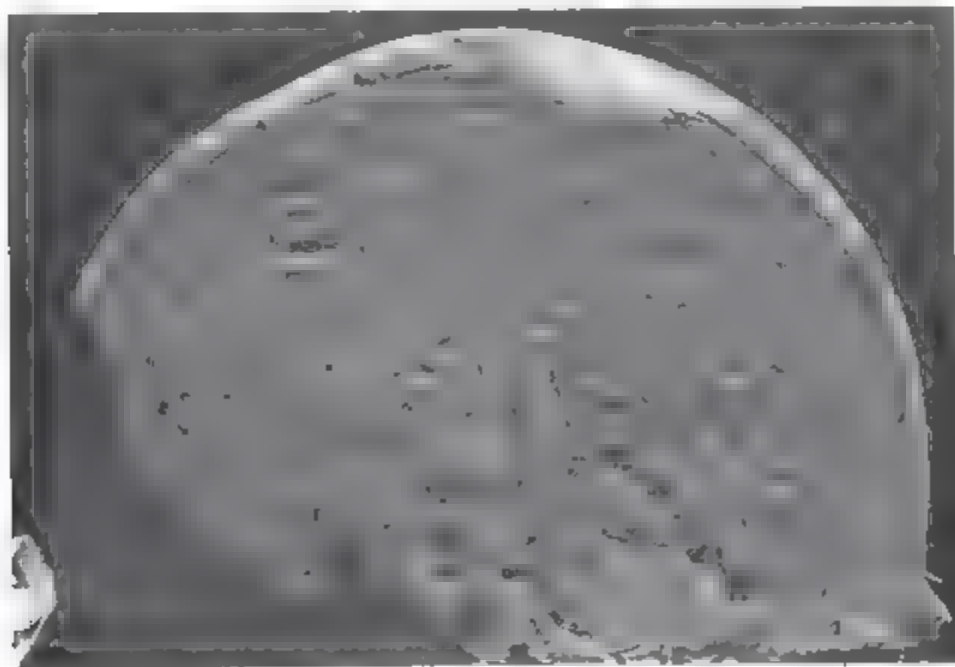
106 Relief of Ramesses II, Karnak Hypostyle Hall, south gate, west side (not far from the 37th Avenue, BB 1 and 2)



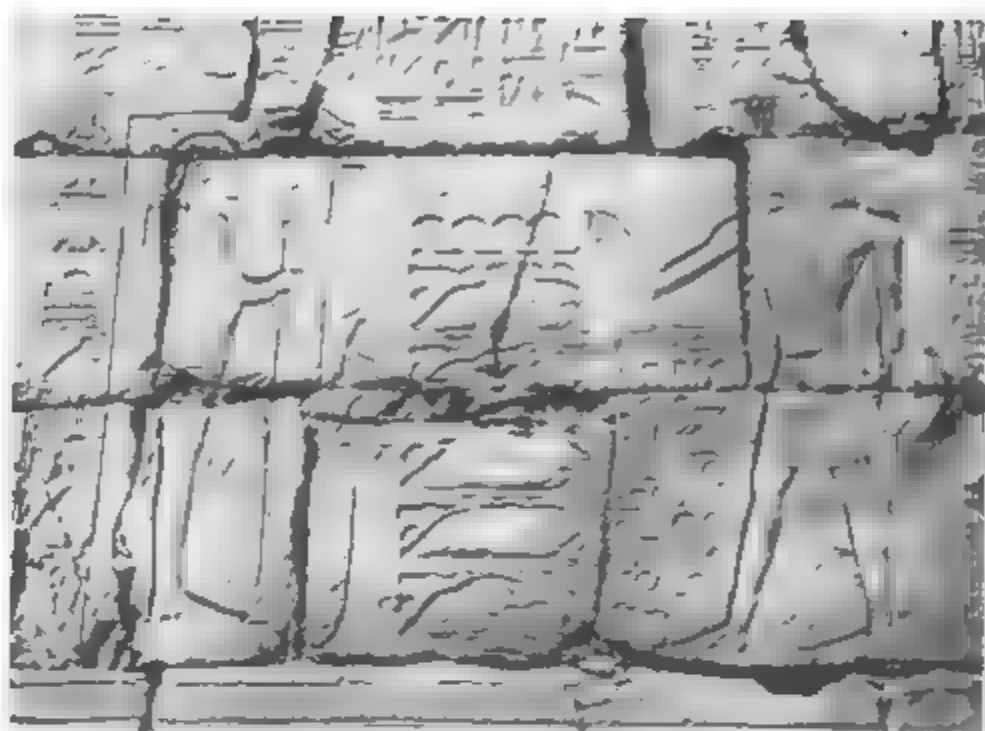
107 Detail of Ptolemy's Temple of Senet



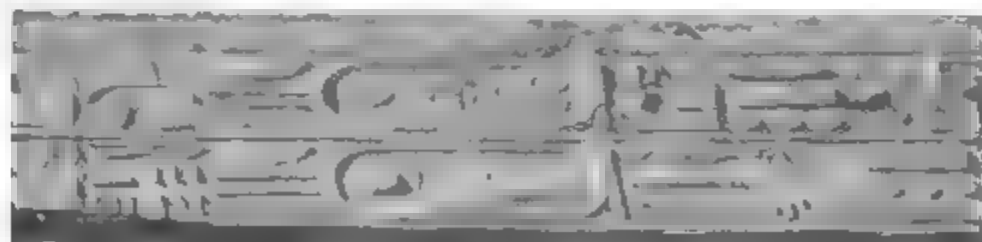
108, Cairo CG 34501. Lunette of Seti I year one Alabaster Stela.



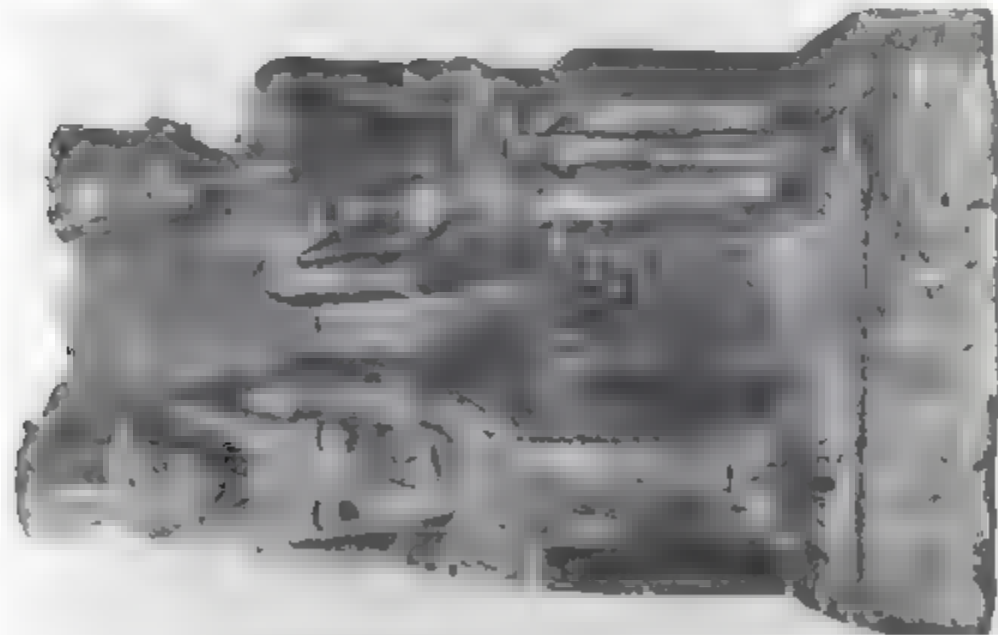
109. Lunette of Prah Temple stela of Seti I, year one



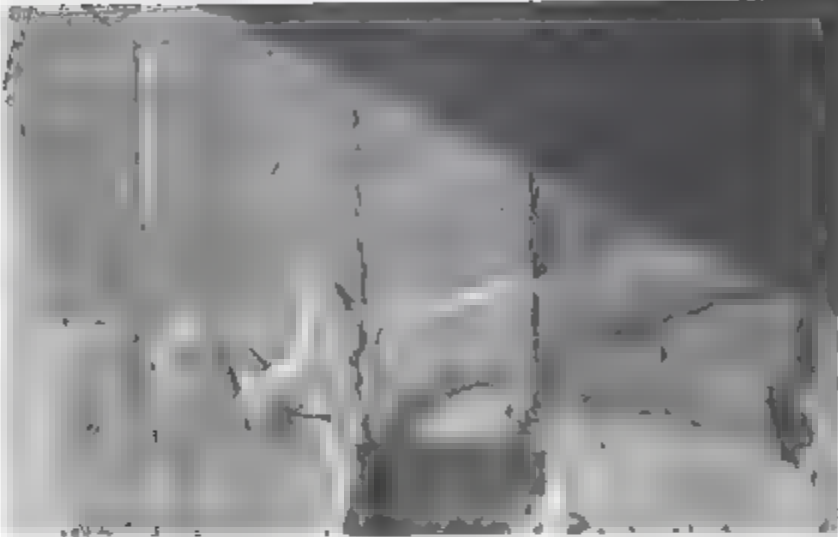
110. Posthumous decree of Seti I relict of Ramesses II, Karnak Hypostyle Hall way wall (JPTK I I, pl. 27, *Key Plans* KB 61)



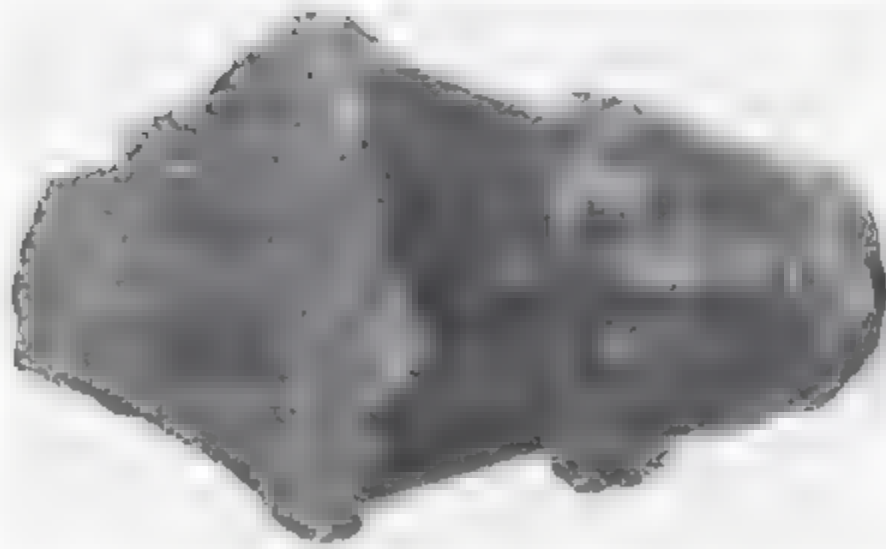
111. Architrave text of Seti I usurped by Ramesses II from the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, Rondot *Architraves*, pl. 3, no. 4



113 Relief of Seti I Anubis Temple An in Chape
Acta Plana Q 229



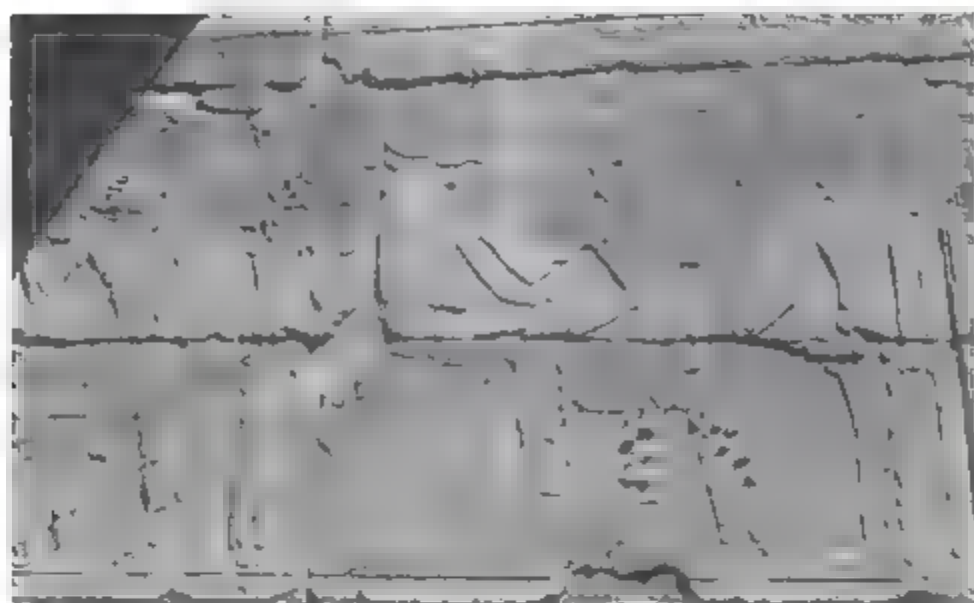
112 Cairn 13. 99211 Anubis & Mut dead of Seti I
 After Dauteray *Saintes des Dromedaires* I pl. 56.



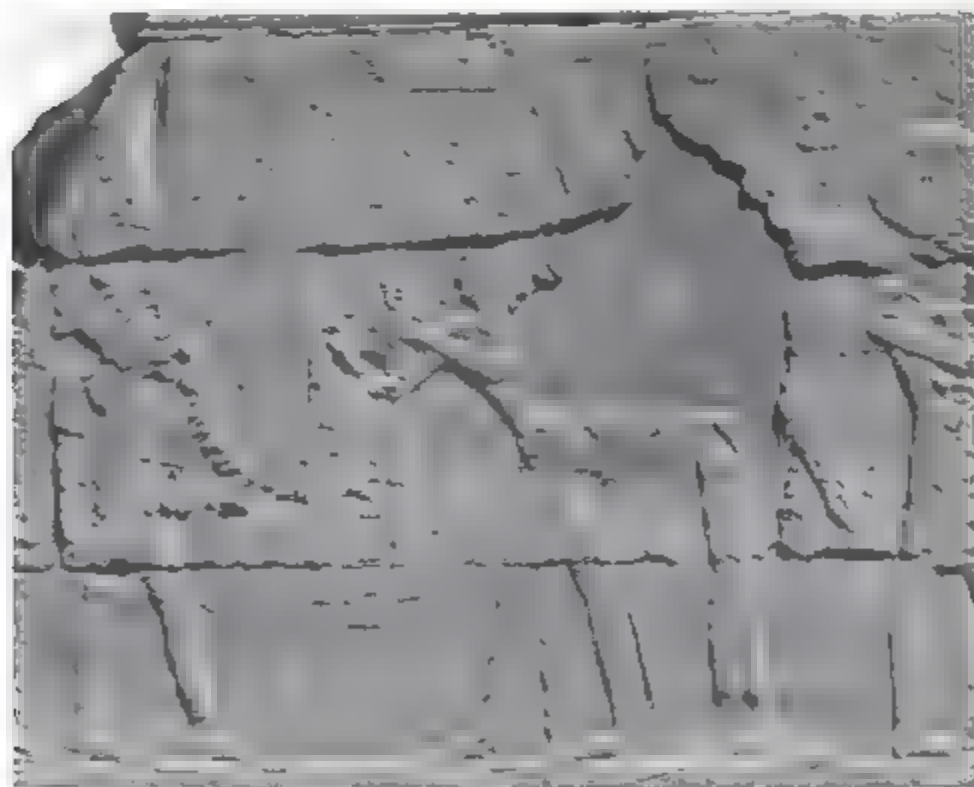
114 Frontal view head of Amen statue of Sen I
Karnak Courtesy CHÉRIK



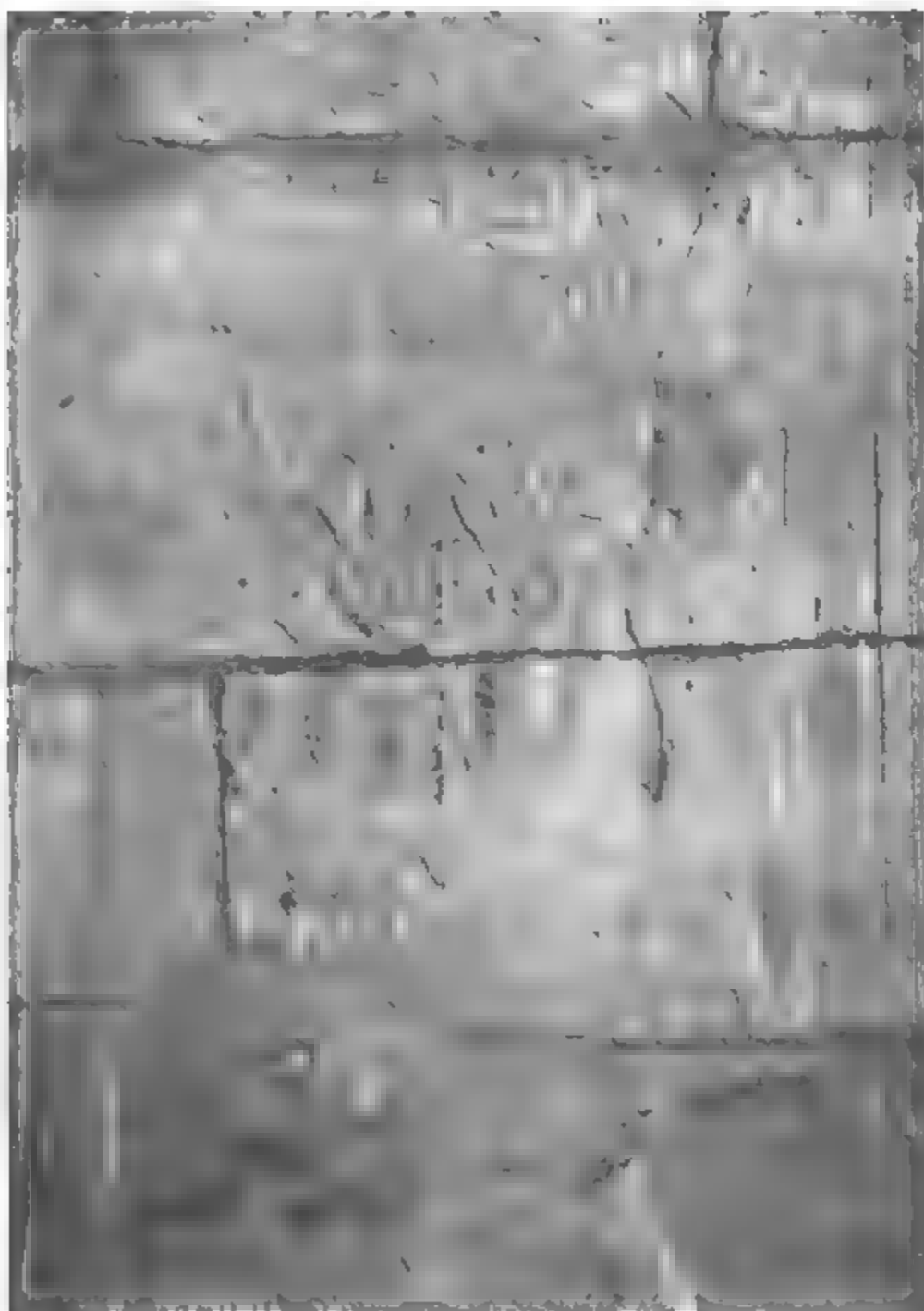
115 Dorsal view head of Amen statue of Sen I Karnak
Courtesy CHÉRIK



116. Relief of Seti I. Carniah Temple room 16. *Key Plans Q 254-255*



117. Relief of Seti I. Carniah Temple room 16. *Key Plans Q 256-257*



118. Relief of Ramesses II, Gurnah Temple, hypostyle. *Art Plans Q 130*. (Courtesy Oriental Institute, Chicago)



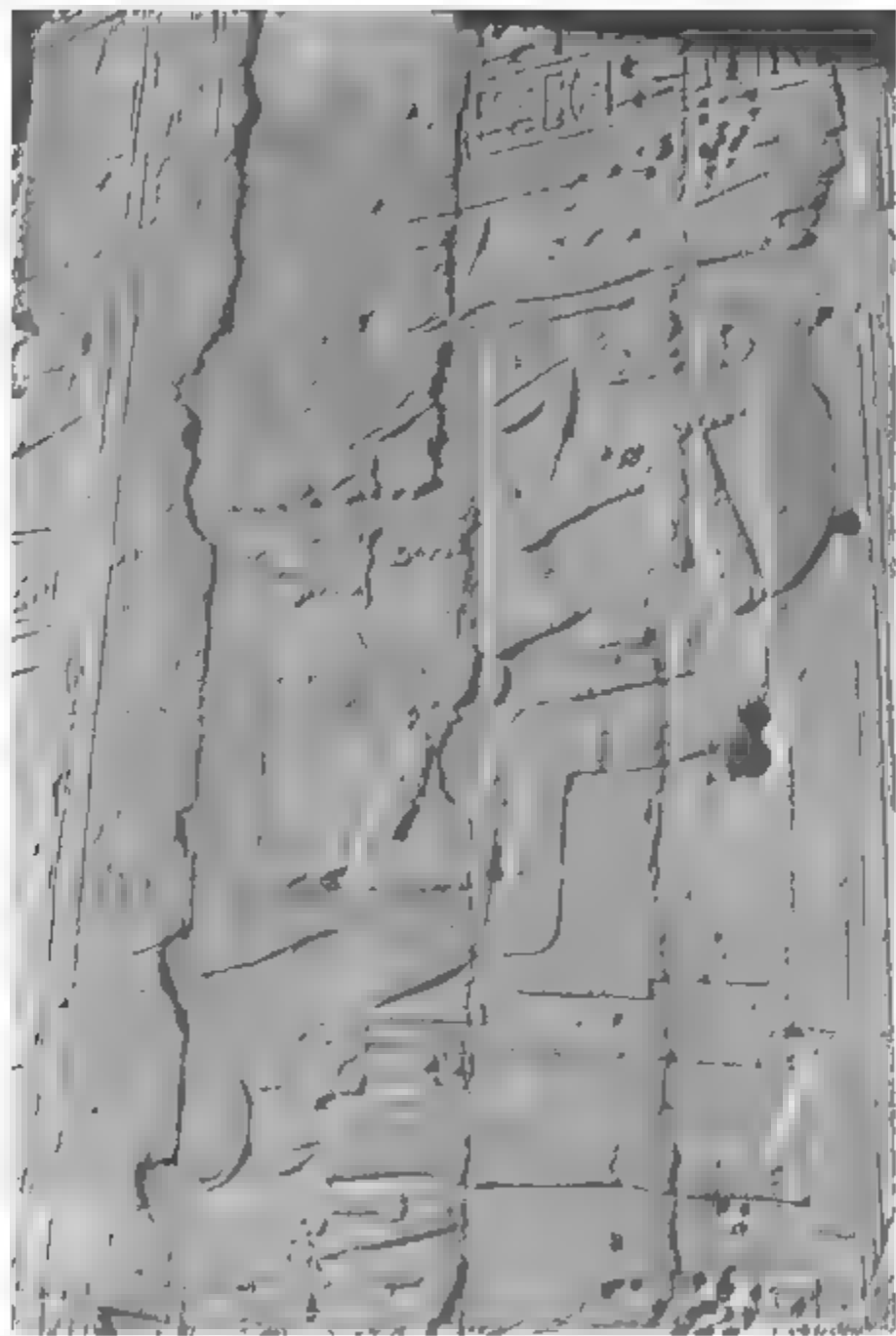
19. Seated figure of Amenhotep III, Temple of Karnak, Egypt. (See Plate Q 34)



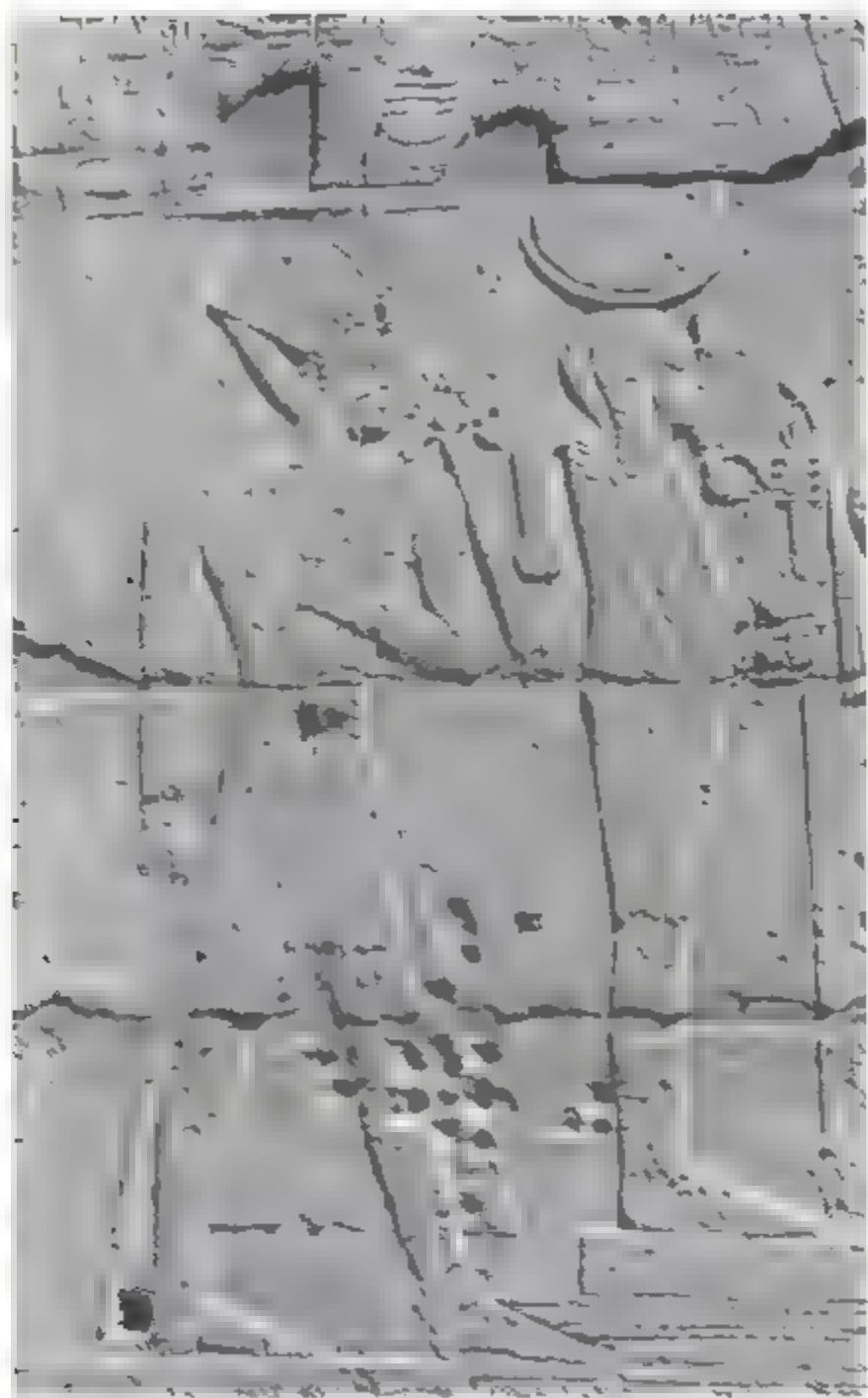
120. Pristhumous scene of Seti I before Amen: relief of Ramesses II, Gurnah Temple, hypostyle. Kri
Plans Q 123 (Courtesy Oriental Institute, Chicago)



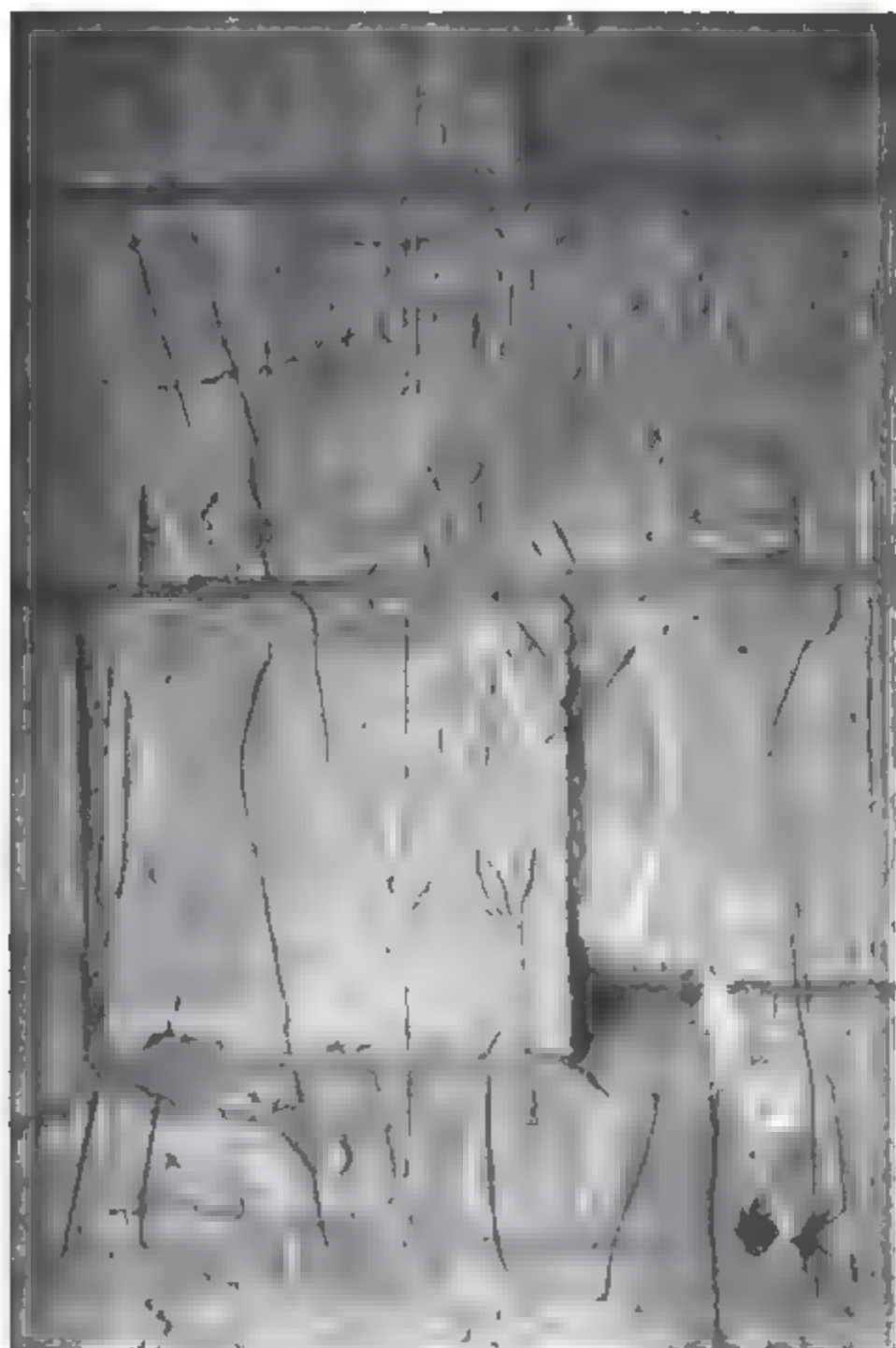
12. Set 1 before the Tharban Temple relief of Set 1, Carnak Temple, room 4, north wall. *Ky Plass* Q 175
(Courtesy Oriental Institute, Chicago)



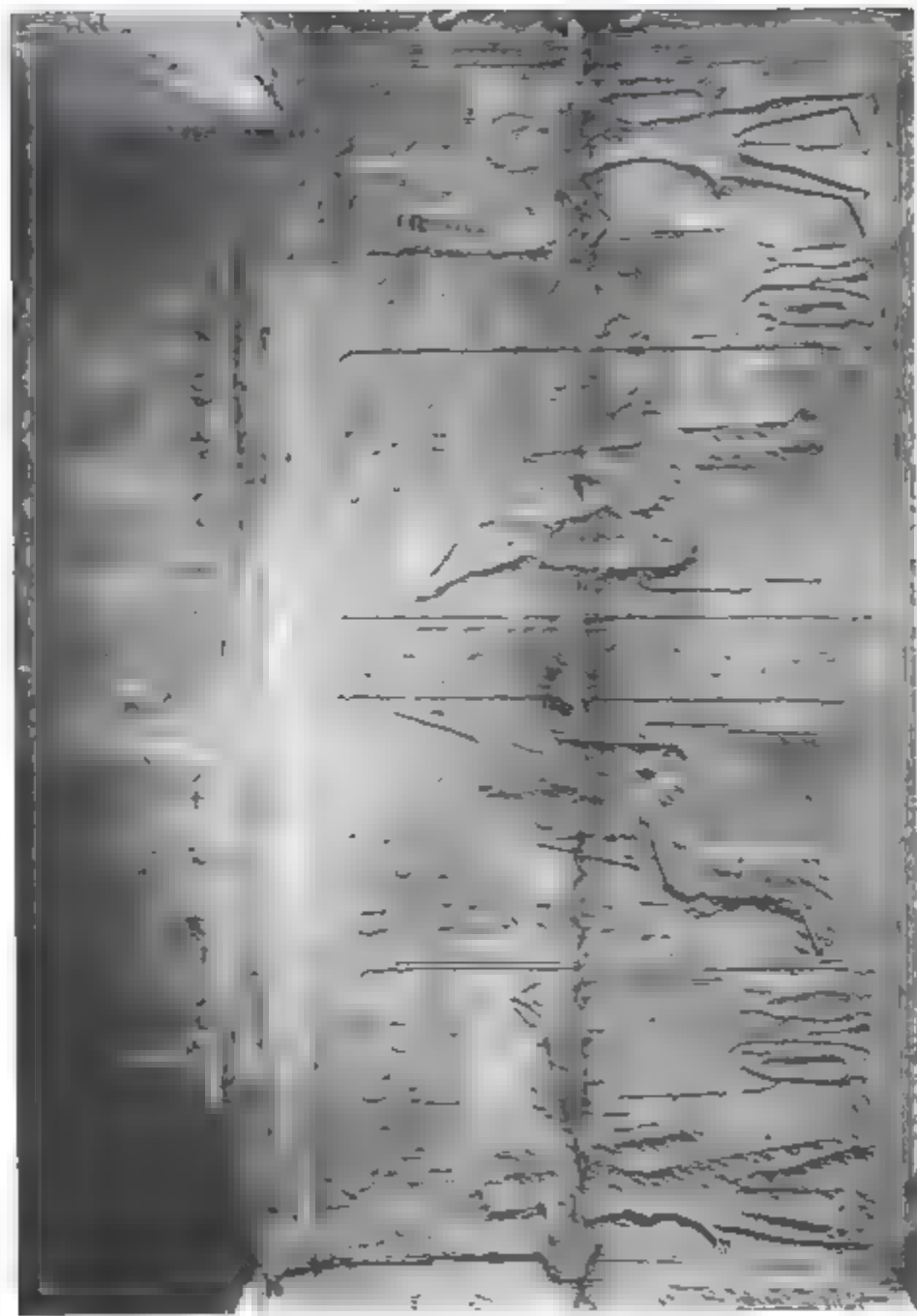
122. Ramesses II. oversteer by Theban road in the presence of the deified Seti I. Carnak Temple vestibule of the Ramesses I stipe north wall. *Ac. 17100 Q 91.*



123 Detail of Q 301 Deified Sen I and Khonsu



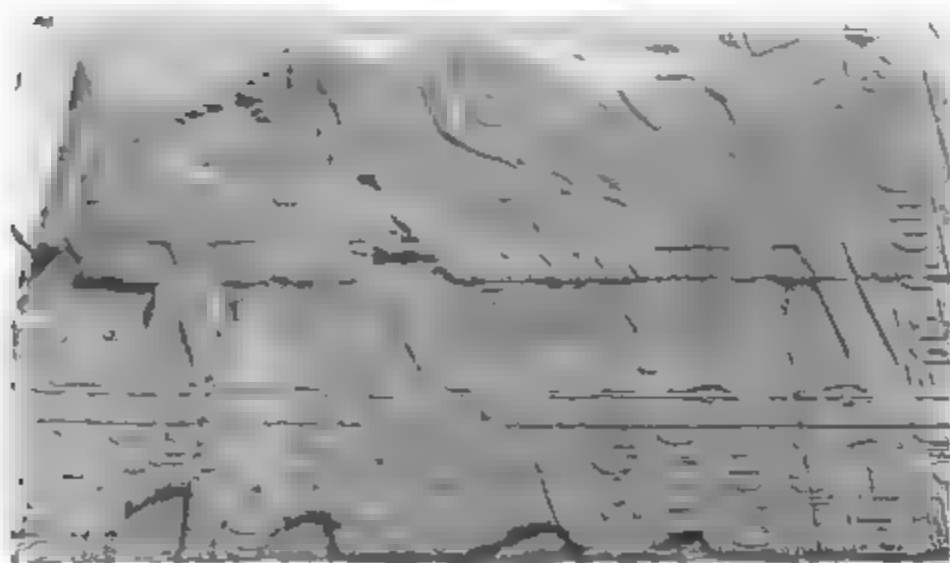
124 Posthumous scene of Seti I before Amen. relief of Ramesses II Gernah Temple
hypostyle. See Plans Q 119 (Courtesy Oriental Institute (Chicago))



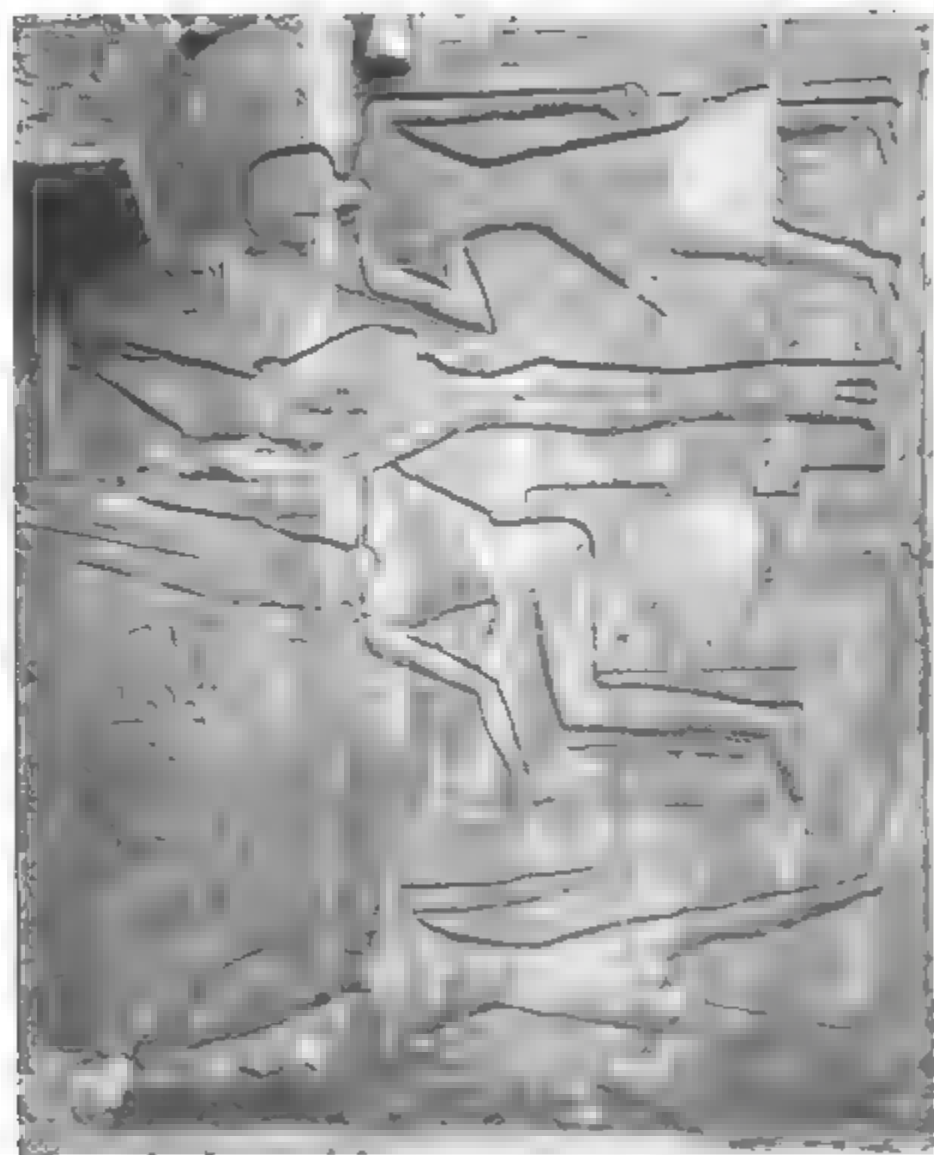
125 Ramesses II offering to the deified Ramesses I (Karnak Temple, suite east wall, *Kv. Plans Q 294*)
(Courtesy Oriental Institute Chicago)



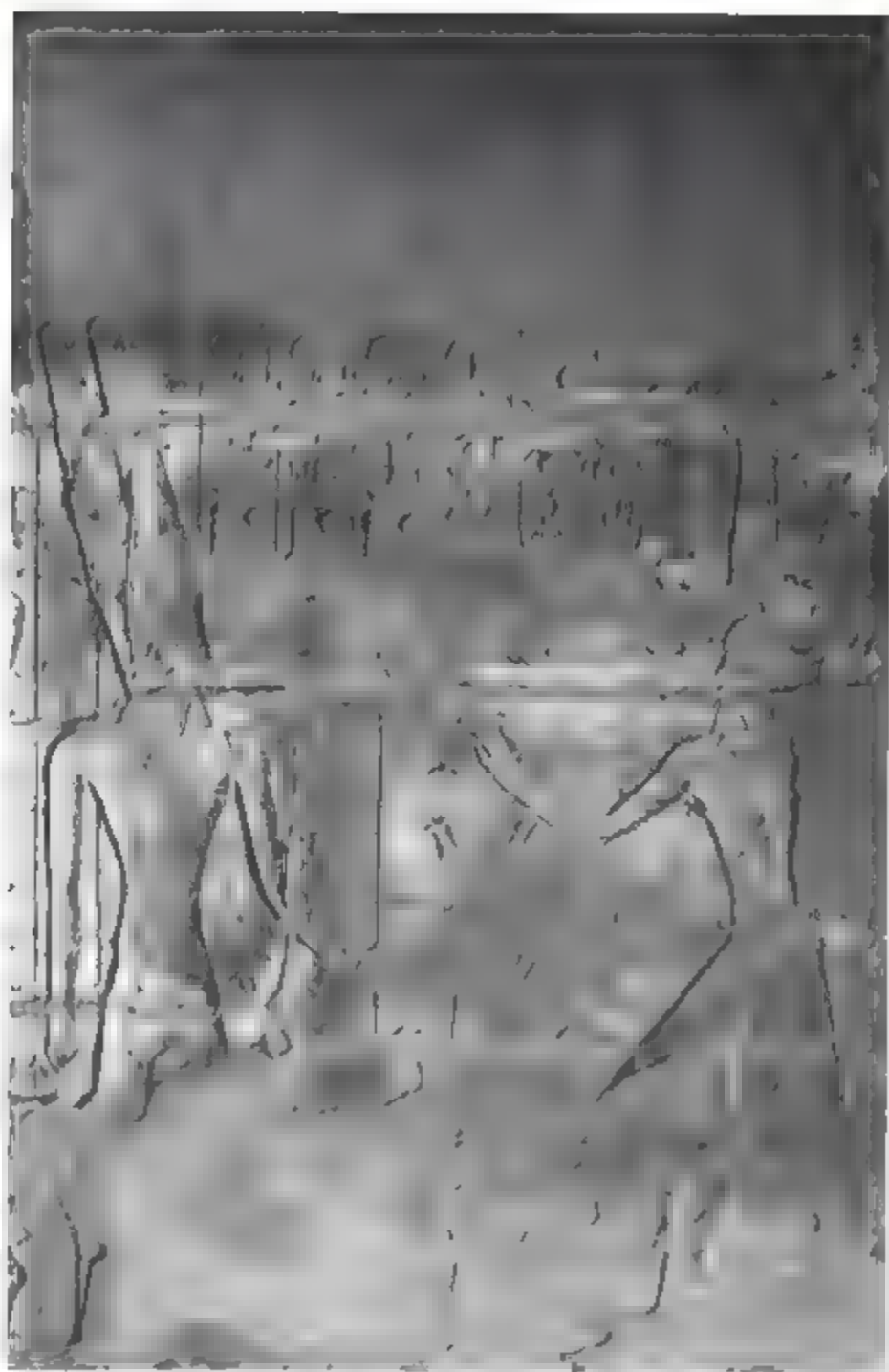
126 Posthumous scene of Seti I offering to Amen, relief of Ramesses II, vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, west wall, doorway into the Ramesses I barque chapel, north porch. *Ka Plans Q 303*



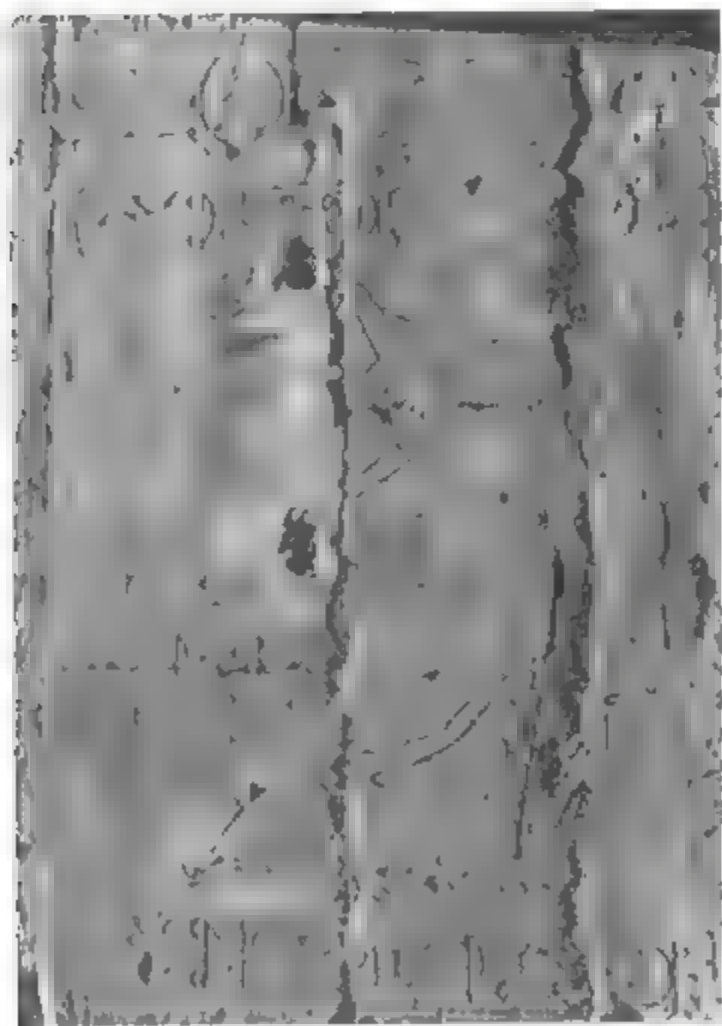
127 Ramesses II offering to Amen and deified king (Seti I) in Ramesses I's Gizaah Temple, vestibule of the Ramesses I suite, north wall. *Ka Plans Q 299*



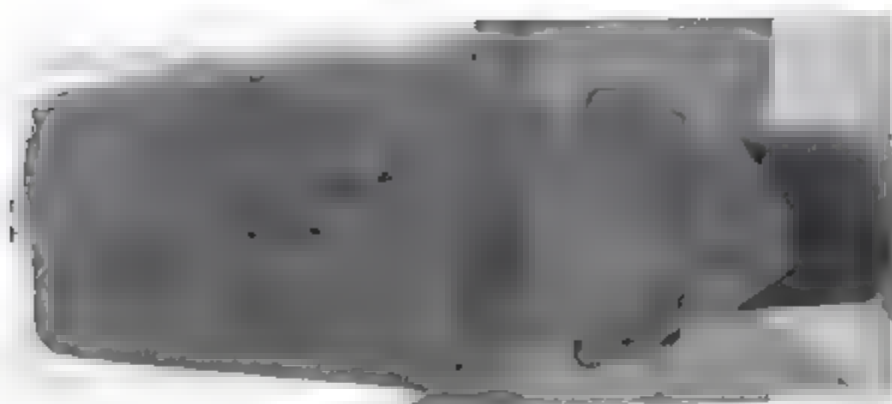
128 Ramesses II thurifies Amen - Mut and the deified Seti I vestibule of the Ramesses I suite - west wall, Awt Plaza
Q 762 (courtesy Oriental Institute (Chicago))



129 Posthumous scene of Seti I before Amen, relief of Ramesses II, Karnak Temple, room 34. *Am. Plans Q 392* (Courtesy, Oriental Institute, Chicago)



190. Fragment of Kan. eyes II. Gurnah Temple room 26 north wall. *Ac. Mon. Q. 449-451*



192. Fort Saad P. 4035. Head of Amen, statuette of Sen I

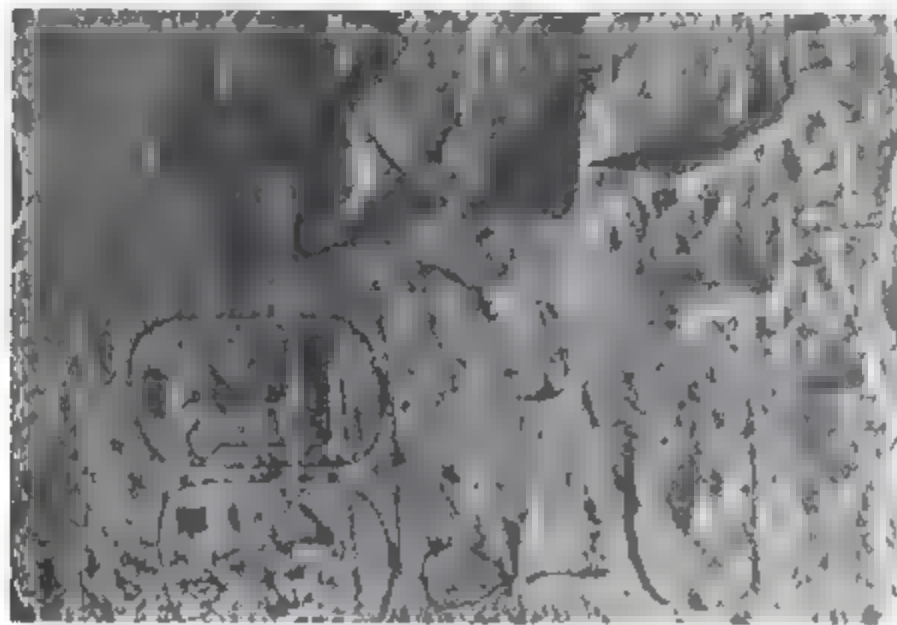
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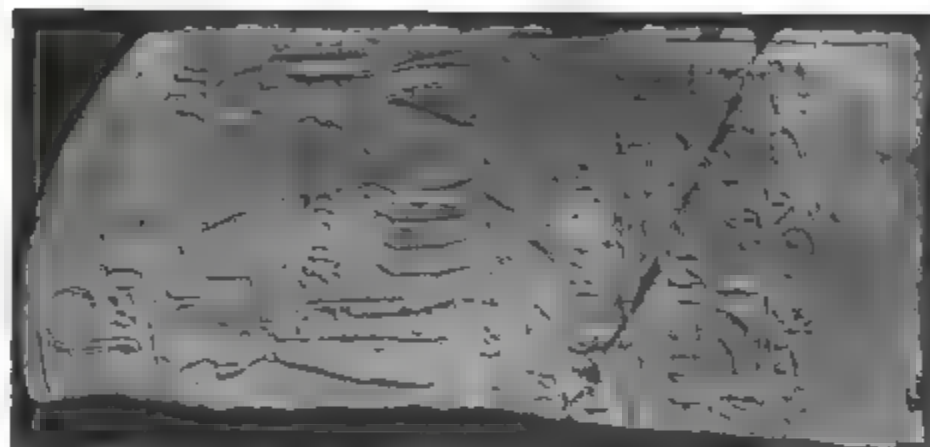
13. Ramesses II before Anen Khonsu and deified Ramesses I vestibule of the Ramesses I stipe east wall for *Plan Q*
332 (after *Journal of Oriental Institute* (Chicago))



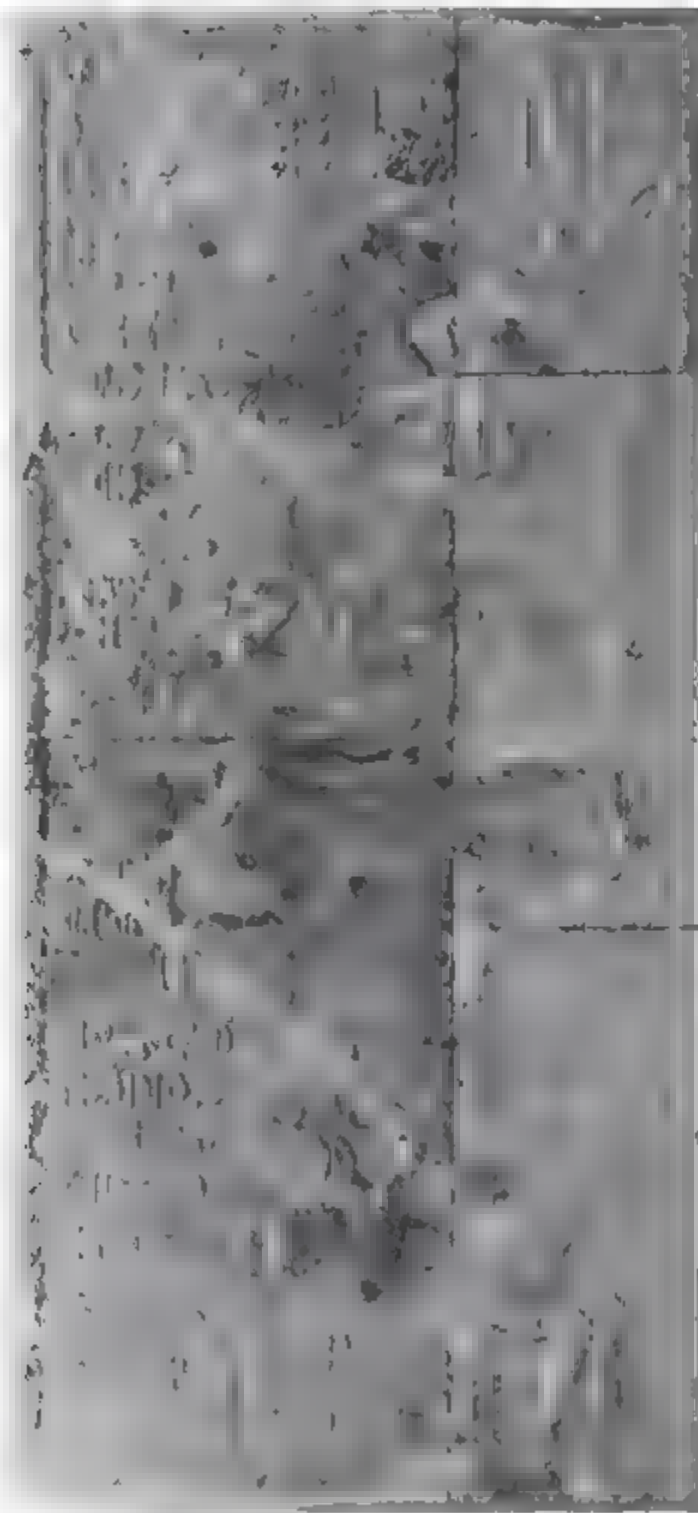
153 Limestone of smaller year none side of Seti I Assuan



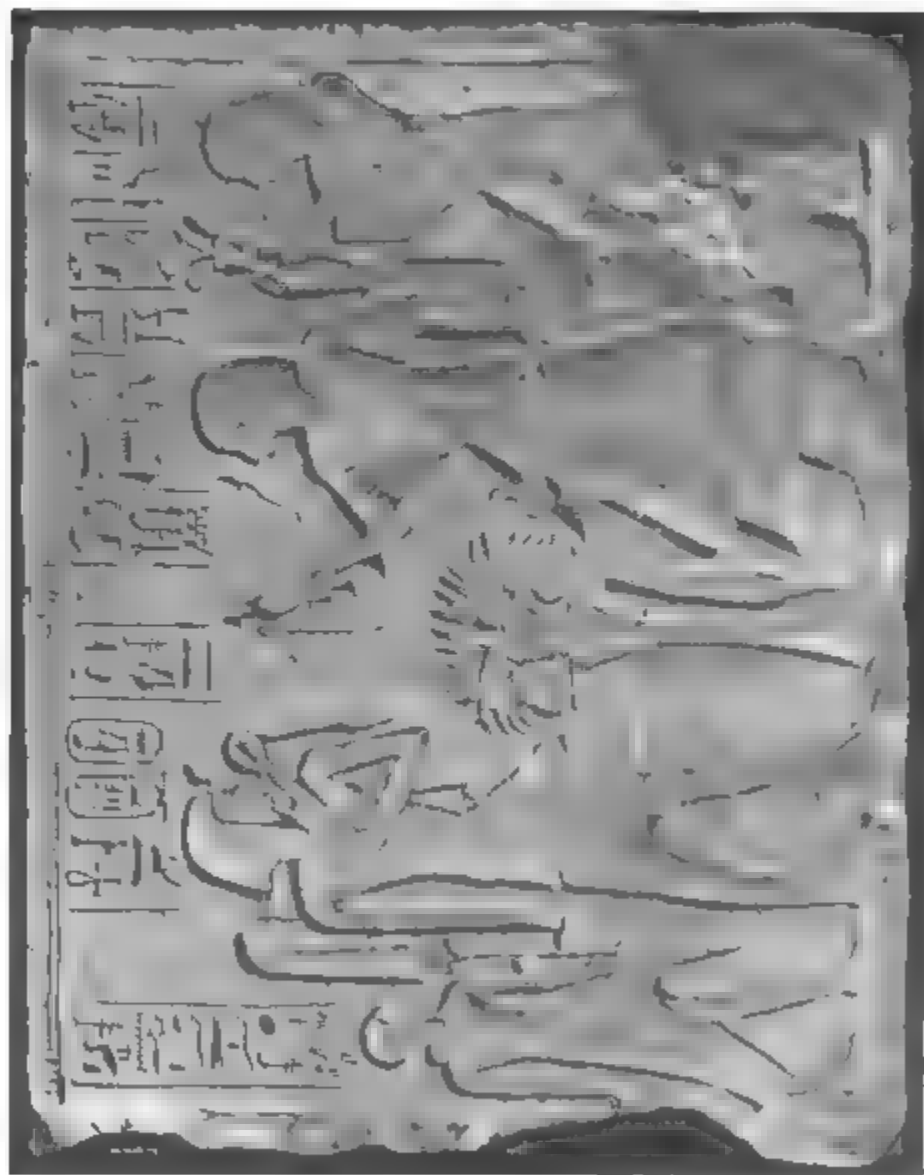
84 Detail of smaller year nine stela of Sen I Aswan



135 PLME 10988 Smaller year nine stela of Sen I from Buhen Courava Perinet
 Cairo University Museum



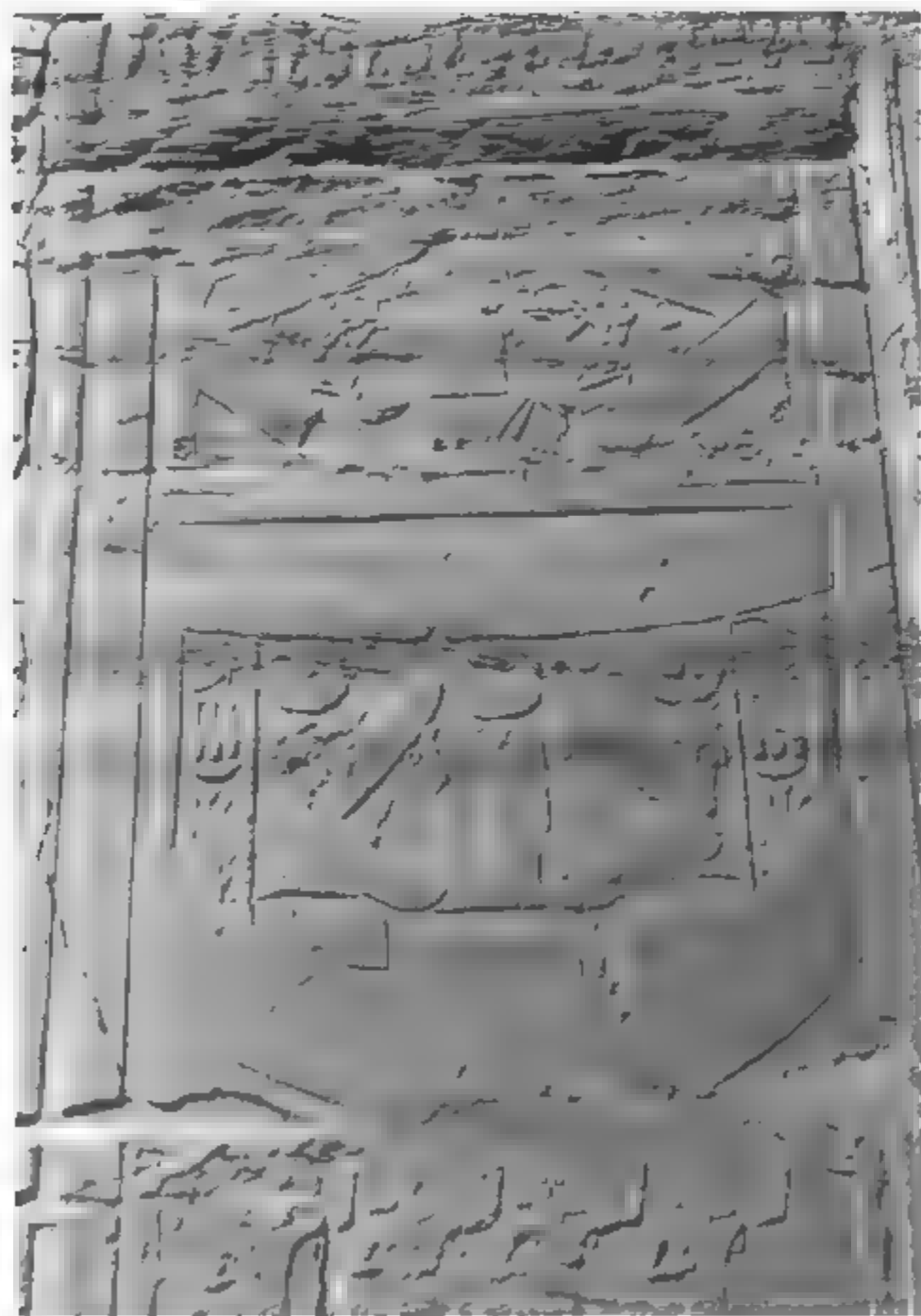
196 New York M&A .1 155 9b ■■■■■ reliefs of Seti I from Abydos chapel of Ramses I Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art



137 Chicago OI Museum 19507 Relief of Amenhotep with deified Seti and Crown Prince Ramesses, courtesy of the Oriental Institute Museum.



138. Brussels E 5300 Stela of Mrya from Abydos with Sen I and Crown Prince Ramesses
Courtesy Institut royal du patrimoine artistique, Belgium



139 Canopies of the barque of Amen. relief of Sen I Gurnah Temple chapel of Amen. Key Plans Q 230



143 Detail of Brussels E 5900 Seti I and Crown Prince Ramesses.

140 Louvre B 61 E 12921 Relief of Seti I Satef temple of Thutmosis III Eschmunine (Courtesy Musée du Louvre 140)



141 Canopy of the barque of Amen: relief of Ramesses II, Karnak Hypostyle Hall, south wall. *GTHAT* 1, pl. 53. *As. Phn.* KB 99-100.



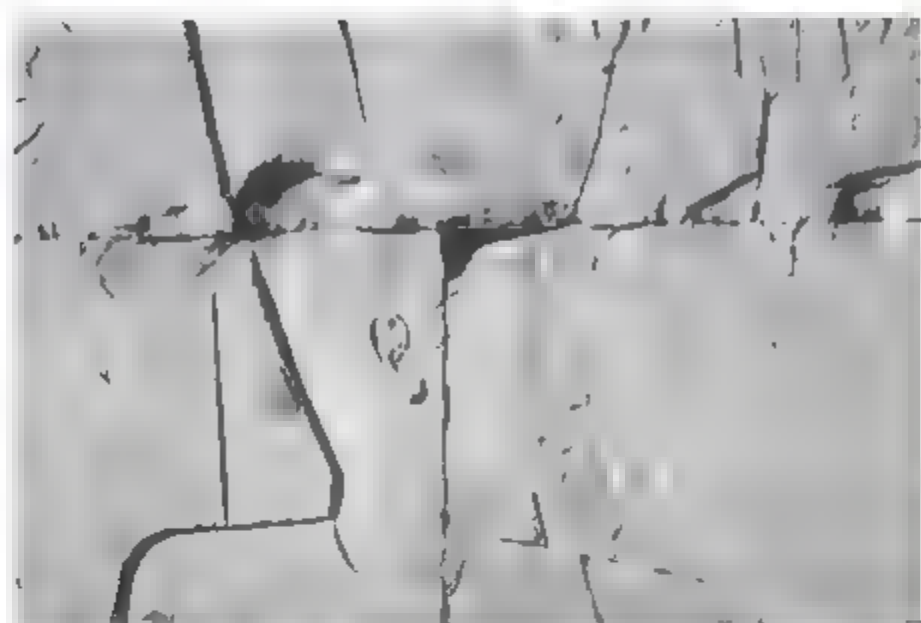
142. Seti I and Prince Ramesses in the Gallery of the Kings at Abydos. (Courtesy Griffith Institute, EES)



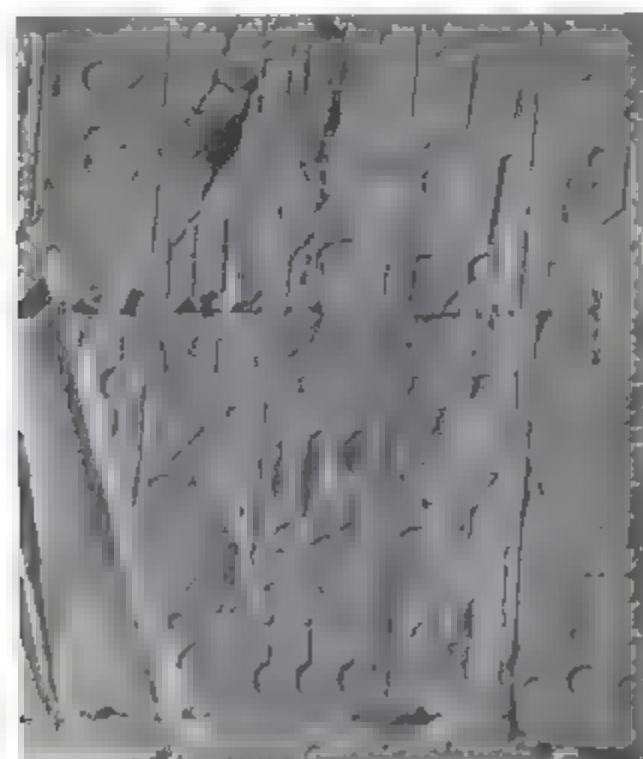
144 Camps of the barque of Amen, relief of Sen II from his barque chapel in the East Court at Karnak. PM II 26 (32). *See Pl. 145A 24*



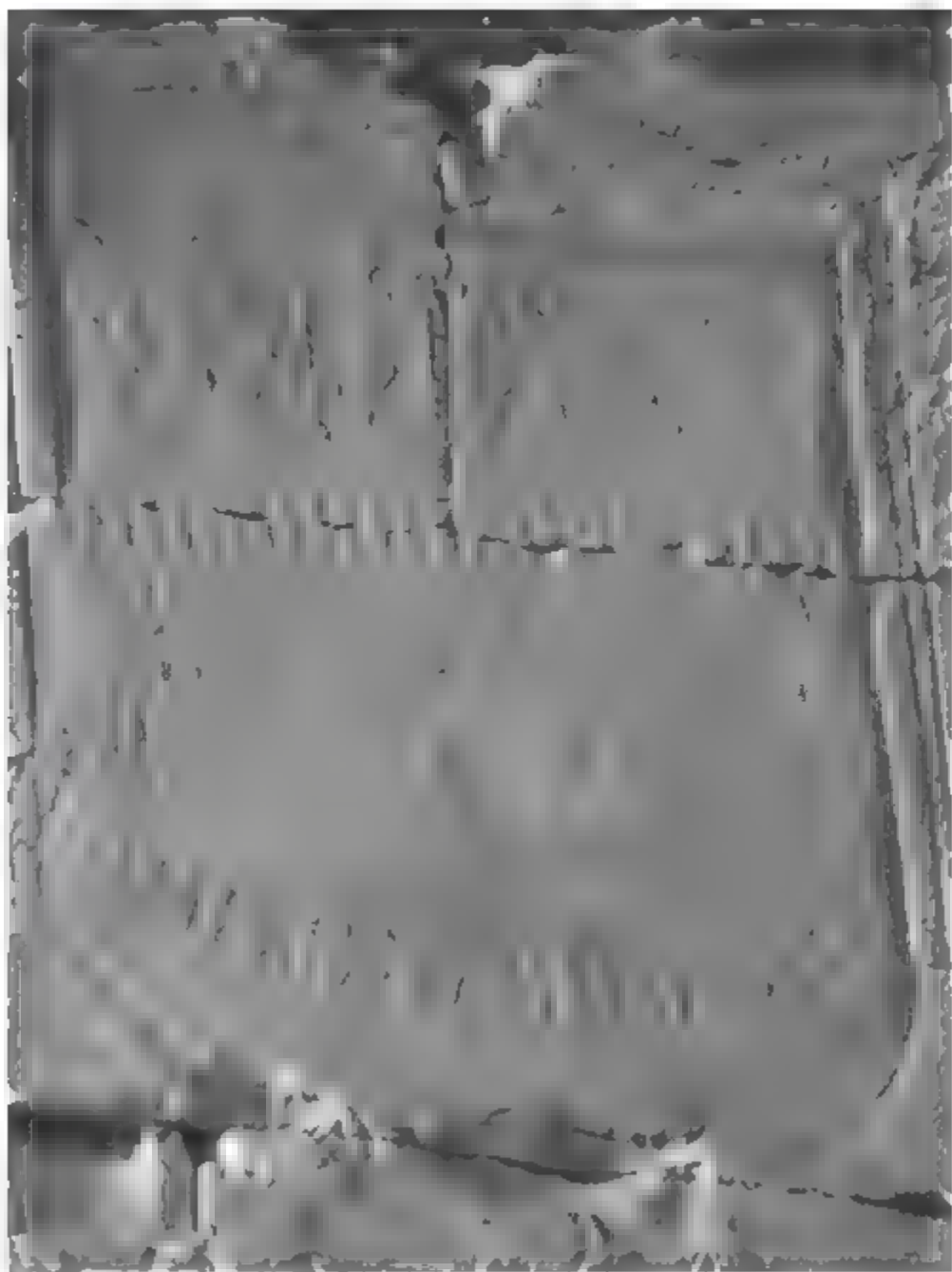
147 Relief of Sen II on column 132, face 2 of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall



145 Face of Amenhotep III relief of Seti I, Karnak Eighth Pylon, north face. Key Plans K6.

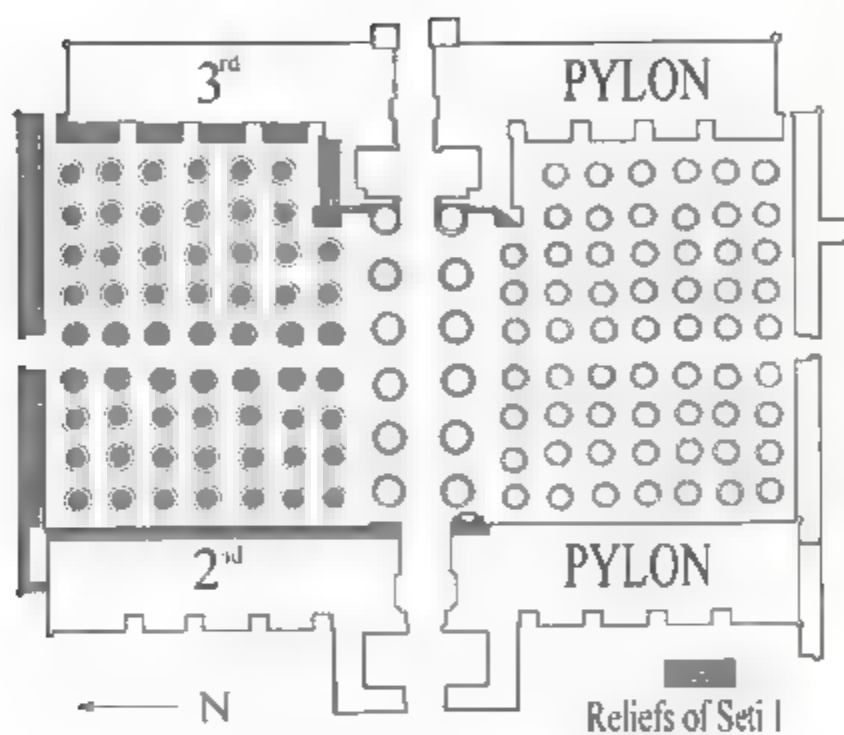


146 Relief of Seti I with secondary restoration of Amenhotep III, Karnak Eighth Pylon, north face. K6.103

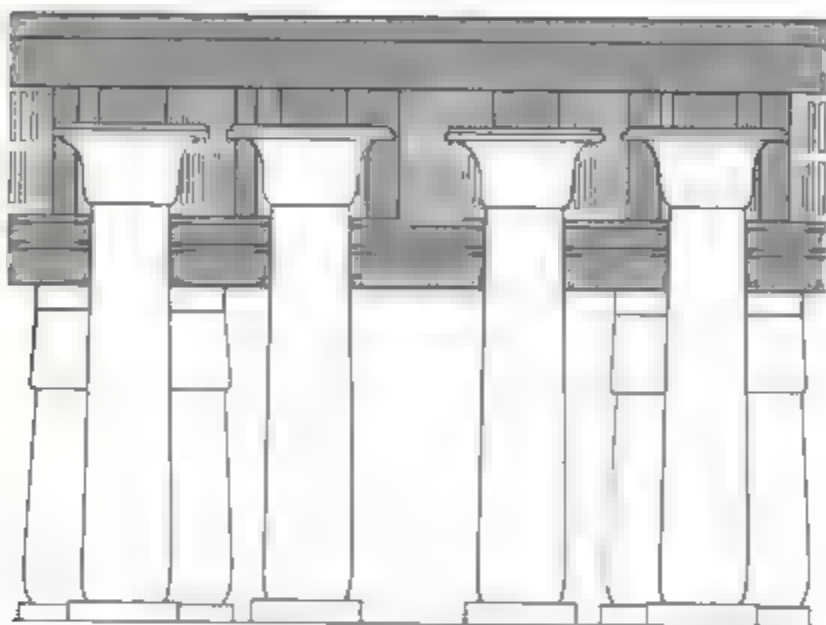


138 Canopy of Amen, a barque with rebus of Totankhamen usurped by Sen I, Karnak Eighth Pylon, north face. *Key Plans KG 104*

PLANS



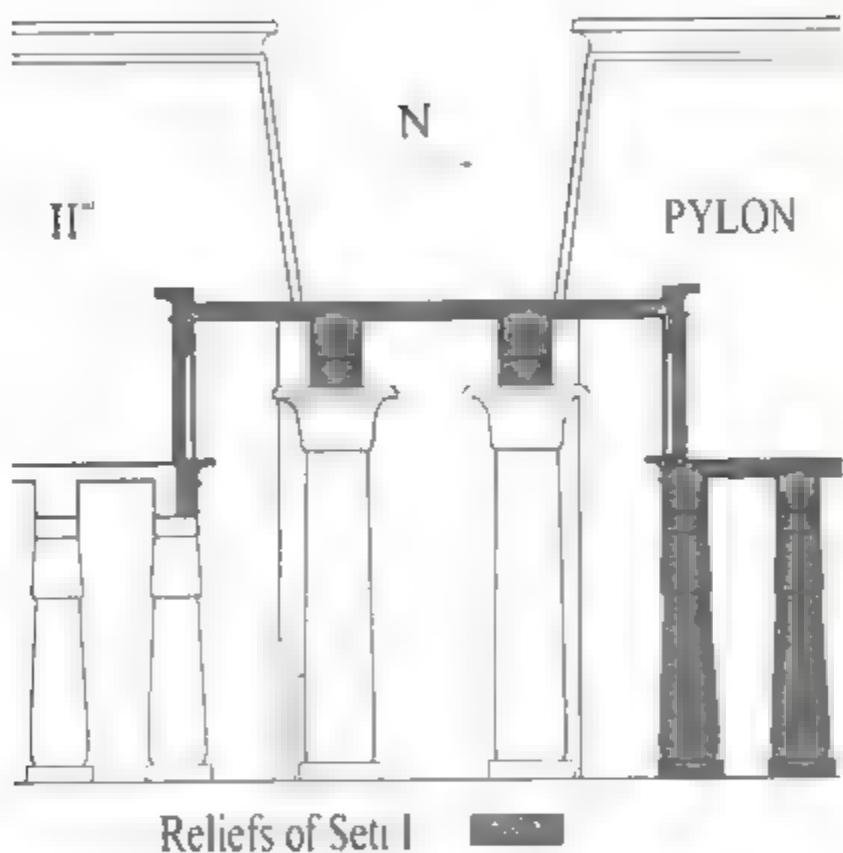
Plan 1 Kamak Hypostyle Hall ground plan



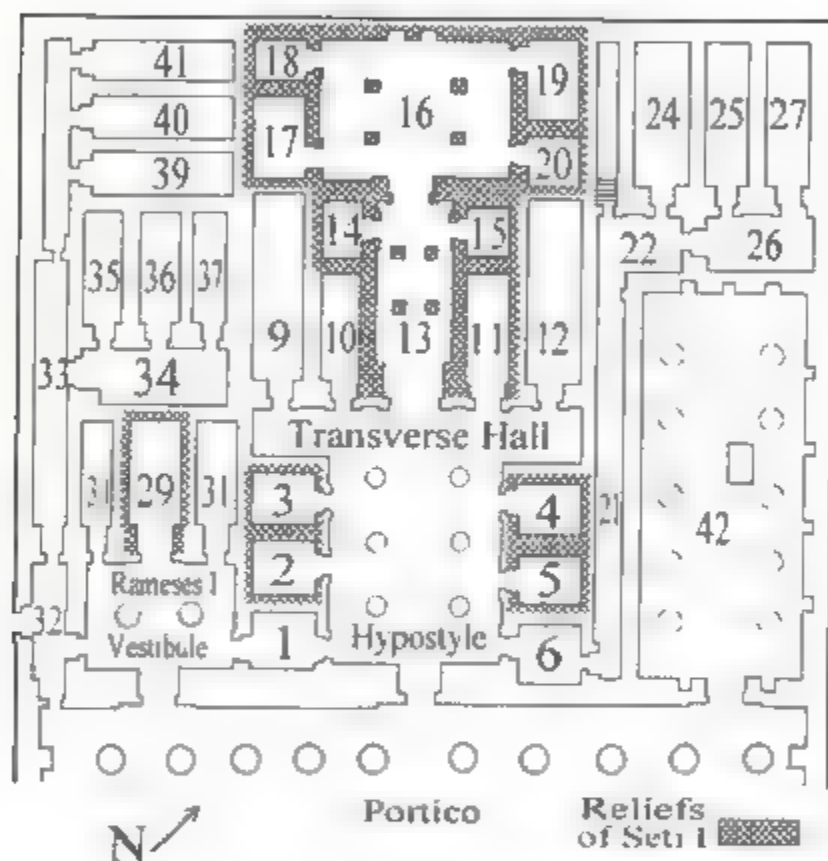
Reliefs of Seti I



Plan 2 Karnak Hypostyle Hall clerestory elevation



Plan 3 Karnak Hypostyle Hall cross section of the clerestory looking west



Plan 4: Gurnah Temple ground plan.

Seti I				Frieze	
S ^I 144		? 142		S ^I 140	
S ^I		S ^I		?	
R ^I 145	S ^I	S ^I 143	R ^I 141	S ^I	R ^I 139
R ^I 137		R ^I 136			

South Wall

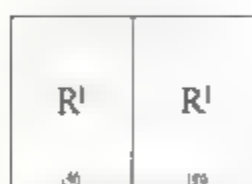
Seti I				Frieze	
? 124		S ^I 122		S ^I 120	
S ^I 126		S ^I		S ^I 118	
S ^I 125	R ^I	S ^I 123	R ^I 121	S ^I 119	S ^I 117
S ^I 116					

North Wall

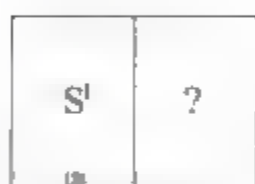
Seti I				Frieze	
R ^I 113	?	111 ?	? 111	?	R ^I 146
R ^I 115	R ^I 114			R ^I 148	

East Wall

Plan 5 Gurnah Temple hypostyle hall wall plans



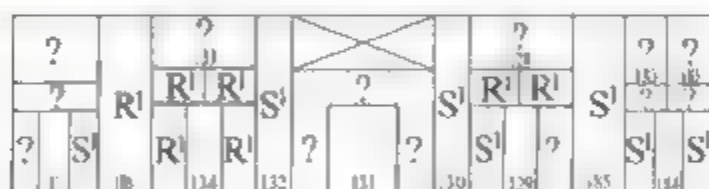
East Wall (South End)



South Wall



East Wall (North End)




West Wall

Plan 6 Gurnah Temple transverse hall wall plans

S		&		R'	
R'		R		R	
309		308		307	
S		&		R	
S'		R'		R'	
310					

S' & R		S'		&		R			
R'		S'		R'		R		R	
305		304		304		302			
R		R'		R		S'		R'	
R'		R		R		R		R	
306		304		304		303			

R' (?)			R' (?)			R' (?)		
R			S' & R					
301			R'			R		
			300					

R'				S'-R1'-R11'		R'	
R'		R'		R'		R	
312		294		294		295	
R'						R'	
313						296	

Plan 7 Gurnah Temple vestibule of the Ramesses I suite wall plans



North Wall

S' &		R'	
R'	R'	R'	R'
193	194	195	196

East Wall

S' & R'	
S'	S'-R'
197	198

South Wall

R		S' &		R'	
R'	R'	R'	R'	R'	R'
R'	S'	S'	R'	R'	R'
199	200	201	202	203	204

West Wall

Plan 8: Gurnah Temple room 34 wall plans

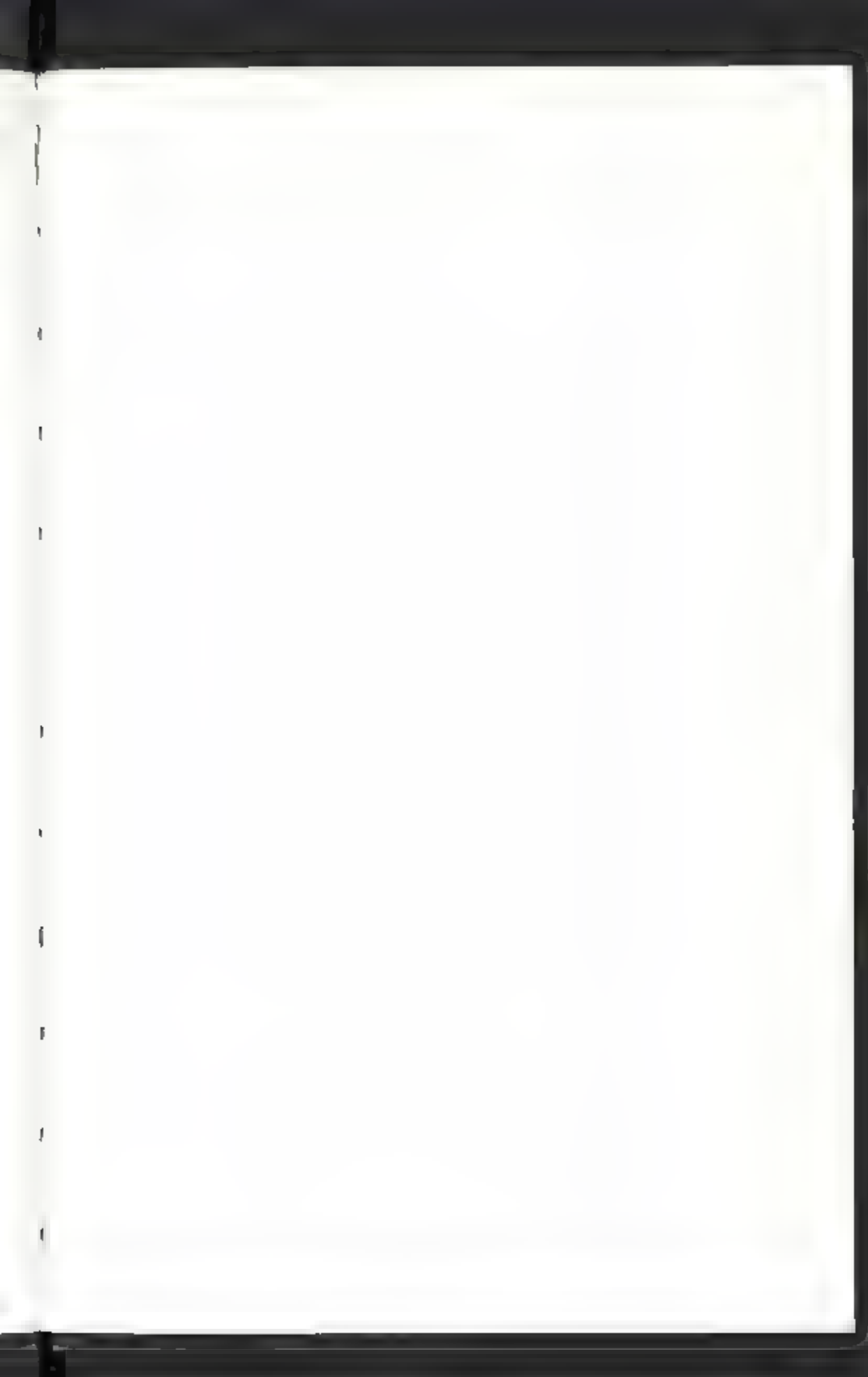
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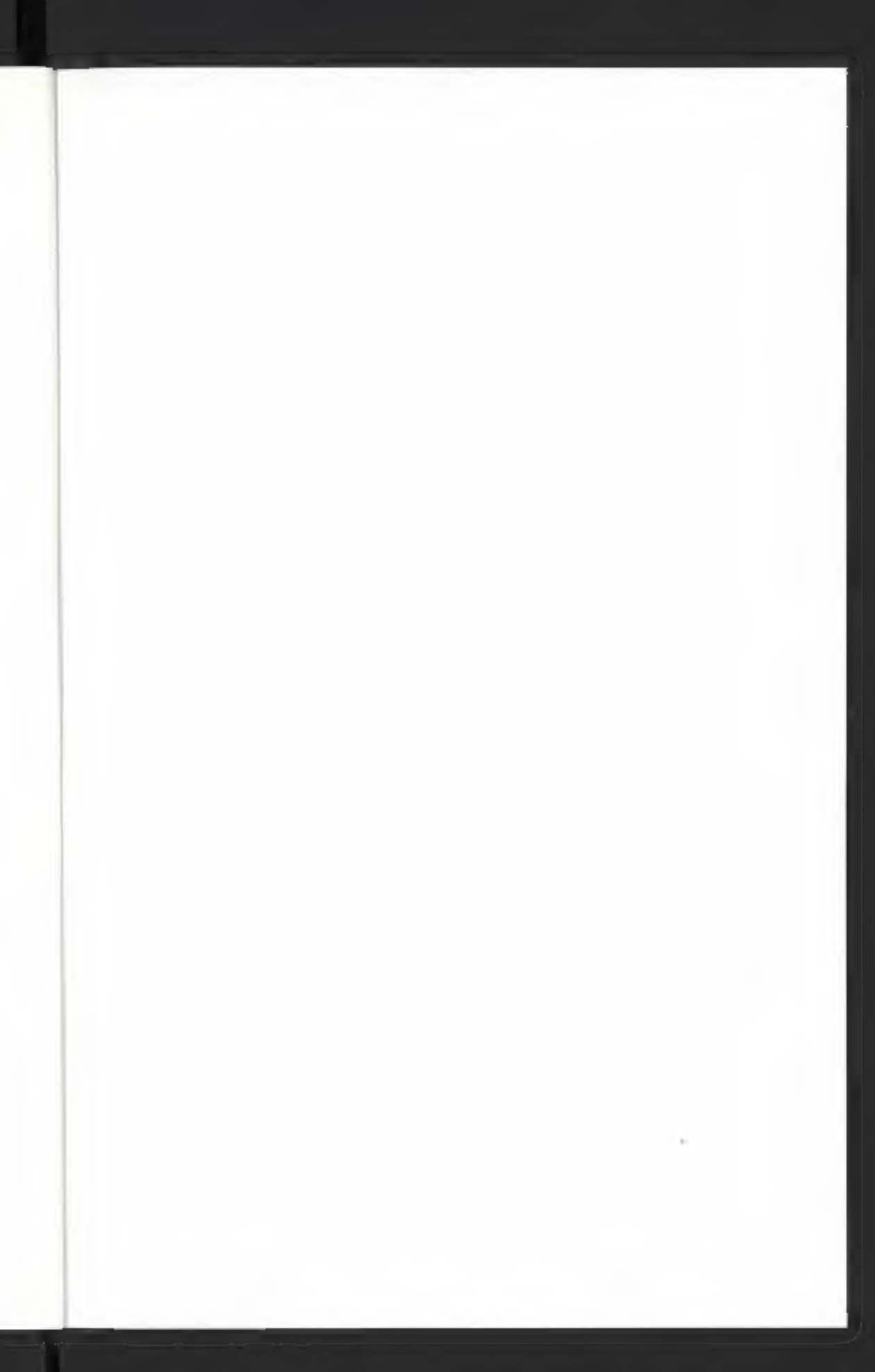
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